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TWO INDIAN LANDMARKS

1. THE SUSPENSION OF THE COTTON EXCISE DUTIES.
2. A ROYAL COMMISSION ON RURAL INDIA.

BY SIR REGINALD H. CRADDOCK, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

[The writer of this article, after a long experience as Revenue and Settlement Officer, has had the advantage of developing an Agricultural Department in two provinces.]

THE suspension of the Cotton Excise Duties in India, preparatory to their abolition, is an act of tardy justice. Even Lancashire finds itself impelled to take a generous view of the position. From the date of their imposition, and whenever they have been challenged, the Government of India have been in the uncomfortable position of being obliged to excuse a policy which it could not genuinely endorse. When India made her generous response to the Empire's call in the war, the repeal of these duties was promised as soon as financial circumstances permitted. It is only now, ten years later, that Indian finances have improved sufficiently to permit of so substantial a sacrifice of revenue. It is, however, idle for the Executive Committee of the Free Trade Union "to recognize that the repeal of the Cotton Excise Duties is a natural fruit of the Protectionist movement in England." It is nothing of the kind. England was a Free Trade country when the duties were imposed, and she was a Free Trade country when the promise was given of the repeal. When these duties were originally imposed they may have been in pursuance of a policy of Free Trade for England, but they most decidedly did not connote Free Trade for India. The maintenance of the duties would be far more in consonance with a selfish Protectionist policy in England, and to suggest that sheer love of Free Trade led to their imposition is mere cant.

However, the duties have gone. All parties have acquiesced in their abolition; the reproach has been removed. No Indian can now say that Indian industry has not a fair field in meeting British competition. But the further progress of Indian industries is entirely depen-

dent upon the further progress of India's agriculture. With 71 per cent. of her population directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent. entirely dependent for their earnings on agricultural prosperity, the greatest question before the Government, though not always recognized in political circles, has been the development of India's rural resources. It is understood from the *Times* that it is proposed to have a comprehensive inquiry on the whole subject, and recently, in a paper read before the East India Association, Professor N. Gangulee urged the appointment of a Royal Commission. The *Times*, in its issue of December 12, intimates that it is improbable that the very distinct and complicated subject of Land Revenue will be handled, or that the investigators will be called upon to attempt to pronounce upon the manifold technicalities of tenure, which varies so much, not only from province to province, but also in different districts of the same province. It also adds that in deciding on the details of the inquiry due care will be taken not to infringe the autonomy of provincial governments, now that agriculture is a provincial transferred subject, in the hands of Indian ministers.

Before it could be decided whether there should be a Commission, and what should be included in, or excluded from, the terms of reference of such a Commission, one requires to have some sort of preliminary diagnosis of the malady, if any, from which Indian agriculture suffers. If you exclude land-tenures from examination you will be excluding matters which have a vital influence upon agriculture, and if you pay punctilious attention to the susceptibilities of provincial governments and provincial ministers, you may be debarred from recommending action by the Central Government, which was extremely advisable in the best interests of agriculture, though tending *pro tanto* to limit the discretion of provincial ministers. If the Lee Commission had not been confronted with a *fait accompli* of a "transferred" agriculture, it might, for example, have recommended the maintenance of the Indian agricultural service as a strong all-India service, instead of recommending the provincialization of that service. The transfer was responsible for losing to Indian agriculture some of its best and most experienced agricultural officers at a time when their services were of a maximum value.

In some quarters it is the fashion to write as if the Indian Government had up to the present been entirely oblivious of its responsibilities to the rural population, and that it lay upon Indian ministers to repair past neglects,

and to devise and carry out policies to transform the Indian plains into granaries, and to convert poverty-stricken and ignorant cultivators, with only a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture, into prosperous and scientific farmers. Such a view ignores entirely the labours of several generations of revenue and settlement officers, the remarkable results already achieved by the agricultural departments, the entire machinery of co-operative credit, the activities of the veterinary officers, and the wonderful effects upon India's prosperity of the great irrigation works and railways. There is, indeed, little that a Royal Commission can find out that the Government does not know already, or cannot collate from the abundant material available in the settlement and revenue reports, and the recommendations of numerous committees and conferences held annually or from time to time. In fact, for years past the Government has been much more active and much better equipped with reference to rural economy than to urban and industrial problems—witness the remarkable success of its efforts in coping with successive famines.

Anyone who has been in close contact with Indian agricultural problems for a great many years knows that the progress made has been on sound lines, and that if these lines are steadfastly pursued this progress will be accelerated and greatly extended. The Indian ryot is no fool; he has long-inherited experience, and though if left alone he is very conservative, yet once let him be convinced that a particular crop or a particular method is within his means, and is going to pay him, he will adopt it. But he has no use for an itinerant lecturer with a science degree who merely lectures and passes on. Long before scientific agriculture was heard of in India particular improvements and more advanced practices came into use. The ryot must know that you know all that he can teach you before he will begin to learn from you. The way to convince the Indian ryot is not by publishing the results obtained on some distant farm, but by demonstration *in situ*.

The scientific agriculturist must first experiment on a central experimental farm, which is typical of a tract; he must not be in any hurry to demonstrate until he has satisfied himself over a series of years that the seed and the method tested is really a success. The premature demonstration on the village lands that fails puts back the improvement many years. But if the scientific agriculturist is patient, and the demonstration *in situ* succeeds, he may be perfectly assured that one after the other the neighbours

of a demonstration plot will imitate and adopt his methods. It is thus by the establishment of central farms on which experiments can first be proved, and by the subsequent multiplication of demonstration plots, that knowledge can be diffused. But success is only obtained if there are in the agricultural department earnest practical men, who add to their theoretical knowledge experience of the locality and of the mentality of the cultivators. When a man like this wins the confidence of the cultivator he will be looked up to, consulted, and his advice followed. It is by these methods that the Agricultural Department has won success in provinces where they have been adopted.

But this is still only half the battle, and if it is to be won, there are other obstacles to be overcome before success can be widely diffused. The great desideratum is to keep the actual tiller of the soil prosperous and contented. This is a more baffling problem than the mere instruction to him of more profitable agricultural methods. A man must not only be taught, but he must have the incentive and the means to apply what he learns. To have the incentive, he must enjoy security of tenure, and to have the means he must command cheap credit. The first of these essentials is dependent upon the enactment and enforcement of tenancy laws; the second upon the organization of co-operative credits. But the first also reacts on the second; for a man with security of tenure can command better credit than the man who has no security to offer, except that of one uncertain harvest.

The Government has done a great deal to protect the cultivator, much more in some parts of India than in others, but its intentions and its laws are constantly frustrated because the protection reaches the wrong person. In the Zemindari provinces it has secured the landlords, but in many of them the tenant has not got adequate protection, while in the ryotwari provinces the protected ryot has often become a landlord and a middleman, and the tenant beneath him—the actual cultivator—is impoverished and rack-rented. In the Punjab cultivated by large bodies of small landowners, and in the Central Provinces, where every tenant is protected, a high degree of security has been obtained. But in the United Provinces, Bengal, and Bihar the protection is very partial, while in Madras, Bombay, and Burma, wherever the ryot has taken to letting his land, instead of cultivating it himself, the protection has shifted from the actual cultivator to the middleman. This is the great problem, and it is the one on which it is

probable that the verdict of a Royal Commission might carry most weight. On the other problem, that of cheap credits, usury laws can seldom escape successful evasion, and co-operative credit is the one remedy that promises most success. It seems unlikely that a Royal Commission could suggest a better, but there can, in view of the magnitude of the problem, be no objection to their trying to find one.

Great stress is sometimes laid upon the ill-effects of minute subdivision of holdings, but this is an evil for which a violent remedy would probably be worse than the disease. The most productive and intensively cultivated areas are those in which population presses on the land; give a man a large area and a low rental and he becomes prone to subletting, or else he cultivates in slovenly fashion. Any interference with the age-long joint family system in favour of primogeniture would arouse the most violent opposition. This subdivision of lands corrects itself, for the superfluous members drop out and seek their livelihood elsewhere, or the land passes again, owing to debt, into the hands of a single holder. No legislation and no Royal Commission can keep the thriftless, shiftless, unwilling, or unindustrious cultivator upon the land, and in spite of trials and vicissitudes, a substantial proportion of Indian cultivators are hard-working, contented, and reasonably prosperous. But that fact need not, and should not, cause us to relax our efforts to make the proportion larger and the degree of prosperity greater. There is enormous scope for improvement.

There are two other matters, on which it is only possible to touch briefly: (1) The effect of land-revenue; (2) agricultural education.

Time was, no doubt, when whole tracts of country were over-assessed. This, with successive settlements and accumulated experience, has passed away. The only places which might be over-assessed now are stray villages in which deterioration due to special local causes has escaped notice and relief. Otherwise, over the country at large, the revenue is so light that the revenue payer can always obtain rents so high in proportion to the Government assessments that middlemen are created, and rack-rented sub-tenants come into existence. No Commission will nowadays be able to impeach either the moderation of the land-revenue demand, or the consideration with which it is collected.

As to agricultural education, it is useless to multiply

science students with an urban up-bringing. Nor is it within practical politics to make millions of ryots scientific farmers with English education. A nucleus of well-equipped colleges to provide teachers and demonstrators is of course necessary, but 90 per cent. of the students in agricultural colleges are more anxious to secure posts as teachers and demonstrators than to practise the profession of farming. Moreover, agriculture is a department in which it pays better to instruct adults than children or adolescents; for whereas the youth will not be able to teach the elders, and will not be an elder himself until he has forgotten his school and college courses, any practical instruction that the adult absorbs he will most certainly impart to his children. A shrewd cultivator will learn much more from demonstration plots and farms than his son will acquire if he is taken to an agricultural college, where he learns to prefer urban life to rural, and salaries to farming profits. The training of farm labourers at the farms is also very valuable.

The greatest results can only be achieved by the co-operation and co-ordination of the efforts of the revenue-officer, the agricultural departments, the irrigation engineer, and the registrar of co-operative credit. The isolated efforts of all these has achieved much, but their better co-operation and co-ordination will achieve much more. The Indian Minister and the Legislative Council in search of a policy can secure better results by stimulating the co-ordination of really competent agencies, irrespective of racial considerations, in all these branches than by voting in favour of resolutions for general enquiries into rural economy or by multiplying agricultural colleges and schools.

To sum up. This proposal of a Royal Commission is, undoubtedly, a big move in the attempt to increase the prosperity of India. It would be singularly unfortunate if its terms of reference laid down any forbidden ground upon which it must not trespass, even though the interests of agriculture were vitally affected by the prohibition. It would be equally unfortunate if it were to wander away from the central practical issues, and pay too much attention to theoretical remedies, which would undoubtedly be presented from many quarters, but are not likely to stand the test of practical application to the country and the people.

SIR CHARLES WOOD

BY PROFESSOR H. DODWELL, M.A.

(MR. EDWARD WOOD's nomination as the Governor-General of India naturally reminds us of the Indian activities of his grandfather, Sir Charles Wood, the first Lord Halifax, who was President of the Board of Control from 1853 to 1855, and Secretary of State for India from 1859 to 1866. His administration was peculiarly formative. He was called to office at a time when the government of India by the Crown was in course of taking shape, and under his direction was completed the machinery first set up in 1858.) He decided the organization of the India Office and the functions of the Council of India; he recast the judicial system; he reformed the army.) The framework of the government as he left it continued with surprisingly little alteration until the close of the century. It is a great pity that we have no biography of a man who left his mark so plainly on the Indian Government. (His correspondence with Canning, Elgin, and Lawrence must be a mine of information about the policy, external and administrative, that was pursued in India while he held office; and the time must surely be ripe now for its examination.) In default of this our knowledge of Sir Charles Wood remains external only. We know his public acts, but we do not know his private views. We lack that intimate knowledge of motive and policy which we should have of one who played so large a part. We have the outline of the picture, but not its colour; and it would be a great advantage if Sir Charles Wood's Indian papers, or even a selection of them, could be deposited at the India Office or the Public Record Office for the use of students interested in a period already distant both by the lapse of time and the change of circumstance. Except for a little volume published by Sir Algernon West during Wood's lifetime, 'he

has been the object of no study, and still awaits the memorial which he deserves.

When Wood accepted the Secretary's seals in 1859, he found that his predecessor, Lord Stanley, though inclined to ride roughshod over his Council, had not really succeeded in breaking away from the old system that had existed in the days of the Company. The Council was divided into three committees, much as the Court of Directors had been, and despatches prepared in the office were considered and amended by one of these committees before submission to the Secretary of State, just as had been done in the old days of Leadenhall Street and Cannon Row. This meant in practice that the members of the Council were committed to a policy before they had had any opportunity of considering the views which the Secretary of State might wish to adopt; human nature made them disposed to cling to the views under which they had signed their names, so that the Secretary of State, when differing from them, often had to encounter and overcome a resistance which might have been avoided. (One of Wood's first measures was to modify this office procedure. He ordered all drafts to be submitted first for his consideration; then they went to a committee of the Council for acceptance or amendment; after which, in the former case they were considered by the Council, in the latter they were reconsidered by the Secretary of State before being sent in to Council in their final form. By this transfer of initiation from the councillors to himself, the Secretary of State brought the Council nearer to the footing of advisers, and thus anticipated that reduction of the Council's status which was actually carried into effect by the Act of 1869.) In the result Wood generally managed to carry his Council with him. On only four occasions, Sir Algernon West tells us, was he reduced to overruling it, and that on matters of minor importance.

As legislator, Wood carried through the House two measures of great importance, both of them in the session of 1861. The first of these dealt with the Legislative

Councils in India. Under the Charter Act of 1833 all legislative powers had been concentrated in the hands of the Government of India. That astounding experiment had proved far from a complete success; and in 1853 Wood, as President of the Board of Control, had endeavoured to amend the system. However, like so much else in that abortive statute, his provisions did not go far enough. For example, he sought to provide for the interests of the subordinate governments by giving them representatives at the meetings of the Council for the passing of laws and regulations; he sought to secure a higher standard of legislative form by adding the Chief Justice of Bengal and one of the puisne judges. But this new body proved unexpectedly aggressive. It adopted the customary forms of Parliament. When a timid member from a subordinate government, more accustomed to paper controversies than verbal debates, proposed that members might be allowed to read their speeches, his motion was contemptuously rejected. With the forms of Parliament the Council seems to have imbibed something of its spirit. It refused point-blank to submit to the Home Government the legislative measures which it introduced. It denied the power of the Home Government to disallow part of an Act or to dictate what should be passed into law. It even assumed the power of receiving petitions and passing resolutions on grievances. So much independence ill-accorded with the spirit of the time; and when the matter was at last taken up seriously after the Mutiny, the Act of 1861 guarded carefully against such assumptions in future. The new Council was limited to legislation; the judges, who had played a leading part in its unintended activities, were excluded, so that the Act became known in Calcutta as the Act to disenfranchise Sir Barnes Peacock; and the controlling power of the Executive Government was effectively secured. But though in these ways the measure was reactionary, in other respects it marked long steps forward. Legislation was no longer concentrated at Calcutta. The

provinces obtained once more something of those legislative powers which they had enjoyed before 1833; and, above all, the wording of the Act was carefully devised so as to allow the nominated members to include Indians. It is easy to belittle this cautious advance. Absolutely it was nothing very much; but *c'est le premier pas qui coûte*; and this was a first step. We should not deny to those who took it the courage of their convictions. Though it was no acquittance of the promises of the Proclamation, it was good evidence that they had not been forgotten.

The other great measure with which the name of Wood is inseparably associated is the High Courts Act of the same year. The separation of the Supreme Courts and the Company's Courts, with their different codes of law, their differences of practice, their dissimilar sources of recruitment, their diverse relations with the Executive Government, had long been a considerable source of embarrassment and confusion. From the time of Warren Hastings onwards the Supreme Courts had constantly inclined to ignore, and sometimes to defy, the wishes of Government, not at all because these were wrong, but because some judges held it incumbent upon themselves to display the independence of the judiciary. However, with the assumption of the direct government by the Crown, all justification of the separation of the Courts had evidently disappeared. The Supreme and Sadr Courts were therefore amalgamated; and again occasion was taken to open the way for Indian ambition. Advantage was immediately taken to set Indians on the new benches beside their European brothers. This step, like that of opening the Legislative Councils, must fairly be held to prove the sincerity of Wood's liberal principles. Along with this reform went the reform of the law which these new Courts were to administer. The codification of Indian law had long been a crying need. One of the reasons for the appointment of a Law Member in 1833 had been the intention that he should direct in India the gradual codifica-

tion of that confused mass of regulations and customary law which was administered by the Company's Courts. Macaulay, as we know, did prepare the Penal Code, but many circumstances conspired to delay the realization of this great work. When, therefore, after the Mutiny the question of codification was taken up once more, the new Law Commission which was appointed sat in England, and was composed of English jurists. Their Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure bear witness to the care and skill with which they did their work.

(The most notable incident that occurred in Wood's relations as Secretary of State with the Government of India was afforded by the indigo question.) The indigo planters had long been established in Bengal, and Sir William Hunter has given us an attractive picture of their position in the eighteenth century, and the way in which ryots would voluntarily bring to them their disputes for settlement. But the nineteenth century was less idyllic. A system gradually developed under which the production of indigo became a forced culture, hardly to be distinguished from the Dutch system in Java which had provoked such sharp English criticism. The ryots were required to produce indigo at what was proved to be an uneconomic price. They naturally sought to evade their obligations. The planters demanded special legislation. So early as 1830 they had induced the Bengal Government to pass a regulation punishing as a misdemeanour wilful neglect to cultivate indigo after receiving an advance and agreeing to sow the plant. This was disallowed by the Court of Directors on the very proper ground that one party only to a civil contract could not be made liable to criminal proceedings for its breach. For the next thirty years matters went from bad to worse. With the general rise of prices, which took place in India in the second quarter of the century, the cultivation of indigo became ever less advantageous to the ryot. At last in 1859 the ryots refused any longer to cultivate indigo at all—the so-called

Indigo Rebellion. This led to a temporary Act—Act XI. of 1860—and to the appointment of the Indigo Commission, which enquired into the whole question. It was composed of six members, two civilians, two Indian gentlemen, one missionary, and one planter. Its report showed conclusively that the existing system had led to the gravest abuses. The Government of India introduced a bill intended both to remove these and to protect the planter; but it was tainted with remnants of the old ideas of punishment for breach of contract; Wood felt that he could not accept any such legislation and desired Canning to withdraw his bill. "I'm not prepared," he wrote, "to give my sanction to the law which you propose, and to subject to criminal proceedings matters which have hitherto been held as coming exclusively under the jurisdiction of the civil tribunal; and I request that the bill for the punishment of breaches of contract recently introduced by you into the Legislative Council may be withdrawn." Here, as elsewhere, Wood stands forward as the defender of Indian rights. Viewed from the standpoint of to-day, he may seem to have been a somewhat lukewarm champion. He was no enthusiast; despite his liberal principles, he was no doctrinaire; he did not feel bound to sweep away anomalies merely because they were anomalous; but he was inspired by a vigorous sense of justice which did not allow him to be blinded by racial prejudices. He was, indeed, a good example of the type of Englishmen who succeeded in making English tropical administration the seed-ground from which have sprung our modern ideas of the way in which tropical dependencies should be administered.

The foregoing were perhaps the most outstanding events of Wood's administration as Secretary of State. But besides them it was crowded with a multitude of reforms of various kinds. One of his main preoccupations was finance. The Mutiny had left the Indian Government with a heavy deficit and considerable debt. He chose the first expert finance members, who transformed the whole system of

finance and accounting. Perhaps one of the most serious criticisms that can be brought against the Company's government lies in the fact that it allowed its servants in India to drift into such financial confusion. It was indeed frequently demanding a greater degree of public economy; but it never insisted on those accurate methods of financial administration which form the sole possible basis of a sound and efficient control of expenditure. When Wood took over the charge of the India Office, it was impossible for anyone to say what, for instance, was the total cost of the Indian armies. Almost incredible stories are told of military finance of the period—the Government of Bombay was said to have lost a regiment, and to have been unable to inform the commission of enquiry where it was quartered or from what treasury it drew its pay. Wood and Wilson did a vast amount to reduce this chaos to order, with such success that the deficit in 1858-59 of over £14,000,000 was converted before Wood left the India Office into a surplus.

(A reform closely associated with this was the introduction of a paper currency.) Before his time the Presidency banks had enjoyed the privilege of issuing notes, but these circulated little beyond the limits of the Presidency towns themselves. Wood therefore introduced the existing system of Treasury notes, hedged around, however, with restrictions closely imitated from the provisions of the English Bank Act. Its main defect both in India and England was its want of elasticity. But that was little felt at the time of its introduction into India, and was indeed a thing of little moment compared with the difficulty of inducing people, accustomed only to hard coin, to accept and use paper money. As has often happened, the caution which was essential to the introduction of a reform long survived the necessity for its maintenance.

(In the cause of education Wood had ever been eager. As President of the Board of Control, he had had a great deal to do with the drafting of the famous despatch of

1854, which had laid down the principle of diffusing Western knowledge as widely as possible. In this respect the change of Government in 1858 produced no great change of policy; but the policy already laid down was well maintained. Many felt at that time that education would be the best possible prevention of any repetition of the Mutiny. His tenure of office as Secretary of State saw a great advance; the universities, founded by an Act of 1857, were got into working order; the principles on which grants-in-aid should be given were discussed and expended; and the foundations of modern educational progress were laid.)

The work of Sir Charles Wood was thus very considerable. Nor have I in any way exhausted the list of his reforms. He, for example, sent the first conservators of forests to India; he set up the department of police; he encouraged the building of railways and the digging of canals. But I think the thing for which above all he deserves remembrance is the way in which he succeeded in putting behind him the memories of the Mutiny and in refusing to allow his policy to be dictated by distrust or fear. The battle had been fought out and there was an end of it. He was a clear-minded, level-headed, and large-hearted man. If he lacked genius, he had what is perhaps much more useful in the ordinary affairs of every day—a great fund of common sense. And though his ideals were well under control, we should much mistake him if we thought he had none. He certainly conceived himself as the trustee for India, and he set to work, much as he would have set to work as trustee for the son of a friend confided to his care, sparing neither time nor trouble in order to be able to give a good account of his stewardship.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY PROFESSOR NAGENDRA N. GANGULEE

WE are indebted to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala for giving us an account of his impression of the Assembly of the League of Nations in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. Its value is enhanced by the fact that His Highness has emphasized upon the cordiality of "the Geneva atmosphere." To a sensitive mind, the idealism which inspires that atmosphere makes a deep impression; and, however imperfect the League may be as an international organization, it has undoubtedly awakened among the nations of the world a desire for better understanding and for sincere fellowship in the task of creating a *new* order in international politics.

While it is refreshing to watch that spirit of idealism grow, the fact that there is a great deal of scepticism as regards the efficacy of the League in the task of controlling the forces which foster "the fierce self-idolatry of nation-worship" cannot be ignored. And, if the growing public opinion in the East is found to be readily influenced by that scepticism, if there is lack of cordial interest in the work of the League among the peoples of the East, the Western nations may search for its reasons in their past relations with the East.

However, through a closer contact with the League and its activities, one feels convinced that there is a genuine striving for goodwill among nations. It is working largely towards the salvage of European civilization. Undoubtedly its efforts follow a determined step towards the creation of an international conscience, by controlling some of the worst features of aggressive nationalism. Its attitude towards the races under the administration of powerful nations is human. It recognizes some of the fundamental

principles necessary to encourage love for peace and understanding among the peoples of the world. As such, one cannot but have sympathy in the work of the League of Nations.

But the critics are impatient with this slow process of co-ordinating the gigantic organizations of the West which are known as the nations. They fail to see that the League may yet furnish the basis of a new world polity.

It is told that, at a meeting of the Royal Institution, where Faraday had delivered his first lecture on the electro-magnetic theory, a lady came to him after the discourse and asked him if his discovery was of any practical use to anyone. Faraday replied: "Madam, what is the use of a new-born child?"

Now, this is precisely the reply one may give to the critics of the League of Nations. Born of a tremendous catastrophe into a world almost paralyzed, both physically and morally, the child had to wrestle with numerous serpents in his cradle. The fact that it has survived to this day suggests that the child may possess Herculean strength. But in my optimism as regards the possibilities of the League of Nations, I must not allow myself to overlook the fact that the League is designed fundamentally for the purpose of arresting the processes of disintegration among the powerful nations themselves. It is chiefly concerned with the problems of European reconstruction. It cannot be denied that in coming into an agreement for their mutual protection, the organized nations of the West are largely dominated by fear and suspicion among themselves. Therefore the question arises as to what could be the basis of agreement of these powerful nations of Europe with those who are unorganized? While the forces arising out of a weltering chaos of conflicting interests which very nearly destroyed the foundations of European civilization may be controlled by the growing allegiance of different States to the concept of the League of Nations, it is imperative that the Western Powers enjoying political

mastery or commercial supremacy in Asia should seriously take into consideration the resultant reactions of European affairs on the political and social psychology of the advanced Asiatic races. In other words, any attempt at peace must be chiefly concerned with the awakening of Asia and all that that implies in her inter-state relations. Therefore, in the interest of world politics, the League of Nations should make special efforts to secure the confidence of the Asiatic peoples. The ideal of the League can thrive only in an atmosphere of confidence.

This is my justification for making a brief reference to India and her place in the League. Though still a dependency, events conspired to give India a new status of partnership. During the war she put over a million men into the fighting forces of the Empire. Over a hundred thousand suffered casualties, and eleven Victoria Crosses were won by Indians. As regards the contributions in money, her share was no less than 130 million pounds. Thus, her place in Imperial Councils was assured and she was admitted to sign on her own behalf the Peace Treaty of Versailles. Under the covenant embodied in that treaty she became an original member of the League of Nations. She was assessed as a first-class Power when the question of annual contribution to the League was determined. She pays about £50,000 towards the expenses of the League.

It is now asked, "What has India gained from her place in the League?" At any rate, the fact that India has found a place in a great international tribunal constitutes a significant break with her past political status in the world. She is no longer treated as being under the tutelage of a Western Power, and should occasion arise, she can independently lay her case before the League of Nations. In this connection I feel tempted to make a brief reference to a speech made by a delegate from China. Taking his stand on Article 19 of the Covenant, he made a most effective appeal to the Assembly for the reconsideration of the

existing treaties between China and the other Powers. He said that the Chinese were the most conservative people in the world and had patiently endured for many decades the burden of unjust treaties, but the time had come when a readjustment of China's international obligations was necessary. The speech was well received by the Assembly, and there was a considerable interest among the visitors as regards the nature of the political and economic privileges now enjoyed by Western Powers in China. Even if there was no immediate result, such a bold advocacy of China's cause had some effect on the public.

Recently Lady Chatterjee has shown that, in the domain of her internal affairs, her association with the activities of the League proved to be extremely stimulating. As a result of the International Labour Conference held at Washington, she was compelled to introduce progressive legislation in regard to Indian labour both in factories and mines. Thanks are due to Sir William Meyer for his advocacy to secure India's place in the governing body of the International Labour Bureau. With the process of accelerating industrialization of the country, the guidance which India may receive from the experiences of the West must help to create and maintain harmony in her economic life. For this purpose, it is most necessary that the International Labour Bureau should have an office in India in closer contact with the Indian labour organizations.

Then again, India can be greatly benefited by her co-operation with the humanitarian activities of the League. All her isolated and spasmodic efforts to cope with the problems of (1) traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, (2) child welfare, (3) traffic in women, and of (4) combating preventable diseases such as malaria, cancer, etc., should be co-ordinated with that of the League. Such a step would vitalize her own social service organizations and add no less to the knowledge the League must possess in order to formulate any effective methods of grappling with the problems mentioned above.

But to achieve all this, the conscious opinion of India must exhibit interest in the League, and the League of Nations Union should do all it can to familiarize the people of India with the aims and purposes of this great international organization. As one who has faith in the growing "international conscience," I hope that disarmed India may find in the League an effective basis of real honourable co-operation with the West. If the present League, in its political aspects, appears to be an alliance of Governments, essentially it must be a peoples' League. "The new diplomacy," said Lord Cecil, "is not one between Government and Government, but between people and people. That is why I neglect no opportunity of impressing on the Assembly that publicity is the very life-blood of its existence."

Let it not be understood that India's position in the League is as one who has much blessing to receive from the organized Powers of the West, and none whatever to give. How can one explain this paradox, that India—not a nation in the Western sense—is a member of the League of Nations? Herself weak, dependent, disarmed, devoid of any organized strength, what mission has Providence designed for her in the midst of the nations of the world? One of the Indian delegates at the Fourth Assembly, in describing the League of Nations as "the citadel of a new age," said: "Nations no less than man cannot serve both the God of Righteousness and the Mammon of Pride." It was indeed an apt remark from the Indian representative. India is within the League to remind the nations still groping for a basis of peace and goodwill that no real adjustment is possible without the realization of spiritual truth. Without the behests of spiritual life, the League will have no special appeal to the deeper sentiments of the mass of mankind, and, consequently, it will find it difficult to mobilize behind it a strong body of public opinion of the world. It may be that Providence wishes India to make her contribution to this end. "We in India," says Tagore,

"shall have to show to the world what is that truth which not only makes disarmament possible, but turns it into strength." The nations still dominated by the doctrine of the sword will have to learn from those who are not organized as nations that the true inheritance of the earth must come to the meek; for the eternal truth is moral. Therefore, India shall wait aside in patience, holding fast to her spiritual idealism till the day when the nations realize the immense power of the weaker humanity. "And when the morning comes," to quote a message from her poet, "for cleansing the blood-stained steps of the nation along the highroads of humanity, we shall be called upon to bring our own vessel of sacred water—the water of worship—to sweeten the history of man into purity, and with its sprinkling make the trampled dust of the centuries blessed with fruitfulness."

Peace—Peace—Peace,
 Let Peace reign over earth and sky.
 Let it spread over water, field, and forest.
 Let the Divinity of the Universe be for our Peace.
 Let us with the Peace which is for all tranquillize
 Whatever is terrible and cruel and evil into the serene and good.
 Let Peace come to us through the All.
 Peace—Peace—Peace.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CHINESE

(From the Chinese Standpoint)

BY TAW SEIN KO, C.I.E., I.S.O.

[It may be recalled that in our last issue there was published a "symposium" of articles on the Pacific Problem by an English, American, and Japanese writer. Owing to exigencies of space, this article, written from the Chinese standpoint, has had to be curtailed, and details, particularly of the wars of 1839 and 1857, to be omitted.]

ON pages 568-576 of the ASIATIC REVIEW for October, 1925, is published Professor E. H. Parker's article on the above subject, which is treated as part and parcel of the Pacific problem. The mastery of the Pacific Ocean is, indeed, a question of vast importance. During the past centuries commerce or the international exchange of surplus commodities was looked upon, as it is at the present day, as the life-blood of nations, and the Centre of Gravity of Commerce changed from one ocean to another according to circumstances. In Europe the Mediterranean Sea was dominated by the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and the Carthaginians in the years both before and after the Christian era. Similarly, the Indian Ocean was dominated by the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Arabs, Indians, and the Chinese till the Cape of Good Hope was rounded by Vasco da Gama in A.D. 1497, when European merchants and adventurers, headed by the Portuguese, appeared in Asiatic waters. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the Dutch were supreme in maritime commerce; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the French and the English appeared on the scene, and the other European competitors were driven off the field by the British East India Company, which was founded under the auspices of Queen Elizabeth during the expiring days of A.D. 1600. In A.D. 1757 Clive won the Battle of Plassey, and laid the foundations of an extensive British Empire in India, and the merchants and clerks of that Company were turned into diplomatists, administrators,

military commanders, and revenue collectors; and Warren Hastings, who was the first of a series of illustrious Governors-General, consolidated the Indian Empire. Before the days of Warren Hastings, the Centre of Gravity of the World's Commerce was transferred from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean, and Madrid, Lisbon, Amsterdam, and London became the great emporia of Eastern trade. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there are indications to show that the Centre of Gravity of the World's Commerce is being transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. At one time it looked as if there were five countries which were contending for the mastery of the Pacific—namely, the United States of America, Germany, Russia, Japan, and China. Indeed, on one occasion, the late German Kaiser, William, on one of his historical cruises in the North Sea, saluted Nicholas, the late Czar of Russia, as the "Admiral of the Pacific." After the great European war of 1914-18, Germany and Russia were eliminated as possible competitors for the mastery of the Pacific. Although China and her dependencies exceed the whole of Europe in area and population, and although the Chinese are intelligent and brave soldiers, if they are properly led and organized, this huge empire has also to stand aside because of her internecine strife and her political and financial disorganization; therefore, there remain two countries—namely, the United States and Japan—which may be looked upon as the probable competitors in the contention for the mastery of the Pacific. America has her Monroe doctrine, which is indirectly safeguarded by the British navy; she is loath to be entangled in the political intricacies of Europe, and her annexation of the Philippine Islands was a departure from her established foreign policy. Indeed, by doing so, she has given a hostage to fortune, and has linked her fate to the vicissitudes of Asia for better or worse. On the other hand, Japan is ambitious, and wishes to follow in the footsteps of England in territorial and commercial expansion. Her

great argument is that her growing population requires more territory, and that she requires a more extensive commerce to employ and feed that growing population. In this matter her political morality is somewhat dubious. If there are several landed estates which adjoin one another, and if the owner of one of these estates has more offspring than his neighbours, is he justified in encroaching upon, or in forcibly wresting, the land of his neighbours? In recent years she has annexed Formosa and Korea, and, practically, Manchuria is in her possession, and yet her land-hunger has not yet been satisfied; her eyes are fixed upon other lands for occupation or annexation.

The differences between America and Japan are fundamental. The United States is determined to exclude all Asiatics from American citizenship, and she does not welcome Japanese immigration to California in large numbers. She has also restricted immigration from Europe, and the Scandinavian countries, Russia, Germany, Austria, and Italy are suffering from the effects of this restriction. During the last century America has absorbed annually about a million immigrants, and war has been staved off in Europe. It remains to be seen whether, in the coming years, war and strife will be more frequent in Europe owing to poverty, distress, the increase of population, pressure upon the soil, and a more intensified form of commercial rivalry. Among European countries, France was the first country to adopt and practise the teachings of Malthus for economic reasons. Will other countries follow her example in order to prevent future wars?

There is, however, a silver lining to the cloud. The League of Nations has ordained that, in all international disputes, the arbitrament of the sword should be abolished, and that all controversies should be submitted to the arbitration of the League. If, as is anticipated by all lovers of peace who dwell upon this God's earth, the reign of terror and the rattling of the sword are superseded by the reign of reason, sanity, and logic, any differences that may exist

between America and Japan will be happily composed through the sympathetic and humanitarian efforts of the League of Nations.

Whatever may happen in the immediate or distant future, China will still remain the pivot of the Pacific problem: her man-power, which requires to be organized, and her untold material resources, which require to be developed, are immense and extraordinary. If there is any contest in the future between America and Japan for the mastery of the Pacific, which may God forbid, the country which secures the assistance of China is bound to occupy an advantageous position. Already the political attitude of Japan towards her neighbour has changed materially. In 1915, while America was still neutral, and while England and France were engaged in the European war, she presented to Yuan Shih K'ai, the late President of the Chinese Republic, "Twenty-one Demands," which, if accepted, would practically turn China into a feudatory State. The Washington Conference of 1921-22, which settled the restriction of armaments and the cancellation of the treaty of alliance with England, which had subsisted for nearly two decades, modified the Japanese angle of vision.

The unsatisfactory political condition of China is a menace to the peace and commerce of the world, and is a serious obstacle to a satisfactory solution of the Pacific problem. In order to give peace, prosperity, and contentment to China we have to consider the genesis of her present difficulties so that we may be in a position to remove them. The East India Company had been turned from a corporation of merchants into a body of administrators, as one of the effects of the Battle of Plassey, won by Clive in 1757. In A.D. 1773 the Regulation Act was passed by Parliament, whereby the administration of the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal was vested in a single Governor-General, and under which Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General. As a pioneer he had to do a great deal of spade work in

organizing the executive, judicial, and revenue administration of the new territories transferred to his control. The great problem before him was how to raise and increase revenue so that he might be able to send home to the Directors of the Company, who were waiting to distribute larger dividends among the shareholders. At page 759 of his "Short History of the English People" Green says: "Although he raised the revenue of Bengal, and was able to send home every year a surplus of half a million to the Company, he did this without laying a fresh burden on the natives, or losing their good will." He secured this enhancement of revenue by creating an opium department controlled by the State, by extending the poppy cultivation in Bihar, by exporting to Canton the surplus produce of opium, and by appointing a British Superintendent of Trade at that Chinese centre, through which foreign trade was allowed to enter China.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a great deal of political importance centred round that Superintendent of Trade at Canton, whose political position was not officially recognized. The British Government in England was insistent that his position should be officially recognized by the Chinese Government, and that he should be treated as an equal or colleague of the Governor of Canton. The Chinese authorities simply brushed aside the questions raised by the British Government as mere "pin pricks." It must be remembered that China was a self-contained country, that she had attained a high state of civilization, that her neighbours were tributary to her, or in a lower scale of civilization, and that from time immemorial she had been accustomed to extort and exact tribute, homage, and respect from her neighbours, such as Korea, Tartary, Japan, Tibet, Nepal, Burma, Siam, and Tongkin. According to Sir Robert Hart, she has the best food—*i.e.*, rice; the best drink—*i.e.*, tea; and the best clothing—*i.e.*, cotton, silk, and fur. Of all countries in the world she could exist without any intercommunication or exchange of commo-

dities. Therefore, at that particular period, the Chinese Government, which was largely based upon the maxim *Vox populi, vox Dei*, felt herself justified in treating a British Superintendent of Trade at Canton as a mere "opium agent," and as a member of a subject or tributary nation.

At the same time there was a marked difference in the angle of vision with which the British and the Chinese looked upon opium. The latter looked upon it as a harmless article of trade, quite innocuous, whether smoked or eaten, and as an ordinary commodity of commerce, whose trade brings wealth to mankind. On the other hand, the former looked upon it as a most poisonous drug, which was capable of effecting physical, moral, and intellectual degradation, which would drain the wealth of the country and impoverish its people, and which would reduce the whole Chinese nation into a race of imbecile, slothful, and incapable slaves. In 1892 there was a Royal Commission on the opium trade, and I happened to be in England. I met Sir George Birdwood, I.M.S., one of the shining lights of the India Office, who had given evidence before that Commission. He told me most seriously that opium-eating was salutary to the Indians, as it acted as a relief to fatigue and to the diseases of the stomach, and also as a prophylactic against fever. He added that, in Burma as well as in China, opium-smoking was equally harmless, because it was just like smoking straw or cabbage leaves. How the opium trade in China grew, how it became more and more valuable, and how the Chinese people became more and more demoralized, are shown from the following extract from page 218, No. 4, Vol. 20, of the *China Review*: "As early as A.D. 1688 a regular duty on foreign imported opium was levied at Canton, but for seventy-seven years after that the annual import did not exceed 200 chests. By the year A.D. 1796, however, the annual rate of importation had risen to 4,100 chests, and the rapid spread of a taste for opium-smoking, and the consequent demoralization

of individuals who indulged in this vice, attracted the attention of Government. Accordingly an edict was published formally forbidding the importation."

Great credit was due to England for making repeated attempts to come to amicable terms with China in respect of her unsatisfactory and undignified position at Canton. However laudatory and condescending these efforts might be to England, which held the East in fee, in the absence of sympathy, mutual understanding, and an "honest broker," they were bound to be fruitless and futile. The Chinese were encrusted in arrogance and prejudice, and the British appeared to them to be mere traders in an attitude of supplication. In international affairs, when an *impasse* had been reached, which was impossible of any peaceful solution, the arbitrament of the sword was looked upon as the only remaining tribunal.

In A.D. 1795 Lord Macartney was sent on an embassy to Emperor Ch'ien Lung to endeavour to arrange for more intimate and cordial relationships between England and China. Two years before, the Chinese had invaded Nepal with 70,000 men, and had come within sixty miles of the British frontier. They subjugated the country and exacted from the Gurkhas a tribute of elephants and horses to be delivered at Peking once in every five years. The Chinese Emperor was then elated with joy, as he had just made a powerful impression as to his might and power on the British authorities in Bengal. The British Ambassador was invited to Jehol, the Imperial summer residence, where on two occasions an audience was given in the garden of the Imperial Palace. The concessions sought for by the East India Company were not granted. The second attempt made was even more unfortunate. An English peer—namely, Lord Amherst—was again selected, in order to make an impression on the Chinese imagination, and also to prove the sincerity and earnestness of the British Government, and the Ambassador reached Peking in A.D. 1816. A new Emperor, Chia Ch'ing, was on the throne. The

Ambassador declined to perform the *kowtow* (Chinese custom of genuflexion), and was dismissed from the Palace on the very day of his arrival.

Misfortunes fell thick upon China and the God of War awarded victory to the side possessing strong battalions. China had learned logic before the age of Aristotle, and had possessed a code of morals before the time of Socrates. In her international controversies, she placed too much reliance on the efficiency of logic, reason, morality, and the dictates of humanity. All these years she had not progressed much in the military arts.

In the year A.D. 1833 the Charter of the East India Company was abolished, the trade with China, including the opium trade, was thrown open to all British subjects, and an officer was appointed to protect their rights and to insist that they should be tried by the British law, and not by those of China. Here was inserted the thin end of the wedge of Extraterritoriality. The special officer selected for appointment as Chief Superintendent of Trade, with large powers to deal with the Chinese officials, as well as ample authority over his own countrymen, was Lord Napier. The new official reached Canton in the early part of A.D. 1834. His dealings with the Chinese authorities being unsatisfactory he retired to Macao, where he died in October of the same year.

The abolition of the East India Company's Charter created a new order of things in Canton. Trade having been thrown open to all-comers, a race of men appeared who were not disposed to be bound down by rules as their predecessors of the East India Company had been. The consumption of opium had grown so largely that a vast system of smuggling had sprung up that was entirely beyond the control of either the English or the Chinese. Indeed, Sir George Robinson, the third Superintendent of Trade, was so certain that this could not be suppressed that he actually wrote to Lord Palmerston (February 5, 1836) suggesting that the growth of the poppy should be

discontinued in British India, as the one certain way in which the difficulty could be met.

In the midst of these difficulties created by the opium trade, the direction of affairs in England was placed in the hands of a strong-minded statesman, Lord Palmerston, who died when he was eighty-one years old in 1865, full of years and honour. Being a disciple of Canning, he carried out that statesman's foreign policy with vigour. In his capacity either as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs or as Prime Minister, he moulded the destinies of England in her relationship with China during the two opium wars which broke out in 1839 and 1857.

When the latter broke out, Hs'ien Fung was Emperor of China and Lord Elgin was British Plenipotentiary. The Tientsin Treaty of Peace was ratified on October 24, 1860.

After ratifying the Treaty of Tientsin, Lord Elgin crossed over to Tokyo, where he signed a similar Treaty of Friendship and Commerce, whereby England undertook not to engage herself in the opium trade within Japanese territories. It may be noted that the United States has bound herself by a similar self-denying ordinance in respect of both China and Japan. Somehow, Japan has remained beyond the scope of the operations of the East India Company, and by inserting such a provision, as stated above, Lord Elgin was only confirming a *status quo ante*.

Beside the non-entry of opium into Japan provided for by Lord Elgin in 1860, Japan gained another serious advantage over China. Her students were admitted into the American Naval College at West Point, and, through them, the Japanese learnt the art of naval strategy; the value of naval power in both offence and defence; and the supremacy of sea-power, as taught by Captain Mahan, over all land forces. Furthermore, whenever the Japanese gave out a contract for the construction of a man-of-war, they always stipulated that some Japanese workmen or architects should be allowed to learn the art of naval

construction in the dockyard of the English contractor. By such means, the Japanese became experts in naval warfare, and such knowledge had a telling effect on their behalf in their struggle with China in 1894-95, and with Russia ten years later.

Since the signing of the Treaties of Friendship and Commerce between England on the one hand and China and Japan on the other in 1860, momentous events have happened in the Far East. The Americans have entrenched themselves in the Philippine Islands after their war with Spain in 1898. There was the Chino-Japanese war of 1894-5, followed by the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, and, again, by the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5. In 1911 China was herself turned from a Monarchy into a Republic, thereby obliterating the major portion of her time-honoured traditions. Finally, there was a great cataclysm affecting the whole world—namely, the Great European War of 1914-1918. By that war the values of international relationships and the efficacy of human vindictiveness in matters of self-assertion and wounded pride and honour were considerably changed. A new era of peace has dawned upon the world; and Democracy has proudly lifted up its head; and the whole world, with universal acclamation, looks to the "Five Great Powers"—namely, the United States, England, France, Italy, and Japan—which have successfully achieved the peace of Europe after signing the Treaty of Versailles on November 11, 1918, to be so humanitarian as to arrange also for the peace and welfare of China. The United States, at the present time, has a population of over 110 millions; she has the highest credit in the financial world, and her coffers are full of cash and bullion. England, under a Conservative Ministry led by Mr. Stanley Baldwin, and with Mr. Austen Chamberlain in the Foreign Office, has succeeded in reviving her days of prosperity at home and of influence abroad. France, in spite of her changing ministries, is still the leader of Continental Europe, and her achievements in the past, in colonial expansion, have been

great. Italy, under Signor Mussolini, is reviving the glories of her past in politics, finance, and commerce. Japan is the foremost Power in Asia, and is the first to enter the European comity of nations. Her talents and resources are great, and her commerce is tending to encompass the whole of India and Eastern Asia.

China wants two things very badly: *Firstly*, she wants her tariff duties, which were fixed by the British Treaty of 1843, to be raised to a reasonable level. At present she cannot protect her industries because she is a dumping ground of all nations. She cannot raise a sufficient customs revenue for State purposes, as she is bound down to levy an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. on all goods entering Chinese ports. Her administration, therefore, cannot, for want of sufficient funds, be improved to satisfy the requirements of a modern State. If she is allowed liberty, as a Sovereign Power, to fix her own customs tariff compatible with the interest of the Treaty Powers, she will, no doubt, be delighted, and her advancement on modern lines would go forward without any interruption. *Secondly*, there remains the burning question of Extraterritoriality, under which all foreigners on Chinese soil are subject to their own consular jurisdiction. Several years ago a similar question was raised in Japan, and the Japanese solved it by codifying their laws on the European model, and by reforming their judiciary. China cannot, at the present time, follow the example of Japan, because her population is ten times that of Japan, and because she exceeds in area the whole of Europe. For the present, it would, perhaps, be quite sufficient, for practical purposes, if any foreigner, brought up before a judge or magistrate, was tried by two Chinese Judicial Officers with the aid of three Assessors belonging to the nationality of the accused or defendant. If, in any case of difference of opinion, the decision is given by the majority of votes, not exclusively belonging to the same nationality, there would be no miscarriage of justice.

For a foreigner to have sympathy and mutual under-

standing in dealing with the Chinese, he must get into their very skins: he must know their language, history, custom, and tradition. It is well known that, in China, there are foreign merchants, who have resided there for more than thirty or forty years, and yet who cannot read or speak a word of Chinese. While the number of Chinese who have studied foreign languages has increased, the number of Europeans who become acquainted with Chinese has been reduced, and the social and the official intercourse between the two peoples is attended by friction and unpleasantness.

In politics, as in religion, Nationalism, which is based on egoism and unscrupulousness, must be superseded by altruism and conscientiousness: otherwise there can be no brotherhood of man, no equality between man and man, no peace and goodwill upon earth, and the fabric of civilization which has been built up during the last five thousand years must be utterly destroyed.

HER HIGHNESS THE BEGUM OF BHOPAL

BY COLONEL M. J. MEADE, C.I.E.

THE presence in London of a veiled lady, an Eastern potentate, and the ruler of one of the most important States in India, has excited much curiosity and interest. It is understood that the object of her visit to England at this season of the year is due to her wish to have the question of the succession settled and approved by the British Government. Her eldest son died a few months ago, leaving a son, and it is known that the Begum wishes her own surviving son to succeed her, and not her grandson. As the matter is important, and will be a precedent in future, it is not desirable to discuss it here, but a brief account of Her Highness and of her State, by one who was long associated with both, will probably interest many of our readers. The title Begum is of Central Asian origin. It is the female of Beg, and was originally given to the wives of Begs, local chiefs, and nobles. When the Muhammadans conquered India, they brought their own customs and titles with them, and Muhammadan ladies of high birth are generally called Begums. There have been four ruling Begums in Bhopal, but it is a mistake to suppose that the chiefship must go to a woman. The original conquerors of Bhopal were a party of Afghans, and their commanders were called Nawabs, their wives being styled Begums. It has been the practice for many years for the rulers of Bhopal to apply to the British Government, whom they acknowledged as their lords and suzerains, for approval to their selection of their heirs in the chiefship. For instance, the mother of the present Begum obtained the approval of the Government of India to the succession of her daughter, who became the "Wali Ahud" or heir-apparent. Similarly, the present Begum, when she was

installed ruler by the writer of this memoir, at once expressed her wish that her eldest son should be recognized as her heir. This was done, and he would have continued the heir had he lived. But he and his next brother have died, and the only surviving child of the present ruler is her youngest son, Nawab Zada Hamed Ullah Khan. If it was a question merely of the succession to private property, the son would, by Muhammadan law, have a prior claim to a grandson, but when the succession is to a chiefship or a State, the question is not so simple, and involves long inquiries into the practice which has prevailed not only in the Bhopal family, but in other great Muhammadan families—Delhi, Oude, Hyderabad, etc. This will no doubt take a long time to complete, and until it is settled the Begum will, presumably, remain in Europe. Bhopal, her capital, is a very picturesque city on the shores of two large sheets of water. An old fort frowns at one extremity, and the ancient walls, though no longer of any use, are still kept up, the old gates being closed and locked at sundown as they were in the dim past, when the precaution had an object. Beautiful and graceful minarets and mosques give a brilliancy and colour to the general view of the city, which patches of bright green help to make even brighter. There are two large lakes, one beyond the other, which are generally full, as there is an extensive catchment area, and the sagacity and generosity of the Qudsia Begum, an ancestress of the present ruler, introduced an excellent water-supply from the lakes for the whole city. No doubt there are squalid portions of the town, but the *tout ensemble* is very delightful, especially when viewed from the Lal Kothi, a house which the Shah Jehan Begum provided for the use of the Political Agent when living in Bhopal, and which commands an extensive view of the city and its lakes.

Bhopal was originally called Bhoj Pal after its founder, a certain Raja Bhoj, who made the pal or bund across the river, and so formed the beautiful lakes. He also built the

city, which remained in Hindu hands till the decay of the Moghul Empire, when hordes of Afghans and other trans-frontier peoples invaded Hindostan. Among them were the Mirazi Khels, the ancestors of the Bhopal family, who established themselves in Bhopal, which they held successfully against all comers. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Warren Hastings sent a force from Upper India to the Bombay Presidency, and the leader, a certain Colonel Goddard, visited Bhopal on his way and received a warm welcome from the then ruler, who entered into a pact with the British, to which the Bhopal Durbar have always adhered most faithfully. Her Highness, at a recent interview, reminded the writer of this memoir that Bhopal had always been true and loyal to the British and had never fought against us as other States had done. No doubt this is partly due to political sagacity, for the Afghans in Bhopal were a small minority, surrounded by powerful Hindu neighbours, and if Bhopal has stuck to the English, the latter have, in turn, done much to maintain Bhopal and its rulers. But we think that the chief reason for the undoubted affection there has been between the Bhopal Durbar and the British is a certain similarity in character between the two parties to the pact. Both admire the other for certain qualities which both possess, and it is to be hoped that this feeling will long continue. The present Begum is the fourth lady who has sat on the Bhopal musuad. Her predecessors were the *Qudsia*, who generously gave Bhopal an abundant water-supply from the lakes; the *Sikunder* (Alexander), who aided our troops in person during the great mutiny in 1857-1858, which resulted in great increase in territory for the State, and much glory and honour for the ruler; the Shah Jehan (Shah of the World), who was installed about 1867 by Colonel (Sir Richard) Meade, then Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, and ruled for nearly thirty-two years. On her death, in 1901, her daughter, the Sultan Jehan (Sultan of the World), succeeded, and has ruled ever since with

great success. All the Begums have had considerable literary ability, and wrote several books, but the present ruler has undoubtedly far outshone her predecessors, and some of her works, giving long and minute accounts of her life, of her administration, and of her travels, are admirable. She has also taught herself English, and can understand and speak it well. This must be a great relief to her political officers, who are no longer obliged to translate difficult speeches by viceroys and other high officials. *A propos* of this there was in our early days an amusing story about an interview between the Shah Jehan Begum and Lord Lytton, then Viceroy. He wished to make some friendly and complimentary remarks, and said: "Tell Her Highness I hear she has written some books, and that her mother, the Sikumder Begum, was also an authoress. My father was a famous novelist, and I too have meandered through the flowery paths of literature, so I feel we shall have much in common." The unfortunate officer was quite unable to do justice to this flowery speech, and could only stammer out to the Begum that the Viceroy had heard she had written a book, and that her mother had also written one; that the Viceroy's father had written many books, and he had also written several. So he was very pleased to meet her. Lord Lytton, though he did not know Hindustani, saw at once that his remarks had not been properly translated, and he asked: "Have you told Her Highness *all* I said?" "Oh, yes," replied the English officer, on which the Viceroy remarked: "Indeed, then Hindustani must be a very comprehensive language." This would not have occurred with the present Begum, who requires no help in ordinary conversation. This is not Her Highness's first visit to London, as she was among the numerous visitors to the present King's Coronation. During her present visit she has mixed freely with the brightest intellects in England, and has done all she can to aid good projects.

ZIONISM AND PALESTINE*

BY LIEUT. - GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

THE Jewish nation under the stress of modern ideas is no longer content to wait until some Divine interposition shall fulfil their hopes and restore the kingdom to Israel. When religion was the dominant factor in politics, when wars were waged to secure the frontiers of Christendom against the inroads of Islam, or to maintain the rival claims of a Catholic or Protestant ruler to a European throne, the Jew was content with his blind faith in the promises of his old prophets who foretold a Messianic redemption of Israel, and his restoration to the land once allotted to him by Jehovah. But by degrees the political implications of nationality replaced those of religion.

"The modern world was a world of nations struggling to become States, and of States which declared with growing emphasis that they were homogeneous nations, a world in which political affiliations, race, language, and even creed, competed with one another as the criteria of nationality, and in which the State and the nation were ideally conterminous."

The Jewish Nationalists drew a twofold inference. In such a world the Jews could never, at the best, be anything but second-class citizens, except in a State of their own. Conversely, if they were indeed a nation, they were already a State in embryo.

These ideas resulted in a change from the patient attitude of expectation with which the Jews had looked forward to their eventual return to Palestine, to an attempt at active co-operation with the Divine purpose. The anti-Semitic movement which obsessed France and Germany about the year 1880, one of the episodes of which was the Dreyfus

* "Zionism," by Leonard Stein. Ernest Benn, Ltd.

trial, and the atrocious pogroms and persecutions of the Jews in Russia and Rumania, which led to the emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe to the United States, gave a great stimulus to Zionism. The first Zionist Congress was held in August, 1897, at Basel, under the presidency of Theodor Herzl, and perpetuated itself in the Zionist organization.

"The Zionist of the early days was an idealist who deliberately exposed himself to derision and misunderstanding. To the emancipated Jews, who desired nothing so little as to attract unnecessary attention, he was an *enfant terrible*. To the reformers, who saw in Zionism, not a mere inconvenience, but a menace to spiritual values which they sincerely prized, he was equally obnoxious. To the ultra-orthodox at the opposite end of the scale, he was little better than an unbeliever engaged in a presumptuous attempt to force the hand of the Almighty. To cool and detached men of affairs he was in any case but a visionary in pursuit of a chimera. Thus the Zionists paid the price of being in advance of their times."

Theodor Herzl declared that "Zionism is a homecoming to the Jewish folk even before it becomes a homecoming to the Jewish land." Another Zionist, Achad Ha'am, declared that "Zionism had at its very root the hope of attaining in Palestine, at some future date, absolute independence in the conduct of national life."

In 1903 the British Government, at the instance of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, made the Zionist organization a provisional offer of 6,000 square miles of territory in British East Africa. The Zionist executive sent out a Commission to East Africa and received a somewhat discouraging report. Mr. Israel Zangwill was in favour of the acceptance of the British offer, but the Russian Zionists, who formed the backbone of the movement, vehemently declared that the offer must on no account be entertained, that the Jewish national home must be in Palestine and nowhere else. And the second Zionist Congress placed it on record that warmly

as the British offer was appreciated, the Zionist organization was concerned only with Palestine and the neighbouring countries.

The Zionists then opened negotiations with the Turkish Sultan Abdul Hamid for the purchase of Palestine outright. But they found him a hard bargainer, and the price demanded was beyond their power to pay. The Young Turks were no more compliant, and the hope of obtaining a charter from the Porte proved illusory. The Zionists now changed their plans, and instead of trying to set up a Jewish State in Palestine, they contented themselves with the prospect of establishing in the country a national home for the Jews alongside of the existing Arab population, which they had not hitherto taken into consideration, but which they found themselves obliged to reckon with. In pursuance of this idea the eleventh Zionist Congress, which met at Vienna in 1913, committed itself to an ambitious programme of colonization. In the following twelve months as many as 6,000 Jewish immigrants entered Palestine, and a definite scheme was worked out for the establishment of a Hebrew University in Jerusalem. A Zionist agency at Jaffa occupied itself with the purchase of land for the settlement of Jewish agricultural colonies. There was no lack of money for carrying out their scheme, for the movement was liberally financed by Baron Edmond de Rothschild and other wealthy Jews of Europe and the United States of America. But all their activities were suddenly and tragically interrupted by the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, and the entrance of Turkey into the conflict on the side of Germany.

The appearance of the British Army under General Allenby on the soil of Palestine revived the hopes of the Zionists and renewed their activities. Their leaders had throughout the war been in close touch with the British Government, which had shown, more than any other, its sympathy with their views. The negotiations carried on for a considerable period resulted in the famous Balfour

declaration, approved by the British Cabinet and communicated by Mr. Balfour to Lord Rothschild on November 2, 1917. It ran as follows :

" His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

It will be observed that this is a very guarded statement of policy, but such as it is, it has since been repeatedly reaffirmed by successive British Governments, and faithfully adhered to. Both the French and Italian Governments had been kept informed of what was in progress, and the Balfour Declaration was not issued until their concurrence was assured.

But the Peace Conference was for long fully occupied in settling the affairs of Europe, and the territories affected by the war in Asia were unwisely, if not unnaturally, left to look after themselves. It was not until three years later, when the Supreme Council met at San Remo in 1920, that it was definitely decided that Great Britain should administer Palestine under a mandate, and should make herself responsible for giving effect to the Balfour Declaration.

Thus the Holy Land of three religious faiths—Jewish, Christian, and Mussalman (for the latter know Jerusalem by the name of Al Quds, the Holy), for more than a century the battle-ground between Asia and Europe, between Christendom and Islam, the object of contention between Catholic and Orthodox Monarchs, between Popes and Patriarchs, has fallen into the hands of a Protestant Power, which has already found its work cut out for it in the attempt to reconcile the racial enmities and religious feuds of the many and various communities which inhabit its borders and quarrel over its shrines. Already the Arabs (a mongrel race which has assumed the name and language

of the early Muhammadan conquerors of the Roman Provinces), who form nine-tenths of the population, have shown themselves keenly resentful of the favour shown to the Jewish minority by the British administration. A Jew from a family which had shown its British sympathies by adopting the name of Montagu, was made governor and the Hebrew tongue, which was as dead in Judea as Gaelic is in Ireland, was made an official language along with English and Arabic. Consequently the Arabs have turned sulky and have declined to accept the ample share in the administration offered to them by their British rulers. It will be curious to watch the further developments of this strange situation, and it will be watched with interest by all the nations of the civilized world, for the belief that the Jews are God's chosen people is generally tacitly accepted by Christian nations.

When we come to examine the grounds for this belief, we find that it originated with the Jews themselves, and that it lacks corroboration from external sources or from the facts of history. It is not uncommon for people to assume that their own nation is especially favoured by Providence; we hear of Holy Russia, of the Divine descent of Rajput and Chinese dynasties, even of "God Almighty's Free United States." But the Semitic race surpasses all other in its claim to an exclusive possession of the Divine favour. At first, Jehovah was only the national God of Israel. Jephthah says to the Ammonite: "The land that Chemosh thy God giveth thee to possess, wilt thou not possess it? so also the land that Jehovah our God giveth to us, that will we possess."

But Jehovah came to be "a great King above all gods," and, finally, when Israel had become monotheistic, the gods of the heathen were discovered to be only wood and stone, and the Gentiles who worshipped them, objects of the Divine disfavour and the enemies of God's chosen people. But the confidence of the Israelites in their peculiar destiny was not shared by their neighbours. They were a small

people, both numerically and politically, and their power and influence were not in proportion with their pretensions.

They made no mark in the great world, and their existence is ignored by ancient historians; even the land of which they boasted as God-given was not called after them, but after the Philistines, a Gentile nation, probably of Grecian origin, that had come oversea to colonize the coast of Palestine, and Palestine, the land of the Philistines, it was to the world at large, and is so to this day.

The Persian poet Nizami, in his epilogue to the Sikandar Nâma, says in praise of his own patron :

"Farang o Falastin o Rahbân-i-Rûm,
Pazirâ-i Firmân-i Mohrash chu Mûm."

"The Pope of Rome, Europe, and Palestine,
Accepting like wax the imprint of His sign."

For the history of Israel we have only the warrant of the Hebrew Scriptures, written under the impression of a continuous Divine interference in mundane affairs, similar to that of the priest-ridden peoples of Europe in the Dark Ages, who decided quarrels by the ordeal of battle, in the firm belief that God would secure the triumph of the right. When fortune favoured them, the Israelites attributed their victory to the aid of Jehovah; when they were defeated it was because He was angry with them on account of their disobedience to His laws. In their implicit trust in Him they dared to resist the mighty empires of Assyria and Babylon, and experienced the truth of Napoleon's adage, that Providence is on the side of *les gros Bataillons*. Even their final subjection by the Gentiles could not triumph over their blind belief or abate their sublime self-conceit. It was impossible that God could have changed His purpose and deserted His people. The withdrawal of His protection could be only temporary and probationary. Hence arose the Messianic idea that God would some day send a Deliverer to restore the kingdom to Israel, and His people to the land which He had given them. As the prospect of escape from their enforced submission to

Gentile rule became more remote, this idea took deeper root and was fostered by false prophets like the Pseudo-Daniel, who excited the imagination of their hearers until they burst into unanimous insanity, and the tiny nation marched its puny strength against the whole might of the Roman Empire, and with the only possible result. Yet the blood of the myriads, slain by the legions of Titus, was hardly dried on the ruins of Jerusalem, when we find the miserable remnants again defying the might of Rome under the ominous guidance of Bar-Kau-kab (son of the star). This time the dispersion and ruin was complete and final.

The Gentile world had looked on amused and astonished at these outbursts of what seemed senseless fanaticism that recalled the era of the Maccabees: and the Romans ridiculed Jewish credulity in the phrase "*Credat Judæus!*" by which they replied to any assertion of facts that seemed to them incredible or impossible.

But the advent of Christianity caused a complete change in the attitude of the world towards Judaism. Christ and His Apostles were Jews, and inherited the traditions and the literature of the Jewish nation, and transmitted their belief to their disciples. The claim of the Jews to be a chosen people was admitted, and their unparalleled misfortunes were explained as a Divine punishment for their rejection of Christ as the promised Messiah. Through centuries of European history this proved a convenient and satisfactory explanation of the dislike of the Jew, which has its real origin in the natural racial enmity between the Aryan and the Semite.

The endurance of the Jewish nation through twenty centuries of dispersion and persecution has been adduced by Christian theologians as a proof of the especial protection of Providence; but their case is not altogether singular.

The Armenians, a Christian nation conquered and persecuted by their Mussalman neighbours, have, like the

Jews, been scattered throughout many countries of Asia and Europe, and have lately undergone fresh exile and persecution by the Turks, to the eternal disgrace of the Great Powers of Christendom, who viewed their sufferings unmoved, and especially of the Germans, who were the aiders and abettors of the Turkish barbarities. The Parsis of India are another people of exiles from their native soil of Persia for the sake of their religion, who have preserved their faith and their national habits and customs unaltered for fifteen centuries in a strange land. And among all these scattered nations their dispersion has had one similar effect: the national genius, debarred from political and military activities, has focussed all its energies on finance and commerce. As bankers, merchants, and financiers, Jews, Armenians, and Parsis have become famous and wealthy citizens of the lands of their exile. Already two millions sterling, subscribed by the wealthy Jews of Europe and America, have been expended in establishing Jewish colonies and in settling Jewish colonists on the land in Palestine. And their exodus from the lands of their exile is hastened by the outbreak of anti-Semitism, due partly to the envy and jealousy aroused by Jewish wealth and the consequent growth of Jewish influence, and partly to the spirit of religious persecution which has not yet been wholly eliminated from the Catholic and Orthodox branches of the Christian Church.

Mr. Leonard Stein, in surveying the present conditions of the Jewish resettlement in Palestine, says:

"As a result of the war, there are to-day two great civilizing forces at work in Palestine—on the one hand, the British mandatory, and on the other hand, the Jews.

"The Government of Palestine is not infallible, and it goes without saying that it has had its failures as well as its successes. But this is not the place to discuss its work in detail. What is unquestionable is that it has set an entirely new standard of orderly and enlightened administration. Only those who knew Palestine in the days of the Turks can fully appreciate all that it owes to the British mandate.

"This is the indispensable background to the Jewish

effort. On the other hand, with this important reservation, it is not too much to say that almost every advance which Palestine has recently made, whether in agriculture or industry, in art, science, or learning, is due, in the main, to the presence of the Jews."

We no longer believe that Jerusalem is the actual centre of the world as it is represented to be in the mediæval Mappa Mundi still hanging on the wall in Hereford Cathedral. But apart from its geographical situation and historical association, Palestine, the Holy Land of three great religious faiths (for Islamism at its core is only Judaism writ large) still exercises a spiritual fascination over the mind of mankind, and its future destiny still excites the interest of the civilized world.

Zionism is bound to play a great part in the development of that future destiny, and in his clear and unbiassed account of its origin, aims, and activities, Mr. Leonard Stein has rendered good service to the world at large.

CORRESPONDENCE

"LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIA"

To the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW

DEAR SIR,

It has been brought to my notice that what I said in my article on "Labour Legislation in India" in the October number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, in regard to the system of payment of wages in the Bombay Cotton Mill Industry, is open to misconception. It is well known that in Bombay wages are paid monthly, and that the wages for January, for instance, will be paid between February 10 and 15. In stating in my article that the wages were paid six weeks in arrears, I had in mind the weekly system of payments in vogue in European countries, and also in the jute mills in Calcutta. I regret that my statement was open to any misunderstanding.

In the same article I referred to the system of fines imposed in many cases on factory operatives. It has given me much pleasure to learn from the Chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association that nowadays "fines are only imposed in Bombay cotton mills for bad work, only when cloth is spoilt and unsaleable."

I also regret that in the same article the number of persons employed in

the coal-mines in the Birbhum district was by error stated to be 12,000 instead of 350.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly insert this letter in the next issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

Yours faithfully,

G. J. CHATTERJEE.

October 29, 1925.

To the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW

DEAR SIR,

1. The attention of the Committee of the Bombay Millowners' Association has been drawn to the article on "Labour Legislation in India," contributed to the October number of your REVIEW by Lady Chatterjee.

2. Many of the views expressed by Lady Chatterjee are such as would not be endorsed by those who have practical experience of the needs of Labour in this country. My Committee, however, do not propose to offer any criticisms on the views expressed by Lady Chatterjee, but they desire your and Lady Chatterjee's attention to be drawn to the fact that certain statements made by her are not in accordance with facts.

3. In more than one place in her article Lady Chatterjee has stated that in the Bombay Cotton Mill Industry wages of operatives are paid six weeks in arrears. This is not true, for the operatives get their wages for a particular month within the first ten to fifteen days of the succeeding month.

4. The remarks made in the last paragraph but one of the article regarding fines are also wide of the mark. Lady Chatterjee says: "Many firms have very elaborate systems of fines in force. Not only do they make deductions of wages for double the length of absence, but they also withhold wages when workers leave without giving due notice. The fines relating to faulty work are also in many cases severe. As the workers are in the majority of cases illiterate, and as wages are, in the Bombay Cotton Mill Industry, for instance, paid six weeks in arrears, it is not possible for them either to check the amount of the fines deducted from their wages, or even to comprehend exactly for what reasons the fines have been imposed."

The above statement constitutes a complete travesty of the true facts so far as the Cotton Mill Industry is concerned. Fines are imposed only when workmen turn out bad work—e.g., when cloth is spoilt and unsaleable. The fines, however, are comparatively very light. It is entirely incorrect to say, as Lady Chatterjee does, that reduction of wages is made for double the length of absence. It is regrettable that, starting from wrong premises that wages are paid six weeks in arrears, and that heavy fines are imposed on workmen, Lady Chatterjee draws conclusions which are altogether unwarranted.

5. As regards the Weekly Payments Bill introduced by Mr. Chaman Lal in the Legislative Assembly, and which meets with the warm approval of Lady Chatterjee, she and your readers generally will be interested to know that, some months before Mr. Chaman Lal's Bill was introduced, His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson, Governor of Bombay, personally took up with this Association the question of making fortnightly payments to mill-

workers instead of monthly payments as hitherto. Individual members of the Association were requested to elicit the opinion of the workpeople as to whether they would prefer monthly or fortnightly wages. An overwhelming majority of workpeople expressed themselves strongly opposed to the introduction of the system of fortnightly payments of wages, and insisted on the continuance of the present system. My Committee desire me to draw your special attention to pp. 105-107 and 408-416 of the Association's Report for 1924, a copy of which I have pleasure in forwarding to you in a separate cover for your kind acceptance. You will find therein set forth the views of the mill operatives in great detail. If the mill operatives had shown any preference for the system of fortnightly payments the Association would have certainly asked its members to pay wages to operatives every fortnight. In the light of this information you will agree that Lady Chatterjee's remarks in connection with Mr. Chaman Lal's Bill are not well founded, and take no cognizance of the real needs and wishes of Indian labour.

Yours faithfully,

T. MALONEY,

November 6, 1925.

Secretary, Millowners' Association, Bombay.

To the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW

DEAR SIR,

I am much indebted to you for letting me see the letter of November 6 from the Secretary to the Millowners' Association, Bombay. I have very little to add to what I said to you in my letter of October 29. I have since then found that Professor Burnett-Hurst (*vide* pp. 57 and 58 of his recently published work on "Labour and Housing in Bombay," *P. S. King and Son*, 1925), and the writer of two signed articles in the *Servant of India* of November 20 and 27, 1924, have referred to the system of fines in Bombay cotton mills, and their accounts do not differ in any important respect from the statement that I had made in my article in the October issue of your REVIEW, and which I gladly modified on receipt of information supplied by the Chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association.

Yours faithfully,

G. J. CHATTERJEE.

November 24, 1925.

"THE TRADITION OF ISLAM"

To the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW

DEAR SIR,

There is one sentence in Professor Massignon's review of my book, "The Tradition of Islam," printed in the October number of the ASIATIC REVIEW, which is inaccurate and misleading. Kindly allow me to comment on it. He wrote: "... two appendices, the first entitled 'The Caliphate according to Tradition,' which title, however, does not strictly describe its matter, as it is merely a summary of Nallino's 'Appunti.'"

In the first place, to be strictly accurate, the title of my Appendix A, is "The Caliphate *in* Tradition," which does not mean quite the same thing.

In the second, my summary of this burning question owes nothing to, and has nothing to do with, Nallino's illuminating monograph. The sources of my information are clearly stated: they are Ibn Khaldun and 'Al Suyuti; and I have left these two writers to speak for themselves.

I realize that Professor Massignon's review may have been given a different nuance in translation: at all events I am sure he will acquit me of the charge of epitomizing any but the two Arabic authors I have named on pp. 159 and 168.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

October 13, 1925.

ALFRED GUILLAUME.

THE MOSUL QUESTION

Colonel Sir Charles Yate has asked us to reprint the following letter from the *Morning Post* (November 19):

TURKS AND ASSYRIAN CHRISTIANS

(To the Editor of the "*Morning Post*.")

SIR,—I see that a memorial to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has been published at p. 683 of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for October, 1925, at the request of the Near and Middle East Association.

I was invited in the name of Captain E. N. Bennett, Chairman of the Committee of the Near and Middle East Association, to sign this memorial, but refused, and as the memorial has now been published I think it only right that the reason why I myself, and possibly others as well, refused to sign it, should also be published. In my reply, addressed to the Secretary of the Near and Middle East Association, I stated as follows:

"I must decline at once to sign the draft memorial or to have anything to do with it whatsoever. I hope that the Near and Middle East Association before putting their names to such a document will well consider the article headed 'The Cabinet and Irak' in a London newspaper of September 8, 1925, and not run the risk of embarrassing the Government in the midst of the very delicate negotiations they are now carrying on. To my mind nothing is more calculated to discredit the Near and Middle East Association than the issue of such a letter as you propose."

I think the communication from Baghdad in to-day's *Morning Post* (p. 13) headed "Turkish Cruelty in Goyan," in which their own correspondent confirms, as he says, beyond any doubt, the truth of the reports about the atrocities perpetrated by the Turks against the Assyrian and Chaldean Christians north of the Brussels line, and describes the sad plight of those who have escaped into Irak territory, adds additional weight to my refusal, and also to the appeal by the Archbishop of Canterbury on behalf of these unfortunate Christians.

I trust that the action taken by His Majesty's Government in the settlement of the Mosul Boundary will meet with general support.

Yours, etc.,

Carlton Club, November 17.

CHAS. E. YATE.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN INDIA

By C. A. SILBERRAD, I.C.S. (RETD.)

AMID the clash and noise wherein the one per cent. of the population of India which can make itself heard is vigorously asserting that it is aiming at establishing democratic rule—an operation which some think may rather result in an oligarchy—there is much reason to fear that a system conducive predominantly to the interests of the ninety and nine per cent. that make no noise is too likely to be overlooked; and this is the more to be deplored seeing that the former is based on a type of government which so far has only been found really to succeed among the nations inhabiting a comparatively small area in the north-west of Europe and their immediate offspring, whereas the latter is indigenous to the peoples of India. I refer to the village panchayat.

The village panchayat is an institution which has the misfortune to have suffered at the hands of both friends and enemies—in both cases mainly by reason of insufficient acquaintance with it. Its friends have idealized it so that the practical man looks askance at it; its enemies have damned it for not being sufficiently ideal.

There is nothing ideal as opposed to practical about it; it is merely a committee of the chief residents of a village, recognized by their fellow residents as the most influential in the place; the number may be the five (*panch*) implied by the name, but very often is not. Its origin is lost in the mists of antiquity, and it doubtless grew up naturally without anything akin to the "social contract" or other invention of the idealists—being the natural result of the efforts of a self-contained community living largely in isolation and largely free from any centralized governmental

control to manage their own affairs and supplement what the Government failed to provide.

Until about a hundred years ago, and more particularly in the anarchy of the eighteenth century, the chief—and I might say almost the only—function of government to which attention was paid was the collection of revenue. Administration in the modern sense of the word, and all that in the modern state is grouped under local self-government, were largely neglected, and courts of justice were few and far between, while what there were were frequently venal. These circumstances forced the villagers to become to a large extent small self-governing communities, a process probably encouraged by the pressure of the revenue demand which, especially in the eighteenth century, was so heavy that it could only be met by the joint effort of the whole community, which indeed was held to be jointly and severally responsible for it.

With the establishment of British rule this *raison d'être* for the village panchayat ceased, and as village self-government was at that time an institution practically unknown in England, the importance of maintaining the panchayats was not recognized. Although considerable use was, as a matter of fact, made of the cohesion of the village community, and the leading men were expected to exert influence over their neighbours, little or nothing was done to give any legal sanction to their power, which was gradually undermined by the existence of a strong centralized Government, easily accessible courts of law, and the spread of education, which showed those who wished to resist the general opinion of their neighbours how to do so successfully.

For many years the process continued but slowly, so slowly as to be scarcely perceptible, though from time to time there were warnings of the evil results thereof, and attempts more or less futile or ill-directed were made to check it, but on the whole it was forgotten that a time must come when personal influence unsupported by any legal sanction must fail. This is scarcely to be wondered at, seeing that it is

only within quite recent years that anything of the nature of village self-government—i.e., parish councils—has been introduced into England, and these with powers very much less than were in practice exercised by the Indian village panchayat. Thus it came to pass that though it is generally accepted that such panchayats flourished to a greater or less extent throughout India, it was customary to assume that they had fallen into unrevivable desuetude, and for this reason, though in most of the provinces of India Acts have been passed—generally quite recently—allowing the establishment of legally recognized panchayats, it would appear that, with few exceptions, comparatively little has been done to bring them into active existence.

In Madras and Burma, though in the former little and in the latter, I believe, nothing has been done as regards panchayats—which indeed seem never to have existed, or, if so, to an inappreciable extent in Burma—much has been done to recognize and give authority to the village headman, who is certainly an indigenous institution in those provinces. The resuscitation of the headman in Lower Burma after the annexation of Upper Burma, where he was found to be a living authority, is a good augury for the possibility of reviving the indigenous institution now under consideration in a form suited to modern requirements. It would seem doubtfully possible if the powers proposed for conferment on panchayats other than those of disposing of petty civil and criminal cases could be conferred on the headman alone, so that if this is done in Burma a committee of some sort should apparently be associated with the headman at least for these purposes. But it must always be remembered that conditions in Burma are so different from those in India that it by no means follows that what suits the one country suits the other. In Madras there has long been a permissive panchayat Act, but of this very little use has been made. In Bengal something more definite has been done as regards using panchayats, but elsewhere I believe I am still right in saying very little.

It will now be useful to consider how far village panchayats of the old type still survive (and here I should perhaps make it clear that I use the term village panchayats in contradistinction to caste panchayats, with which I am not now concerned). In doing this I propose, at the risk of being deemed egotistical, to relate some personal experiences. In the first place, it must be remembered that such survivals are now as a rule not particularly visible unless carefully looked for. Such a panchayat inevitably deals with many matters susceptible of coming into a court of law, civil or criminal. There are also regulations regarding "concealment of crime" which appear more drastic than they really are in the eyes of the villager, and, I may add, as largely explaining this attitude, in those of the subordinate police. Moreover, the panchayat's decision, having no legal sanction, although supported by public opinion, can only be enforced against a recalcitrant individual by resort to a law court, and the complaint on which such resort is based bears not infrequently a somewhat indirect relation to the truth, so that when it succeeds, though the result is usually substantially equitable, the means whereby that result is attained are by no means always strictly truthful, while, when they fail, the consequences may be disastrous to those who are in reality in the right. For these reasons the official as an official is not likely to have the proceedings of panchayats thrust under his eyes, and is not likely to learn much about them unless he looks for them carefully and by right methods, chief among which is the gaining of the confidence of the people by personal intercourse. Speaking for myself, I can honestly say that I had no idea of the extent to which panchayat rule held in the villages of the Jhansi district until I did look for it, although I had been several years there.

Then, again, it is well known that official recognition and encouragement go a long way in India to make a success of a project; the co-operative credit system is a case in point.

The panchayat system had been hitherto ignored by Government, and, for the reasons given above, deemed by its practisers to be looked at rather with disfavour; unless, therefore, marked interest is taken in it by the officials, the recent Acts are not likely to have very much effect.

This attitude of mind may perhaps be further illustrated by a little incident that once occurred to myself. I had before me the prosecution of a locally notorious bad character, a man who assisted a dangerous gang of dacoits. On the morning of the trial while out inspecting I met a body of men, and, stopping to converse with them, found they were the prosecution witnesses in this case. After some casual conversation, knowing who I was, one of them said, "Sahib, are you going to convict so-and-so, because if you are we can give evidence, but if not we dare not?"—a somewhat awkward question for the trying magistrate! My reply was, "Speak the truth and all will be well," which apparently satisfied them, as on their evidence the man was duly convicted. And this incident leads to another, which though not perhaps germane to panchayats will illustrate another characteristic of the Indian—his innate sense of justice. This same bad character—a Bundela Rajput, and a man for fear of whom one of my superior officers had warned me I should not go about unarmed, advice which I may say I did not take; the Bundela Rajput, whatever he may do, does not shoot one in the back—after doing the three years to which I had sentenced him on this occasion, by which time I was transferred to another district, so far from bearing any malice, came regularly once a year to see me, and after his death his widow did so.

With these prefatory remarks I will give some details regarding panchayats which were in active existence in the Jhansi district in 1910-11, when inquiries were made in consequence of the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission. It so happened that I had then been a long

time in that district, and was personally acquainted with well over ninety per cent. of the villages thereof.

In almost every case where inquiry was made by myself or my subordinates (I only remember one exception), the panchayat system was found more or less in force, while the idea of legally recognized panchayats was universally and warmly welcomed. In every village of that part of India is to be found the "athai," or place for village meetings, generally under a large "pipal" (*Ficus religiosa*) tree, and one or more men recognized as the village leaders, and others as their coadjutors. So far as it is possible to reduce to the cold language of legality a system which has grown up of itself, it appeared that there were a certain number of men recognized as fit to serve on a panchayat, with one or two leaders who invariably did so. From among these a selection would be made according to the matter to be decided. There would usually be at least one member of the caste of each disputant. Further, the men who served on panchayats were not confined to the higher castes, even when both disputants were of such; thus in one case a dispute between Bundela Rajputs (the local landed aristocracy) was settled by a panchayat one member of which was a Kahar. Moreover, there never seemed to be any difficulty as to the selection of the men to serve; they were the *recognized* leaders of the locality.

A panchayat might have jurisdiction in one village only, or in a group of villages, either one large one and its satellites, or several of more or less equal size. Much would depend on the history and constitution of the village.

And now as regards the cases these panchayats would decide: those most commonly reported were such as would form the subject of a civil suit, or if criminal, would be compoundable. Thus many disputes as to sale, division, or inheritance of land, pre-emption, division of produce, damage by or to cattle, and matrimonial, assault, and libel cases were so dealt with, as also undoubtedly were not a few petty thefts and other cognizable crimes, though for reasons

already given it was much harder to obtain details of such.

Then, again, the panchayat would sometimes arrange for the repair of the village well or tank, or the maintenance of the school; but the absence of any legal sanction for their decision is specially detrimental to the raising of money. For although the great majority of those concerned may be perfectly ready to contribute their share, it is subject to the proviso that all others do so too; and there are almost invariably one or two persons who refuse to do this; and this it is that makes it so difficult to get any work for the common good carried out. Over and over again have I been requested to collect such subscriptions with the land revenue, and in proportion thereto, so as to make sure that all pay their fair share. Powers to enable a village to levy a small cess on itself, encouraged by a contribution from Government bearing some direct ratio to the amount so levied, would do much to improve the sanitary condition of many an Indian village, especially if guided by a sympathetic district officer.

And not only was there found in the Jhansi district a well-established system of panchayats, but also in places appellate panchayats existed. These appellate or *Garwaro** panchayats had jurisdiction over considerable groups of villages, and consisted of leading men from various villages of the group. Their origin here is ascribed to Birsinghdeo (circa A.D. 1606-1640), a former Maharaja of Orchha, who is said to have established fifty-two of them in his dominions. The circumstances under which one (that at Kachneo) was established are interesting and characteristic of medieval India.

For some caprice Maharaja Birsinghdeo had ordered a Brahman to spend a winter's night up to his neck in water in the Betwa river, where it flows through a rocky jungle a

* The true meaning of this word I do not know; it has been variously explained as referring to "the place where the panchayat met," or as "including all castes," or again as meaning "surrounding" with reference to its jurisdiction over a considerable area surrounding its place of meeting.

mile or so from his palace at Orchha, promising him Rs. 1,000 if he did so. The Brahman did this, and next day the Maharaja questioned him as to what his experiences had been, and on his saying that he had not seen anything save the lights in the palace, seized on this as an excuse for not paying him on the ground that these had kept him warm! The Brahman, however, declined to accept the refusal, and followed the Maharaja to his shooting-box at Kachneo, where he became so importunate that it was agreed to refer the matter to a panchayat of the men of Kachneo. The panchayat, feeling their position delicate, asked for time to consider their decision, and proceeded to hang a pot of food on a branch of a tree some twelve feet from the ground, light thereunder a small fire, and sit round it, sending word they would give their decision when their food was cooked. After some time the Maharaja inquired whether this had not been done, and on discovering the relative positions of food and fire asked them how they expected to cook their food with the fire so far off; to which they replied that they did not expect to do so any more than the palace lights had warmed a man in the river a mile off. The Maharaja so appreciated the reply that he paid the thousand rupees, and made Kachneo the seat of a Garwaro panchayat.

In old days, when confronted with a difficult case, a panchayat would resort to ordeal, and some of these ordeals are of interest. There were ordeals by fire, water, and lot. Examples of the first were to carry for a certain distance a heated cannon-ball, weighing some twelve ounces, with merely a layer of pipal leaves to serve as protection to the hands; to pull a heated chain out of the fire with the hands; or to have boiling butter poured on the hands; in each case absence of serious hurt proved innocence. The ordeal by water, known as the "duck-oath," consisted in the suspected man remaining submerged below water while another man ran the distance between two stones some seventy-five yards apart, failing to do this proving guilt.

These forms of ordeal have completely died out, and the only forms ever now resorted to are those by lot, and these only in cases where "neither party has sufficient evidence, or the proof is weak, or the panchayat has any doubts;" of such two were reported. In one, two pieces of paper are inscribed, one with the name of Rama, the other with that of Rawan; these are placed before the image on the local shrine, and the defendant told to select one; if he selects that on which Rama is written he is adjudged innocent, if Rawan, guilty. In the other a virgin Brahmini girl marks out with cow dung in front of the local shrine two paths, one of which is noted (by the panchayat) as that of Virtue, the other that of Vice. The defendant then bathes and places on his head a sprig of tulsi (sacred basil), a paper on which is written that before God truth and falsehood will be discovered, and a pot containing Ganges water, and is then told to walk along which of the two paths he prefers, not knowing, of course, which is which. If he selects that of Virtue he is held innocent, otherwise guilty.

The existence of such ordeals has been urged against the recognition of the panchayat; but I seem to have read of not dissimilar practices in England, not so very much longer ago than those by fire and water were in India, and as regards ordeal by lot, I wonder if any judge or magistrate can honestly say that, after exhausting all other means of coming to a decision, he has never, in his own mind at least, "tossed for it." Not, of course, that I would suggest that such methods be recognized, but undue stress should not be laid on their having occasionally been resorted to.

Another objection that has been urged is that such panchayats might act partially in the interest of caste or religion. It is true that I have found a case where a panchayat decided that anyone purchasing dairy produce from a sweeper was to be fined, but I think it not improbable that even in this country an up-to-date urban council might have some adverse comments to make on the combination of the professions of milkman and sewer-cleaning! Doubtless it

would seek to punish the vendor and not the vendee, but that after all is merely another way of dealing with the same thing. There would too, as noted further on, be means for dealing with wrong-headed or tyrannical decisions.

There are, of course, villages where a panchayat could not be formed satisfactorily at once, but there are certainly in the Jhansi district quite enough where one could be, or more accurately where an existing panchayat could be recognized, to make a start possible; and an officer who knows his district as he ought to—a knowledge not obtained by staying at headquarters or by going by motor along the few good roads from big place to big place, but by spending many hours in the saddle and many months of the year on tour—would have but little difficulty in ascertaining who were the local leaders suitable for recognition as members of a panchayat empowered legally to deal with petty civil and criminal cases, and to raise a cess for village improvements, as is now possible under the acts in force in many parts of India.

I shall doubtless be (as I have been) told that what is suitable for and possible in Jhansi is not so for other parts of India, that Jhansi is a backward district, that personal interest in individual villages is merely paternal government, and that the day for such is over, etc. To which I would reply that the percentage of literacy in that district certainly was, and I believe still is, above the provincial average; and moreover that this question of backwardness is a double-edged weapon. I seem to have heard it suggested that backwardness is an argument *against* anything in the nature of local self-government, whereas here its *absence* seems to be being used as such! It is an undeniable fact that this particular form of self-government does exist in the Jhansi district; are the *soi-disant* more advanced districts going to confess themselves unable to work such an admittedly indigenous system? It seems to me that they should at least be encouraged to give it a fair trial.

In support of such a plea I may perhaps be allowed to

add another personal experience. After many years in Jhansi I had four years in Gorakhpur, a district with five times the population of Jhansi and *primâ facie* of a very different character. When I went there I was told that any attempt to get to know the people personally there, as I did in Jhansi, was not merely impossible, but quite unsuited to the character of the people. That it was impossible to get into touch with any appreciable proportion of $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions of people residing in some 10,000 villages was obvious, but that it was not unsuitable was not my experience. Where I was able to do so I found them even more responsive to any interest taken in their local affairs than in Jhansi, and quite ready to welcome the panchayat idea. I have every reason to believe that numerous villages suitable for their establishment could be found in Gorakhpur, though probably with somewhat more difficulty than in Jhansi.

In selecting villages for the establishment of panchayats their general history and character should be considered; needless to say a village with acute communal differences would not be one to select, but many suitable ones would be found, and the system once started would gradually spread, just as co-operative credit societies have. No panchayat should actually be established without preliminary personal inquiry, and the selection of its members made *coram publico* by a suitable official; formal election is quite unsuitable, such being an entirely foreign procedure, but there would be little difficulty in ascertaining at such an inquiry who are the recognized village leaders. If, however, the number of suitable candidates was too large, an indigenous method of selecting all, or possibly some of the required number, might well be adopted—*i.e.*, the names of all such written on separate pieces of paper might be placed in a vessel and the required number be drawn out. The "sarpanch" or president should invariably be the village headman.

Petty civil and criminal cases might safely be entrusted, to such panchayats, but the cases so entrusted must be

entrusted absolutely; there must be no proviso whereby one or other party can have the case transferred to the ordinary courts. To provide for possible incorrect decisions revision by the district officer (or certain of his subordinates) must be allowed, such officer being empowered to modify such decision or to quash it and refer the case to the ordinary court, but such action must be taken very sparingly. No pleader must be allowed to appear in any panchayat case until a decision has been quashed and referred to an ordinary court. This is a point of great importance; the introduction of the pleader in almost every case as a result of our system of law is one of the greatest curses that we have inflicted on the Indian countryside, and probably ranks equally with our fatally unpractical and religionless system of education (due to Macaulay more than anyone) as a prime cause of unrest in India. Many a time when discussing panchayats on these lines in a village have I been met with remarks such as: "Then there will be no expense," "The Pleader-folk spoil everything," etc. (It is only fair, however, to say that this is by no means always the fault of the pleader, but of the system. I know many most honourable pleaders, some of whom are among the Indian friends from whom I still regularly hear.)

The panchayat must also be empowered to levy a small cess for works of local improvement and for educational purposes, but should emphatically not be entrusted, save under very special circumstances, with control over any forest or fuel and fodder reserve; their advice and assistance on such a matter would be valuable, but the immediate return from destruction is too great, and the true advantage too gradually realized, for it to be safe ordinarily to let them have uncontrolled management.

The general principles indicated by the Government of India in their resolution on the subject of panchayats are:

"1. The experiments should be made in selected villages or areas larger than a village where the people in general agree.

"2. Legislation, where necessary, should be permissive and general. The powers and duties of panchayats, whether administrative or judicial, need not, and, indeed, should not, be identical in every village.

"3. In areas where it is considered desirable to confer judicial as well as administrative functions upon panchayats the same body should exercise both functions.

"4. Existing village administrative committees, such as village sanitation and education committees, should be merged in the village panchayats where these are established.

"5. The jurisdiction of panchayats in judicial cases should ordinarily be permissive, but in order to provide inducements to litigants reasonable facilities might be allowed to persons wishing to have their cases decided by panchayats. For instance, court fees, if levied, should be small, technicalities in procedure should be avoided, and possibly a speedier execution of decrees permitted.

"6. Powers of permissive taxation may be conferred on panchayats, where desired, subject to the control of the local government, but the development of the panchayat system should not be prejudiced by an excessive association with taxation.

"7. The relations of panchayats on the administrative side with other administrative bodies should be clearly defined. If they are financed by district or sub-district boards, there can be no objection to some supervision by such boards."

The suggestions I have made are in complete agreement with the first four and the sixth of these principles, and to the seventh there can be no objection, but they conflict sharply with the fifth, which would make the panchayat's jurisdiction merely permissive, and apparently allow the appearance of pleaders. In my opinion it is an absolute *sine qua non* for success that whatever cases a panchayat is empowered to hear should be entrusted to it absolutely, and that no pleaders should be allowed to appear.

Our success in India has until recently been mainly based

on our adaptation and improvement of existing institutions. We took over from the Mughals or our other predecessors, the systems in force, modified them and improved them, but never deliberately broke with them. We did not adopt the panchayat, as by its very nature it formed no part of the Government system, having, as explained, sprung up among the people as opposed to the Government to supply what was left unprovided by the Government.

Where we have imported exotic novelties our success has not been conspicuous. I have already alluded briefly to the introduction of the pleader and Western education, and Western parliamentary institutions scarcely seem more hopeful!

Here in panchayats we have a system of self-government indigenous, known and suited to the mass of the people, to the ninety and nine per cent. who do not read newspapers or make any noise. Is it not, therefore, worth while to make at least as determined an effort to build up such an indigenous system as is being made to introduce an exotic one?

One word in conclusion: I would not have it inferred that I am against the reforms. Though these may not have taken the form that some think best suited to the occasion, I fully appreciate that some reforms were necessary, and that the duty of all is to make the best use of those granted, and surely a solid foundation of village self-government should be a great assistance.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W. 1, on Monday, October 19, 1925, when a paper was read by Mr. C. A. Silberrad, I.C.S. (retired), entitled "Village Panchayats in India." Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., was in the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, K.C.I.E., Sir Arthur Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E., Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine B. Dew, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Colonel A. H. D. Creagh, C.M.G., M.V.O., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Lady Scott-Moncrieff, Lady Fagan, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Khan Bahadur M. Chowdhry Din, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Captain P. S. Cannon, Mr. F. J. Richards, Mrs. Westbrook, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Miss Corner, Major Gilbertson, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Miss Humphries, Commissioner and Mrs. F. Booth-Tucker, Mr. H. A. B. Vernon, Flight-Lieutenant and Mrs. Perry-Keene, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mrs. Drury, Mr. L. A. G. Clarke, The Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. Rahmin Burga, Mrs. Herron, Mrs. Northcroft, Mr. T. C. Singh, Mr. M. K. Anand, Mr. D. H. Lees, Mr. K. M. Pannikar, Mr. W. Samarasinghe, Mr. J. P. Bedford, Mr. J. J. Stewart, Miss Diack, Mrs. Tabor, Mrs. Guiterman, Miss Claridge, Miss E. U. Williamson, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasant duty to introduce you to our Lecturer this afternoon. Mr. Silberrad was a member of the Indian Civil Service for a long period. He retired in 1922. His knowledge of the country is therefore comparatively fresh and up-to-date, even in this era of change, which, as regards India, is often said to be particularly rapid, not to say kaleidoscopic. During his long service, Mr. Silberrad served for a number of years, I believe fifteen or twenty, in that best of all schools for learning about India—namely, the post of District Officer. He was for considerable periods Collector and Magistrate in three or four different districts in the United Provinces. Subsequently he became a Commissioner. He has also served in other posts, as President or member of various Commissions. I am sure that you will agree with me that he is eminently qualified to talk to us this afternoon about the very important subject which is the matter of his lecture, that of Village Panchayats. I will not detain you any longer; but I will ask him to read his paper.

The HON. SECRETARY read the following letter received from Sir Charles Yate:

MY DEAR RICE,

October 14, 1925.

I much regret that owing to a political engagement at Lincoln, I shall not be able to be present at the meeting of the East India Association

on Monday next, the 19th inst., to support Mr. Silberrad in his lecture on "Village Panchayats in India," a subject in which I take the greatest interest.

I think the village panchayats should be the foundation of all self-government in India, and I am delighted to welcome Mr. Silberrad's effort in favour of a determined endeavour being made to build up such an indigenous system which, as he says, is known and suited to the mass of the people.

I enclose the copy of a letter of mine on the subject published in *The Times* of July 30 last, and as I cannot be present I trust that it may be published with the report of the discussion.

(Signed) CHAS. E. YATE.

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA: THE LOCAL BASIS

To the Editor of "The Times"

SIR,

Following on Lord Birkenhead's statement on Indian Policy in the House of Lords on July 4 last, we have had three valuable letters on the subject from Sir Stanley Reed, Professor Gangulee, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, published in *The Times* of July 13, 17, and 18 respectively. All three are agreed that it is on the electorate that any reform of the Indian Constitution must rest, and that no extension of the present franchise can help to cure the present conditions. Direct election in India, it is shown, has proved a failure, and a system of indirect election, to include representation by village communities and other indigenous organizations, is now recommended.

Commenting in the *Nineteenth Century* of November, 1918, in an article entitled "India under the Emperor," on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report when it was first issued, and before the Government of India Bill came up for consideration, I said:—

"I claim that the Government announcement clearly directs that the foundations are first to be laid by the gradual development of self-governing institutions, and that the superstructure is to be built up upon those institutions, and not started from the top, as the Secretary of State and the Viceroy propose to do. The whole scheme seems to me to require alteration in this respect, and I trust that Parliament will alter it."

I still trust that Parliament will alter it.

Now just about the same time that Mr. Montagu was introducing his Government of India Bill, the Enabling Bill, the latest attempt that I think we have had at Constitution-making in this country, was also being introduced by the Church authorities, and it is curious to note how entirely opposed the one Bill was to the other in this matter of the electorate. In the case of India, as I have shown, the Government of India Act of 1919, instead of beginning with the village punchayets and the existing self-governing institutions, and working up from the bottom, deliberately ignored all indigenous organizations and worked from the top downwards, beginning with the Legislative Assembly and ending with the Provincial Councils, leaving the village punchayets and other self-governing institutions out of consideration altogether. In the Enabling Act of 1919 the

authorities at home, on the contrary, began at the bottom with the parochial church councils and worked upwards. These parish councils were empowered to elect to the Diocesan Conferences, and the Diocesan Conferences in their turn were empowered to elect to the Church Assembly. Without doubt the home authorities were the wiser legislators of the two.

If self-government is to have any success in India, the first thing necessary is for the Government of India to follow the example of the authors of the Enabling Act in England and work up from the bottom by making the village punchayets and other local institutions the foundation on which to build, and by substituting indirect for direct election throughout the country. A system of indirect election, by giving the power of election in the first place to the village communities and other indigenous organizations, and so on through the district councils to the provincial councils, and thence on to the Legislative Assembly, appears to offer the best chance of real representative self-government being formed in India. Professor Gangulee tells us that during the first election he visited several rural constituencies in Bengal, and that he is convinced that the rural classes cannot vote independently, and that consequently it is not possible under present conditions to give elections a truly representative character. This testimony from an Indian of such knowledge and experience of village life in India is especially valuable.

In a previous letter of mine published in *The Times* on October 17, 1924, I brought to notice the enormous size of the Indian provinces, the United Provinces alone having a population of 47 millions and Bengal following suit with a million or so less. I said that Egypt with its more or less homogeneous population of 12 or 13 millions was surely large enough for any one Eastern Legislature to administer, and I urged that the various Indian provinces, with all their variation of race, religion, and languages, should be remodelled on a linguistic basis, so far as possible, so that the village people might be given the chance at least of local self-government in a language they might possibly be able to understand. At present a Constitution that has been aptly described as "like a pyramid standing on its apex" in which only English is spoken, and in which only a certain number of English-educated Indian lawyers and gentry of that type usually hold the floor, can never truly represent the masses of the people of India; and when the time comes for the revision of the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution I trust that it may be based on smaller and more homogeneous provinces with a unified government and representation of the masses by indirect election beginning with their own village committees and indigenous organizations.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

CHARLES E. YATE.

MADELEY HALL, SALOP,
July 28, 1925.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said that the subject of the lecture was one of extreme interest to all who had the welfare of rural India at heart. Mr. Siberrad spoke with knowledge and authority. As agent to the

Governor-General in Central India he had Mr. Silberrad as a neighbour in Jhansi, and Mr. Silberrad not only knew all that was going on in Jhansi, but was able to give him valuable information of what was going on in the adjoining Native States. He thought all present would agree with the general conclusions of the lecture. Speaking from his own personal experiences as a Settlement Officer and Political Officer, he had found traces of the panchayat system in all parts of India, from the Swat river north of Peshawur to the Narbudda which separates Central India from the Deccan. It was to be found in full vigour in the form of the Jirgas of the Pathan and Biluch tribes, both transborder and in British India; among them it was the recognized means of disposing civil and criminal justice, where the courts were either non-existent or failed, as they very often did in the rude state of society prevailing there. The system also flourished among the Jats of the south-eastern Punjab, and most of the agricultural tribes of Rajputana and Central India. It represented local or village or tribal autonomy in its best form. Anyone who had had to dispense rough justice as a magistrate or a settlement officer in the villages would recognize of what enormous value the panchayat system was. The difficulty that always confronted one in India was to get at the truth. The Indian rustic among his own people in his own village generally spoke the truth; but, when he was in the alien atmosphere of the British courts, he would lie like a thief, because it was impressed upon him, either by the petition writer or the pleader who handled his case, that he must produce evidence in support of the claim, and to surmount the obstacles between him and what he considered his right he was ready to lie himself and to procure false evidence from others. For that reason, if for no other, they should do all they could to encourage the panchayat system, at all events for the settlement of petty disputes. It had been neglected in the past, because it was outside the ordinary judicial and executive administration. There were also strong vested interests opposed to the revival or extension of the panchayat. Those vested interests were of three kinds. In the first place, there was the official hierarchy, the Tahsildar or Munsif, who naturally looked with disfavour upon anything that would reduce their own jurisdiction; then there was the host of subordinate officials, who from selfish motives were strongly opposed to any settlement by the people in their own villages; finally there was the objection of the legal practitioners, whose power in India was extremely strong. The legal practitioners did not view with favour any attempt to remove cases from the jurisdiction of the courts, in order to have them disposed of in the villages. That would reduce their business and their incomes. Unfortunately their views have hitherto prevailed. In the Punjab it had been realized that the great source of rural indebtedness in India was litigation, and that if the people could only be got to settle their disputes locally by panchayats, that would remove a main cause of indebtedness. At the suggestion of the Registrar the members of certain Co-operative Credit Societies, of which there are 10,000 in the Punjab with 250,000 members, had come to an arrangement to have their disputes settled by this means. The experiment was begun in his time some six or

seven years ago and was working very hopefully. But the legal practitioners took alarm, and in consequence the Minister in charge of the Co-operative Credit Societies, himself a lawyer, had thrown cold water on the scheme, with the result that the disputes, instead of being settled in the villages, were again brought under the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. The Registrar and members of the Indian Civil Service protested, but without avail. He had to content himself with the remark that litigation being so important an industry (to the lawyers) could not be interfered with. In his opinion, it was a great pity that such a promising effort at having disputes settled by the people themselves should have been suppressed under a Reformed Government. Unless the local and central Governments brought their influence to bear and made it clear that they would not allow selfish interests to block the scheme, he did not think the chances of the policy outlined in the resolution to which the Lecturer had referred were considerable. Perhaps now that the late Mr. C. M. Das and Mr. Gandhi had discovered some of the merits of the panchayat system the outlook of the politicians would be less hostile. If there was going to be anything in the shape of a real lasting political system in India, it might be based on indigenous institutions, and must begin at the bottom and work up, and not begin at the top and work down. (Applause.)

Khan Bahadur M. CHOWDHRY DIN said: The panchayat system in India in one or other form has been an ancient institution. We find it in the code of Manu, the great Hindu lawgiver. The system saw many changes since Manu's time, but it is still in force in its primitive form among many tribes in India. The tribal panchayats now and then give decisions in matters of commercial concern, and condemn offenders to reparation and (chatti) fine.

With the advent of the British Raj in India the British legislators with their zeal to give the country the blessings of British justice introduced the British legal system in India. The village panchayats became extra-legal under the new system, having no statutory warrant. A plant that would grow and flourish in one country is not sure to succeed to the same extent in another country under different climatic conditions. The result was that the new legal machinery was too complicated for the people of India, more than 97 per cent. of whom were illiterate at that time. The litigation that followed has been a source of anxiety to the Government and its administrators for a long time, and attempts have been made from time to time to revive the old panchayat or local council system.

In 1911, at the instance of Sir Louis Dane, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who had a wonderful genius for new schemes for the welfare of the people, a Panchayat Bill was introduced in the Punjab Council. Sir Louis Dane had the experience of local councils in the south-west of Ireland, and proposed to invest the panchayats with both civil and criminal powers. But those who were living on litigation were naturally against the proposal. The result was that the Bill as finally passed into Act VI. of 1912 was amended in a way that made it unworkable in practice. The main features of the Act were that the appointment and summoning of panchayats was placed in the hands of the Munsifs (lowest

judicial officials of Government), and the consent of the parties was a necessary condition.

During the war the late Raja Sir Baldeo Singh of Poonch had formed recruiting panchayats (boards) of groups of villages in the Ilāqa, following Sir Michael O'Dwyer's system in the neighbouring Punjab province. The panchayats were a great success and did splendid work in recruiting and in looking after the families of the soldiers in the army. The Poonch people supplied nearly 25 per cent. of their men of fighting age to the King's army. After the war the panchayats had very little work to do, and as Wazir (Minister) of Poonch I proposed to recognize them as legal local village councils with powers for the trial of civil cases up to Rs. 50. The proposal was approved by the Assistant Resident at Poonch (Colonel G. H. Anderson, now Political Agent, Bundhelkhand), and was finally sanctioned by the Resident (Colonel A. D. Bannerman). We adopted the Punjab Panchayat Act after eliminating some of the clauses which had made it unworkable in that province. The trading centres and towns of the State were excluded from the jurisdiction of the Act to appease the money-lenders, who were against a system which was expected to deprive them of exorbitant rates of interest. The panchayats in practice did so well in settling minor civil suits promptly and cheaply that after about six months of their working the people of Bagh and Mehudar towns asked for the extension of the Act to these towns. I know that a money-lender who had some civil cases pending for years in a regular civil court applied to me for transfer of his cases to a panchayat.

As Wazir I had to refer many complicated cases for enquiry and report to the panchayats, with satisfactory results. The people were grateful for the system and deemed it as a reward of their splendid response to recruiting during the war. The President of Gorah village panchayat, a shrewd Brahman who knew all about the Indian Reform Scheme, once remarked to me that their panchayat was real Swaraj—democracy (government of the people by the people)—as it meant construction from the bottom or foundations, and not from the head or the roof.

When the present Raja Sahib of Poonch (Raja Sukhder Singh) came to the Gadi some interested persons pointed out to him that panchayats being cheaper than the ordinary civil courts, the court fees income was decreasing, and the people were becoming more "daler," or insubordinate. The Raja Sahib studied the panchayat system for himself, and was so struck by the confidence gained by the panchayats that he gave enhanced powers to some of the selected panchayats. In a panchayat, the people being known to each other it is an easy matter to get at the truth, which is so difficult in a regular law court. I remember I had a civil case about thirty years ago. One of my partners who was also appearing in the court on my behalf gave a wrong statement by some mistake. I pointed out the matter to a pleader and asked for his advice. He advised me to manufacture two or three witnesses to support the wrong statement. I know of many cases in Poonch panchayats where a panchayat passed a decree for one-tenth or less of the amount claimed. The decree money was paid there and then, to the satisfaction of both parties.

The proportion of population in India in villages and towns per thousand is as follows :

		Villages.	Towns.
British India	...	905	95
Native States	...	900	100

When non-co-operation was at its height about four or five years ago, boycott of British courts was declared by the leaders of non-co-operation, and they promised to substitute panchayats with a view to taking the non-co-operation to villages. But panchayats without statutory warrant could exercise no influence on litigators, and the scheme did not take any shape.

From my experience of Poonch panchayats I think the system is better suited for the ignorant and helpless masses, and requires encouragement from the Government. It is a system that directly affects the masses and tends to educate them for self-government, which is the real aim of the British Government in India.

Sir LOUIS DANE said he spent twenty-one years of his service in India as a District and Settlement Officer in very out-of-the-way districts and under varying circumstances, and he was convinced of the extraordinary advantage of the panchayat system. There was a common saying, which indicated the respect in which the decision of the panchayats was held—namely, that the decision of five worthy men was the decision of the Almighty. When he became Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab he made an attempt to introduce a panchayat system, but there were all sorts of objections to it, and the judicial authorities did not look upon it with favour. All that he could do was to secure some measure of recognition for it by passing a Panchayat Act. Much of the good was taken out of it, but he believed that if the war had not interfered, the Panchayat Act would have been amended and expanded and in time would have been made a perfectly workable thing. However, after the Panchayat Act was passed, in 1912, for six years people had not time to think of anything of the sort, except for the purpose of recruiting men for the army. He understood another Act had now been passed, which he hoped would be a success. There was one part of India—namely, part of Tibet (Spiti in the Kangra district)—where the system was in operation. It was administered by the Hono with his councils of greater or less Gyalpos or kings under the general supervision of the Assistant Commissioner of Kulu. It was the only judicial system of the tract, as the British India laws were expressly excluded by a regulation, and it worked satisfactorily. If the panchayat system were universally adopted, he thought there would be a basis for a system of local self-government in India which would be infinitely better even than that existing in England.

Mr. Commissioner BOOTH TUCKER (Salvation Army) said he had had an opportunity of looking at the panchayat system from the inside as well as the outside; he had lived in the villages and enjoyed the advantages of the panchayat system. So much was the Salvation Army in favour of it that they had introduced it into their own villages, among others in a

village where there were 1,800 ex-criminals, where the system had been most successful. He had found that the panchayat system was admirable and well suited to the country, and he could not see what possible objection there was to it, except on the part of the vested interests which had been referred to.

Mr. NOLAN said a similar system to the panchayat system existed in Burma, where the headmen were in much the same position. It had now been arranged that the headmen should always be the sons of previous headmen.

Mr. COLDSTREAM said he thought that an important point with regard to the question under discussion was the repeated change of officials in India, which was very much against the development of a system of the kind in question. He agreed with all the previous speakers that the panchayat system was the foundation of all Indian institutions, and he hoped that the permissive Act would be fully availed of.

The Rev. Dr. STANTON asked if the intention of the Lecturer was that there should be an appeal from the decision of the panchayats.

Mr. H. A. B. Vernon said that in Madras several grazing forests of inferior quality had been handed over to panchayats, who managed the grazing and levied the fees in exactly the same way as the Forest Department formerly did. In 50 per cent. of the cases in which the forests had been handed over to panchayats, the panchayats had worked them with success, and he thought the system had had a very good start. It had also been applied in at least one district with regard to the distribution of water for irrigation purposes. This matter had been very effectively managed by joint panchayats from several villages, who, in consultation with the Tahsildar or lower officials had distributed the water without any of the usual disputes which had arisen before the system had been introduced. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—In opening the very few remarks I propose to address to you I do not think that I shall be doing anything inappropriate if I very heartily congratulate you, and the Association as a whole, on having had the opportunity of listening to such a very interesting, illuminating and instructive paper as we have heard this afternoon. I am sure that we are all very much indebted to Mr. Silberrad for the care and pains which he has evidently taken in the preparation of this paper, and for the lucidity with which he has treated the important considerations which bear upon it. He has very rightly emphasized the distinction between the village panchayat, the subject of this paper, and the ordinary caste panchayat, which, as most of us know, is prevalent and active over the great part of India. The caste panchayat deals with social and domestic matters arising between fellow-castemen, matters relating to caste rules about occupation, marriage, and such like. The village panchayat, on the other hand, where it exists, has a somewhat wider range of activity; it deals administratively and quasi-judicially with affairs not necessarily concerned directly with caste nor necessarily affecting members of the same caste. The questions which come before it are such as concern the general interests of the village to which it belongs; questions

which in themselves may seem to us somewhat petty, but are, of course, of great importance to the persons immediately concerned. It is, I think, quite true, as, I understand, the Lecturer has suggested, that the ultimate origin of the village panchayat is to be found in some primitive local organization which was evolved and developed more or less spontaneously in order to fill in some measure the numerous deficiencies which in former times necessarily resulted from the somewhat restricted administrative activities of the old Indian Governments and of the old Indian rulers; but, at the same time, it is necessary to bear in mind that in ancient Sanskrit works, such as the Artha-sastra, said to have been written by the Brahmin Kauliya, about 300 B.C., in the law book or commentaries of Manu and also in ancient inscriptions, there are passages which indicate that in the olden pre-Muhammadan Hindu States the village panchayat, or some closely analogous institution, received considerable official recognition and had a place as an organ of local administration. Its members appear to have been frequently appointed by lot and occasionally also by the local ruler or his officials. In fact it seems that in those comparatively ancient times local self-government or autonomy in villages was far more vigorous than it came to be in the later troubled times of constant external invasion and perpetual internal political chaos and tumult. Of that form of local self-government the village panchayat was the organ; so that it may claim to be a very ancient and a very primitive institution in India.

Coming to somewhat later times, it appears from the writings of the earlier British administrators and officials that the village panchayat had a more or less continuous existence down to the time of the advent of British rule in India. No doubt its continued existence—it may be in a more or less impaired form—was encouraged by the comparatively paralyzed and weakened state of the indigenous Governments of the day, so that the people of the villages had to trust to themselves to carry out on their own initiative and by their own efforts such crude administrative and quasi-judicial arrangements as were possible. As regards the period of British rule, we all know that the village has played a very important part in British administration; it has, in fact, very definitely been the fundamental local unit of that administration: but the advent of settled government naturally let loose influences which have tended to weaken the cohesion of the village, while the presence of a more effective, a more efficient, and, as it were, a more pervasive system of administration has almost inevitably tended to deprive the village panchayat of its place as an organ of local administration and as a local institution. The highly organized machinery of administration which is working nowadays is in some ways bound to compete with the comparatively rough-and-ready methods of the village panchayat. I do not regard that as a conclusive argument against the latter. I think that the village panchayat is capable of very useful and fruitful development. At the same time, I believe that the presence of a highly developed administration must make it more difficult for the village panchayat to function as effectively as it did at a time when the activities of the Central Government were necessarily restricted and limited. Whether British rule is open to criticism for this gradual, and, as it

appears to me, inevitable decadence of the village panchayat is a question which it is unnecessary to discuss on the present occasion. That such decadence was inevitable has, I think, been established by the Lecturer in his paper. In recent years—that is to say from the early part of this century—attention was again focussed, or was, perhaps, for the first time focussed on the subject of the village panchayat by the recommendations of the Indian Decentralization Commission, whose report was issued in 1909. In that report was embodied a strong recommendation for the restoration of the village panchayat, together with a programme of measures which were thought appropriate towards procuring that end. The idea was that village panchayats should be invested with power to dispose of petty civil and criminal cases, and also petty administrative matters. It is needless to detail the recommendations at length, but they resulted in enquiries being set on foot as to the extent to which the village panchayat system still existed. The result of those enquiries as regards one part of India has been very well described to us this afternoon in the paper. The subject was also dealt with in connection with the Census of 1911. In the report of that Census there is a reference of considerable length to the subject of panchayats, both the caste panchayat and the village panchayat. As regards the village panchayat, the general conclusion reached as the result of the enquiries made in connection with the Census was that, whatever may have been the case in the past, the village panchayat is rarely found at the present time, and that, except in the district to which the Lecturer has specially referred and in some other parts in India, it has practically disappeared. In fact, I believe, the Superintendent of one province went so far as to say that the village panchayat was altogether a myth, and that it had never had any existence at all. I do not think that those who have had practical experience in the matter would agree with that conclusion; they would rather, I think, agree with the Lecturer and other speakers who have addressed us this afternoon. I do not understand the Lecturer to contend that the village panchayat exists in anything like its primitive activity over the whole of India, and I do not think that this has been affirmed by other speakers. What is suggested is that the relics, it may be the decayed relics, of this valuable institution exist over a larger area than is generally supposed, and that by the application of suitable measures they are capable of being revived, resuscitated and restored into more useful and fruitful activity. That is a conclusion with which I think all those who are experienced in these matters will agree; I personally do so. The Lecturer has indicated the sort of measures which he thinks are appropriate to the end in view, and there, again, I think his suggestions will command general agreement, especially as regards the point on which he lays so much stress—namely, that the jurisdiction of the panchayats, if they are to be useful, must be exclusive and not permissive; that is to say, that in any case which falls within those classes of cases which are relegated to the disposal of the panchayat it must not be open to the parties to object to its jurisdiction, and to take their dispute to the regular Courts. A good deal of reference has been made to the legislative action which has been taken by the Government of India and by the local governments in regard

to these panchayats. The lead was, I believe, taken by the Punjab, in 1912, during the lieutenant-governorship of Sir Louis Dane. He has dealt with the subject fully in his speech, and I think it is unnecessary for me to say anything more about the Act which was passed. I may add that it was applied to ten districts of the province in the year 1913. Owing to the war, as Sir Louis Dane has told us, and the very grave preoccupations which it entailed, and the large increase of work involved, definite action was, in fact, confined to two districts. The result was that in one of them some 1,000 cases, and in the other some 1,500 cases, were decided by village panchayats between the year 1913, when the Act was first applied, and the year 1917. In 1917 the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, reluctantly came to the conclusion that the Act had not attained the success which had been desired, but hopes were held out that the subject would receive further consideration. It was again taken up in 1921, after the new reform scheme had come into force, and it came before the Legislative Council of the Punjab. The new Village Panchayat Act was passed in 1921, and became law in 1922. It was a considerably more comprehensive and a more ambitious measure than its predecessor. It gave the local government power to create panchayats in selected areas, and it proposed to invest the panchayats, when selected, with administrative criminal and civil judicial powers. One important point which distinguished it from its predecessor was that the jurisdiction conferred on the panchayat was exclusive and not permissive; that is to say, they were definitely given jurisdiction in certain petty cases, both criminal and civil, and it was not left open to the parties to refuse that jurisdiction and go elsewhere. The Act has only been in force a short time, and I am unable to say what results it has yielded so far; but it is to be hoped, and I think there is ground for hoping, that it will secure a greater measure of success than its predecessor, and that it may play its part in providing that sound and indispensable foundation for any system of national self-government in India, the development of self-government in small local areas. (Applause.)

Mr. SILBERRAD: Sir Patrick Fagan, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I desire to thank you very much for the very kind and flattering way in which you have received my paper. Nearly all the speakers have practically agreed with the suggestions I have made, and there are very few questions to answer. Apparently I was not quite clear in what I said about the question of appeal from the panchayats. What I meant was that if either party to a panchayat decision was dissatisfied, it would be open to him to apply to the officer empowered for the purpose, the District Officer or one of his subordinates, for a revision. This officer would call for all the papers, review the case, make any further enquiry he wished to, and be empowered to modify the decision or quash it entirely, and tell the parties to go to the ordinary courts; but till he had quashed the decision and the case had come before the ordinary courts, no pleader should appear. There would, it is true, be no appeal; but there would be revision, which amounts in practice to much the same thing. I am very glad to hear that the panchayats in Madras are capable of looking after their forests. I only said it would not *ordinarily* be safe to let them have entire control. That

was based on experience in my own district. There they would have certainly cut the forests up and ruined them very quickly. I have no doubt that in time as they learned better they would be capable of looking after them. The rapid change of officials is most certainly very prejudicial to good administration. I may say that during the five and a half years I was in Jhansi I was offered three different posts, two of which would have given me much of the hot weather in the hills and the third the whole year there; but I preferred to stick to the district. I again thank you, sir, and all the speakers for the way in which you have received my paper.

Sir ATUL C. CHATTERJEE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,— Before we part I hope you will give me the opportunity of proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Silberrad for his extremely interesting and informing paper. I had the honour of being in the same service as Mr. Silberrad during my period in the United Provinces, and for a little time I had the good fortune to be in an adjoining district, so that I had special opportunities of knowing how much Mr. Silberrad was liked and respected by all people in his district. It is a great satisfaction to us Indians that even in his retirement Mr. Silberrad has not lost interest in the welfare of India and that he has given such excellent suggestions for the development of local self-government institutions in India. At this late hour I do not wish to detain you any further, and I am sure the message which Mr. Silberrad has given us will be borne in mind by every one of us and by everyone interested in the development of India. (Applause.)

The Lecturer having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

THE WARP AND THE WOOF OF THE FABRIC OF INDIAN LIFE

By R. K. SORABJI, M.A.

NUMEROUS attempts have been made throughout the ages to weave a fabric suitable to Indian needs. The utmost that any people from outside India can hope to do is to be responsible for the warp. The woof must be the work of the Indians themselves. The most successful attempt has been that of the British. The framework on which they have set their warp has been, and is, the strong structure of efficiency. On this framework they have stretched many strands. It is only possible within the limits of a single paper to consider some of them.

Foremost amongst these is the strand of Justice. Britain may well be proud of the system of justice it has introduced into India. Justice means impartiality, and with all the will in the world no people of the many peoples of India could have set that strand in the warp. Religious feeling, in that land of many religions, runs so high. Prejudice, in that land of caste and community, is so strong. *Esprit de corps*, which hitherto has been clannish rather than commensurate with Indian boundaries, has been so keen that no one from within could have set the standard of strict impartiality. Once that standard has been firmly set it might be followed, but it could not have been originated. The British with their balance which forbids that religion, or any one thing, should preponderate, were best able to lay along the framework of efficiency the very essential strand of impartial justice. That standard has been followed by British and Indian judges and magistrates alike, but the British set it. The endless litigation in India is some proof of the general confidence in justice as it is administered. The fact that suit is followed by appeal and second appeal is evidence of the popular belief

that the courts practise justice and that the final court of appeal is the last word in impartiality.

The strand of British Education has been a strong thread, but needs the cross threads of the woof for its perfecting. Justice is an absolute standard; education is relative. It is impossible, therefore, to demand of the strand of education that which can be demanded of the strand of justice. If India could have been flooded with British professors and masters the result might have been different. As a matter of fact a system of cram resulted because of a lack of understanding. Indian memories are proverbially good, and the easiest way was to learn by heart where understanding failed to grasp. It would be an inestimable boon to India if Public Schools, with the English Public School spirit, could be introduced all over India. The essence of that spirit is character building. Next is required a fuller development of the teaching University system which has begun as a result of the last University Commission. And a great essential, education, needs to be graded, just as it ought to be graded everywhere. Education should have in view the occupation which men and women mean to adopt in order to win their daily bread. India is teeming with B.A.'s and failed B.A.'s for whom there are no Government jobs or clerkships. The English strand of education is method. It will be for the woof to work it into the fabric of Indian life.

Finance is an important strand. None can beat a Bengali mathematician, for example, at figures. But the English strand of finance is budgeting and keeping within the budget. That is a Western art. It was in accordance with this wise system of balancing income and expenditure that Government lately introduced the unpopular Salt Tax, which justified its adoption in that it balanced credit and debit.

The irrigation system in India is second to none, and when the Sukkur Barrage is completed it is doubtful whether India will not be the best irrigated portion of the

world. This is due to a British strand in the warp. But in order that the country might reap the full advantage of these well-watered acres it will be necessary that agriculturists all over India should be trained in the best methods of cultivation with the simplest implements which any village blacksmith could repair.

In the warp is to be found the improved systems of transport and communication, posts, telegraphs, railways, motors—all these are the result of British impetus. British engineers deserve well of India.

A most important strand is Organization. That is seen at its best during a famine. As soon as the monsoons fail there is scarcity; if drought persist but a month there is famine. Then the British official is seen at his best. He goes about methodically doling out relief, advancing loans, starting special works. He gathers grain and husbunds it, distributing it wisely. In numberless ways he saves life. And not the least part of his organization is the manner in which he enthuses his assistants to back his efforts.

The strand of Banking is separate from the strand of general finance. It is in a large measure due to Scotch enterprise. It is the system of wise investment. Gradually the people are learning not to bury their money, but to put it out at interest. This does not mean that there are not Indian banks, but British banks have set the standard of sound investment.

Then there is that wonderful and indispensable strand of Defence. British and Indian troops forming the great safeguard of India—nobody would contend that that thread in the warp, in all its excellence, could have been an indigenous product. Not even the mountains on the frontiers could stay invasion as do these troops. The tasks that are set the soldier in India are bewildering, but he never shirks them, be they civil or military.

No account of the warp would be complete without mention of the thread spun by Missionary effort—a strand of strength for which all India has respect, as every Indian

feels reverence for service done in the name of religion. It is a spiritual strand appealing to a country which is addicted by tradition and centuries to spirituality.

And of infinite importance is the strand of Industry. The business-like, prompt methods of British commercial men are an eye-opener to the dreamy meditation-loving East.

There are other strands too, but those to which attention has been drawn will serve to show how great and essential has been the British contribution to the fabric.

An excellent loom, the loom of efficiency, but an unyielding efficiency, strains the strand to breaking-point, and the excess of efficiency should be counteracted by the lubrication of understanding. It is wonderful that there has been as much understanding as has existed in the past, considering that customs and habits have had a tendency to keep East and West apart, save officially. It is difficult to get to know a man intimately who does not break bread with you, nor admit you to his family circle. But understanding is fast increasing. The interchange of view in assembly and council has helped towards this. And in a large measure both sides are honestly trying to know and see each other's points of view. But the warp alone will not make a fabric. The time to think of the woof has come. And while the British must remain to look after the loom and the warp, they must, as they are doing, encourage the peoples of India to supply the woof. The warp indicates the way of the woof. The warp gives strength to the woof. But the woof must be Indian, else the fabric cannot be complete.

The real development of India depends on the whole-hearted co-operation of Indians in supplying the woof to the ready warp. The warp, as indicated, will do for any part of India. It may be that there cannot be the same woof for all parts of India since the different parts differ so very much. But if the warp be the same, different woofs will not make the fabrics so very different that they cannot

combine to make a united whole. It is worth considering whether it would not be better to get used from now to the idea of differing woofs as more likely to give a satisfactory combining whole, than determining on a one-woof-whole fabric which might be liable to rents.

The first task is to win the people to co-operation. A good deal might be done here in England. We are told that there are something like two thousand students in the British Isles—young men whose views of everything British will carry great weight when they return home, for they will be taken to have seen all that is best in British life and ways and aims, since they have been in Britain. Anti-British forces have had the vision which enables them to regard these students as an important body, worth winning for anti-British causes. But the pro-British element leaves them severely alone. Few or no Imperialists ever talk politics to them. The best argument put forward for this abstention is that the students' feelings might be hurt. As though that argument were weighty enough to justify the throwing of these hundreds of young men into the arms of those who are ready enough to make them believe India is ill-used and exploited for British gain. The abstention would only be justified if the intention were that India was not meant to have eventual Home Rule. And indeed the abstention is used as an argument against British good faith. But if India is meant to have eventual Dominion status, and if it be desired to keep India within the Empire, here is abundant and, at present, neglected opportunity for winning at any rate some of these students—winning them, that is, to a reasonable view of the necessity for British-Indian co-operation for India's own good in the first and for the Empire's good in the second place. If anti-British forces left the students alone it would not matter, but since those forces are active, it is sheer madness not to attempt to counteract the evil. A paper published in August, purporting to be an imperial paper aiming at keeping the Empire together, unwisely slanged the students

for listening to, and being influenced by, these anti-Britishers. It would be far wiser, far more imperial and empire-building, were that paper to try and win the students for Britain as against the anti-Britishers rather than to slang them without making any attempt to keep them British. It would help the woof of the fabric were even some of these students to return to India filled with a desire for, and a realization of the necessity of, the British connection. The British in India might be ever so active in persuasion and magnet attraction, but their efforts would be counteracted and nullified by young men returning from Britain anti-British.

In India itself the vast masses are humble and simple agriculturists, merely asking for daily bread and peace. More could be done to make them happy and contented. If they were taught better methods of agriculture they would be less oppressed by grinding poverty than they are at present. They might also be assisted to get out of the hands of the blood-sucking moneylender, who sees to it that they should only have enough to keep themselves alive while he battens on the rest, calling it interest.

It was only during the war that the advantages of publicity were realized. Too long has it been the custom for the British point of view to be stated without explanation, for the lies of enemies to be allowed to remain unchallenged. And the enemies held the field, filling ignorant villagers with the idea that any ills they suffered were due to British greed and oppression. In the East an unrefuted story gains lasting credence. Much more might be done by way of pro-British propaganda amongst the masses. The masses must be induced to share in providing the woof of the fabric. They must work in with the agricultural strand in the warp. That strand is merely an indication of what should be done, but the doing must be in the woof.

Then somehow all India must be led to understand that politics are only a pattern, and a pattern needing a foundation. No fabric is mere pattern; the groundwork is the

chief part of a fabric. It enables the pattern to be seen. There is a danger in India of the groundwork being sacrificed to the pattern.

Home Rule would be of no earthly use without agricultural, industrial, educational, and other developments. Home Rule's value lies in the nature of the home. While clamouring for rule the home is being neglected.

The British task of weaving the warp is accomplished, but that does not end the task. British aid is needed to maintain the warp and to advise and assist with the woof. A woof unsuited to the warp would not make a lasting fabric.

The Police in India furnish an excellent example of what a combination of British and Indian can do. No one would agree that the rank and file of the police are well paid, and yet they are excellent servants of the State, exhibiting untold courage and resource. And this is, in no small measure, due to the European officers who imbue the rank and file with the essential spirit of sport which runs all risks in the pursuit of maintaining law and order. Neither side could do it alone. It takes the qualities of both to produce so fine a force. And that is only one example of all that co-operation could achieve.

In India exists all that is needed to provide the woof. It wants discovering to itself. It is time for a real welcome to all who may and will contribute to the woof. Some threads may have to be rejected; some may be put in and then have to be taken out. It cannot be expected that the woof can be perfected with machine-like speed and regularity. That there are leading Indians of great ability, ready to co-operate, has been demonstrated in the Council of State which is just going out of office. That even extremists can sink hostility so as to serve has been illustrated in the case of the new President of the Assembly. That Assembly too has shown us, within its ranks, men ready to bring their capacity to the service of an India within the Empire.

Mahatma Gandhi has familiarized India with the idea of spinning. Here is work of the kind : work far more in accordance with the Mahatma's selfless principles than the mere weaving of one's own garments, namely the weaving of a lasting fabric for the good of all India—a fabric the weaving of the woof of which, in common effort, will draw together all the different sects and communities into that oneness without which there can be no real Swaraj. It would be a continued opportunity for Britain and India to make a fabric far more glorious than any cloth of gold or silver turned out by the famous looms of India—a fabric which could not be termed Western or Eastern, for the blending of the warp and the woof will be so perfect that men will feel that the hands that wove it were directed by a power which is not of this earth. Such a fabric might rival any weaving that could be produced in any other part of the Empire. For the East has a thread which the West might well envy—the thread of imagination which is spun in the factory of God Himself.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, November 9, 1925, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, when a paper was read by Mr. R. K. Sorabji, M.A., entitled "The Warp and the Woof of the Fabric of Indian Life." Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present : Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Charles Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine B. Dew, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir A. C. Grant Duff, The Right Rev. Bishop Talbot, Lieut.-Colonel B. E. M. Gurdon, C.I.E., D.S.O., General Powell, General Ewbank, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Lady Mant, Lady Glover, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Leslie Moore, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Lieut.-Colonel S. H. Dantra, Mr. R. Mann, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Mrs. Orme, Mrs. Luard, Mr. A. de Mello, Dr. Shah, Mr. D. C. Wadhwa, Mr. and Mrs. O. Rothfield, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Miss Partridge, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mrs. Malik, Mr. H. E. Cookson, Mr. E. C. Emerson, Mr. D. D. Tangri, The Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, The Rev. O. Younghusband, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, The Hon. Miss Hammond, Mr. K. A. Shirpurkar, Miss Nina Corner, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Miss Sandeman, Mrs. Hindall, Miss Matheson, Miss Loveson, Mrs. H. G. W. Herron, Mrs. De Bar, Mrs. Bell, Mrs. Fuller, Mr. and Mrs. Irish, Mr. Hughes, Mrs. Martley, Mrs. P. G. Anderson, Rev. E. C. Richmond, Mrs. Dreshfield, Mrs. Atherton Smith, Miss Vaughan, Mrs. P. G. Anderson, Miss St. John Wileman, Mrs. Russell Tucker, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject of our lecture this afternoon is "The Warp and the Woof of the Fabric of Indian Life." You will gather from the title what a very fascinating subject it is, one which would appeal to the people in China or Peru, or even in the planet of Mars. But for us here, both British and Indian, it is a subject of very vital interest ; we are therefore very fortunate in having Mr. Sorabji to discuss it. Mr. Sorabji is by birth, as you know, a Parsee ; as such he is the heir to a great civilization that is neither Western nor Eastern, but is intermediate between the two, and both Eastern and Western civilization have borrowed largely from it. He is therefore in a detached position to discuss this subject with impartiality, and he brings to bear on it his great knowledge of India and England. He is a true son of India and is also a British patriot. He is therefore qualified to discuss this subject in a manner which I am sure will bring enlightenment to many of us here.

I will now ask Mr. Sorabji to give his lecture.

Mr. SORABJI, before reading his paper, said he had had to exercise tremendous restraint in order to keep so large a subject within reasonable bounds. The difficulty had been to decide what to omit. Had he not been bound to send in the paper four weeks in advance he would have included in it a comment on a recent speech made by the Governor of the United Provinces questioning whether Darbars should continue to be held. He hoped that they would never be given up. British prestige had suffered in India through a diminution of pomp and ceremony. Governors now flashed past in motors, instead of proceeding in the old stately way, with attendants in red and gold. A seat in Darbar was highly prized. Darbaris felt that in the Darbar they came into close touch with the Head of the Province. They so valued their invitations to attend that they kept them to show their sons and grandsons as marks of their personal honour. He would also have made reference to the announcement about the Viceroy-Designate. On every hand people spoke of the wisdom of the appointment.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—Discussion is now invited on the question put before us by the lecturer, and we should be glad to hear your points of view expressed. The matter is no doubt close to the lives of many members of the audience, and I trust that they will contribute to the discussion.

Miss SCATCHERD said she would like to draw the attention of the lecturer to a novel which she had read, and which was published in France, entitled "Tu Trahiras," as a book to be read by him, as it struck her as having a bearing on many of the points in the paper to which they had had the pleasure of listening. She thought that in the subsequent discussion the lecture should be treated as a whole, like a great poem dealing with vital principles, leaving the filling in of the details as a subsidiary consideration.

Mr. ROTHFIELD said the paper contained so much unadulterated optimism that he thought it right to point out a few set-offs to that optimism. He did not wish to say that there was not a great deal of truth in the optimism that had been put forward, but it did not go very far into the picture of the warp and woof of Indian life in 1925. Undoubtedly the main feature of Indian life was the extreme rapidity with which the country was changing, which had been his experience for the last twenty-five years; the result was that everything in India was being displaced; the old landmarks were being swept away, the marriage customs had changed to an extraordinary extent, and in consequence nearly everyone in the country was in a state of discomfort or discontent. The second objective fact that had just been touched upon by the lecturer was that the conditions of agriculture had altered to an extraordinary extent. With one exception the alterations had tended to deterioration. The great exception was that the cultivator was now protected during famine. But the change is that formerly people cultivated for subsistence, and now they grow for the market, and the market is the world-market. Another point he would make

was that India had been allowed to come into the capitalist and industrial world without sufficient precautions. Of course certain other countries also had not taken precautions against industrial evils. He thought that the Government of India was to blame and not the Provincial Governments in some instances. To quote one instance: in the mill industry in the City of Bombay the workers were extremely badly housed by the owners of the mill. Nearly 600 children out of every 1,000 in Bombay died yearly owing to the existing conditions. The Government of Bombay awoke to this fact and sought remedies owing to Sir George Lloyd, that able Governor, and under his guidance a Labour Office was appointed to investigate matters connected with the mill industry. The Bombay Government further proposed to legislate in the matter with a view to stopping strikes and providing a tribunal which would be able to decide the issues in any industrial quarrel. Then the Central Government at once woke up and called upon the Government of Bombay to reflect that full legislation was still in the air, and no action had been taken in England. It refused to allow the Provincial Government to take that action, and, needless to say, had never done anything itself with regard to it. The result was that there was again a strike in Bombay which had thrown about 150,000 men out of work, and caused great trouble, and threw the industry out of gear; and the only result, so far as the Government of India was concerned, was to have raised again a fresh outcry against the cotton excise duty. Again, looking at India in 1925, there was deep resentment which had been caused to every man, woman, and child by the policy so rashly and selfishly assumed by some of the self-governing Colonies. Optimism was only justified if one could believe that politicians and other people in this country would open their eyes a little more to the necessary problems of humanity, whether in England or in India.

Sir CHARLES YATE said he would like to congratulate the lecturer on giving the meeting a most interesting paper, which had been delivered in an excellent manner, so that everybody in the room must have heard it well, and that was one of the first things desired when an address was given. With regard to "the endless litigation in India," to which the lecturer had referred, he agreed that the final court of appeal might be "the last word in impartiality," but the one thing that the people in India really desired was to see a stop put to perpetual appeals. They wanted to have ready and cheap justice without having to appeal to the House of Lords in England, and he hoped that steps would be taken to obtain quicker and cheaper justice for the people generally. Referring to the question of education in India, the lecturer had said that "a system of cram" had been introduced, and it seemed the people of India were taught the very things they did not want, and that a proper system of education was required in India. As the lecturer had said, India was teeming with B.A.'s and failed B.A.'s, and personally he was of the opinion that until India adopted the standard of examination of the English Universities it was impossible to attach much importance to Indian degrees, and he hoped that the Indian University system would be radically altered.

With regard to the salt tax, he did not agree with the lecturer that it was "unpopular"; he thought the agitation against it was a purely artificial agitation, promoted by agitators for their own purposes. Referring to the question of agriculture, to which the lecturer had referred, he thought the Government had done their best to help agriculturists; they had a great agriculturist going out to India now as Viceroy, who would help agriculture in every way he could, and he hoped that many fresh Institutes would be formed to teach the ryot of India how to obtain more from the land than he did at present. The lecturer had also referred to co-operation, and he had stated that there were "leading Indians of great ability ready to co-operate," which was very true, but, as far as he could see, the one aim and object of many others was to annoy the Government and to oppose the Government in every possible way, and he was sorry to say that he could not see any chance of "the whole-hearted co-operation" referred to by the lecturer as yet. The student question, as pointed out by the lecturer, was one of the most difficult in India. It was solely in the hands of the High Commissioner. The students were sent to this country without anyone in authority over them as in the case of other Eastern countries, and the Indian Government had done their best in the matter; but the students required care, guardianship, and protection from the many difficulties they were surrounded with in a huge city like London. It was the duty of the High Commissioner to see that the students were looked after, and if they went back to India with anti-British ideas, as stated, it was the High Commissioner who would be solely responsible for it. The lecturer had referred to the advantages of a combination of British and Indians; personally he had always thought that the finest thing for England and India would be to have Englishmen and Indians working in combination. Half a dozen Englishmen and half a dozen Indians sitting alternately round a table and working together produced the finest results; but six Englishmen on one side and six Indians on the other, working against each other, produced nothing but chaos. Until there was a Legislative Assembly more representative of the masses of the Indian people he was afraid that good results could not be obtained, and he agreed with the lecturer that India and not the present politicians must "provide the woof." He was of the opinion that a self-governing scheme could be obtained by commencing at the bottom with the village punchayets and the indigenous organizations of the masses, and building up on those, but not by introducing legislative assemblies and councils from the top. When this was done there might be some chance of real self-government for India.

Mr. NOLAN said he would like to make two remarks—one in favour of the lecturer's paper and the other against it. There were too many men working at Indian Universities who expected to get Government jobs; they should not think so much of that, but should devote their energies to their country's demands rather than rely for employment on carrying out Government duties. With regard to the question of publicity, the province to which he belonged had, before the reforms, started a paper which told the people what the Government's point of view was on general subjects, and

did it without fear or favour, and it was attacked. Soon after the reforms took effect, the home Member, who did not see eye to eye with the paper, decided in reply to the attacks that it should be stopped. Personally he ventured to say that it was wrong to stop the paper. With regard to the question of education, more attention should be given first to education in agriculture, and secondly to secondary education, to fit men for business life rather than for the legal profession, which was overcrowded.

Mr. HARCOURT said he wished to say a word about the Indian students. He saw a large number of them at the Inns of Court, and was of the opinion that any attempt to introduce supervision over them would be deeply resented by them, would be ineffective, and would create a feeling of bitterness towards this country; it would be folly to attempt anything of the kind.

Mrs. BELL also addressed the meeting, but her remarks were unfortunately indistinctly heard at the reporter's table.

A member of the audience asked whether the position of women working in the mines in India was not unsatisfactory.

Mr. R. K. SORABJI, in his reply, said that he did not look forward to the day when England might possibly withdraw from India. He believed it was desired that India should remain in the Empire, and even the extremists did not want England to go out of India altogether; they still said that they wanted Englishmen there for purposes of defence. He could not foresee the day when India could get on without England to assist in some way to keep the warp and the woof together. He thought the question of the backwardness of women of India might be disposed of by remembering that all over India women were waking up. The *purdah* was gradually being eliminated, and the women were taking an interest in Indian affairs. It would be found that by degrees they would wake up tremendously. He wished to pay a tribute to Mrs. Bell's books, which had laid stress on the necessity for English women in India to take an interest in Indian matters and Indian women. When English ladies in India were interested enough to visit Indian women, they found it worth while. He thought Mrs. Bell had done a great deal towards causing English ladies to take an interest in Indian women.

He thought Mr. Rothfield did not realize the object of the paper, which was to show how the warp and the woof could be brought together to form a fabric. Mr. Rothfield had touched on extraneous matters, such as the acids and technical tests to be applied after the fabric had been wrought. Those were for a specialist who would say what acids one must have and what acids one must not have. Although India was changing tremendously, there was already really a great amount of co-operation there which justified optimism. If one followed the history of India, it would be found that Great Britain was rather unwise at first in its dealing with Councils. When Indians were first nominated to the Councils, if any one of them introduced a Bill it was objected to as a matter of course, and the result was that, since they felt all their Bills were going to be rejected, they turned in a body to object to every British Bill. They

became adverse critics of every Government measure. That was the germ of non-co-operation. When one thought of the vast amount of co-operation that existed, and when one realized that the politicians were a mere handful and that 85 per cent. of the people were not in politics at all, it was really nonsense not to be optimistic. He was tremendously optimistic so far as the present Viceroy was concerned, and he believed the coming Viceroy would be a good successor. Those who knew of the industrial and other unrest in England were not at all afraid of present conditions in India. If the people of England and India set their minds to attend to the warp and woof, they could leave the question of how to work it to specialists. They ought to pay more attention to the question of the agriculturists; more than 80 per cent. of the people of India were engaged in agriculture.

Sir Charles Yate had expressed the opinion that the salt tax was not unpopular, but he did not distinguish between conditions in India and conditions in England. Most people in England, when a thing was unpopular, really felt it to be so, but outside England people took up an adverse cry without examining whether they were really against a cause, so that the cause became practically unpopular, though it might not be theoretically so.

With regard to the student question, he did not for a moment ask for supervision; that was not what he wanted at all; he wanted to have the hand of friendship held out to them. If it was meant to give them a forward move in politics, he wanted people to talk politics to them. If people said they could not talk about politics, then the students thought they were not going to be allowed to have any real progress towards Dominion status. He denounced the methods of British people who did not try to get amongst the students, and who never talked a word of politics to them. If an effort was made they could be formed into small groups, not for supervision, but for friendly conversation, and they should be allowed to talk as much as they liked. As soon as they let off their steam they always felt much better, but if they bottled it up they had a great grievance.

With regard to the question of "failed B.A.'s" and so on, his complaint was that the education given in India was not vocational, preparing youths for the ways in which they could earn a livelihood. And something more was needed when they were educated otherwise than to be mere B.A.'s; scope should be provided for them to exercise their calling. Capital should be found for enterprise, for example. They should be educated to work, and work should be provided. The position was that if a man obtained his degree his marriageable market value was so much, and less if he were a failed B.A., and so on; but it did not mean work and the possibility of earning.

He had laid the greatest stress in the paper on his optimism with regard to India; he knew of no people in the world who responded to kindness as did the Indians. In no country did a little kindness go so long a way. In the early days English officials saw a great deal of Indians; then clubs

arose, and the opportunities for meetings grew less. Now, again, the two sides were seeing more of each other. There should be free intercourse and exchange of views to help understanding.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you will agree with me that we do not know which to admire most, the eloquent paper which the lecturer read to us, or the thrilling address which he has just delivered in conclusion. He followed up his metaphor of the warp and the woof in admirable detail, and I think he convinced us that the warp—the British Government—must remain, and that the woof must be woven according to the different capacities and attitudes of the various Indian peoples. Here he has hit upon one of our main difficulties in India—I am speaking now of the political side only. As Mr. Sorabji has pointed out, the woof cannot be the same everywhere because of the different races, different cultures, and different creeds, with different aspirations and different objects in view. Therefore, if you are going to accomplish anything in India, you must have different woofs and allow the various peoples to work out their own woof, and in doing so to utilize the best that is in them. He has pointed out that the ideal of Swaraj may be an admirable one, but it does not take you very far. Home Rule is a very empty thing unless you have some moral and material progress at the back of it all; and here Mr. Sorabji emphasized the fact—and I think we all agree—that that moral and material progress, which is so essential in India, can be secured only under British guidance, by a British-Indian Government ensuring peace and ordered progress—the warp and the woof together. If that warp is damaged or broken, then the woof also disappears; the whole fabric becomes a tangle, a chaos.

When Mr. Sorabji referred to agriculture he pointed out that one of the main strands in the warp was irrigation. I mention this particularly, because one speaker told us that for many reasons deterioration was taking place in agriculture. In those parts of India with which I am best acquainted we can say that there has been an enormous development in agriculture owing to irrigation. In the Punjab, when we took it over seventy years ago, there used to be 250,000 acres under irrigation from some old canals made by the people or their rulers a long time ago. When I went to the Punjab nearly forty years ago there were 2,000,000 acres under irrigation; when I left the Punjab the area had risen to over 11,000,000 acres under irrigation, or nearly half the total cultivated area. That development was due to British capital and British enterprise. A similar development has taken place in the United Provinces and Madras. There is now being carried out in the Punjab the Beas-Sutlej project, which will add 3,000,000 more acres, so that within four or five years you will have 15,000,000 acres of irrigation, yielding crops worth eighty millions sterling annually from land formerly barren. Land between Lahore and Mootken was to my knowledge selling at eightpence an acre in 1887; when I left Lahore in 1919 that land was selling at £30 per acre. Our irrigation in the Punjab (we do not talk much about it) is the work of seventy years, and is already twice as great as the system in Egypt, which

has been built up in six thousand years. But not only that; our engineers in India have done a great deal to further the system of irrigation in Egypt. When one of these irrigation engineers, a friend of mine, came back from Egypt, I spoke to him of the Nile irrigation work, and I said: "What a wonderful thing it has been to Egypt and the Egyptian people!" He turned to me and said: "It is the result of *two* Niles. There is the White Nile from the Lakes and there is the Blue Nile from Abyssinia. Their waters have different qualities, each in its way fertilizing. It is the combination of these two elements that makes the Nile water of such value to Egypt. If you had only the White Nile you would miss the lime which you get from the Blue Nile; if you had only the Blue Nile you would miss the rich silt of the White Nile. It is the fusion of the two which makes the Nile water so valuable." Taking that simile, may we not say that it is the combination of the qualities of the British and the Indians, whether in politics, agriculture, education, or in other ways, which, utilized for a joint object, will build up a solid foundation for the progress and prosperity of the Indian people.

I think we all owe the lecturer, Mr. Sorabji, our very sincere thanks for his admirable paper which he has placed before us, and also for the very apposite and excellent instances which he has put forward to support his arguments. I will ask you to pass a hearty vote of thanks to him.

The vote of thanks was put to the meeting and carried with applause.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

THE MORAL REGENERATION OF PERSIA

BY "FARANGHI"

ARTICLES often appear in the Press on the efforts which are being made by almost all Eastern nations to overtake Europe in civilization. Opinions as to the success or otherwise of the attempts to transplant European institutions to these countries are very varied, depending largely on the mental outlook and training of the writer, and what he has seen of the particular people he writes about.

Obviously democracy cannot flourish where the bulk of the people are illiterate and of low morality. The present writer was, therefore, greatly interested to learn on a recent tour in Western Persia of the efforts which are being made by the Government of that country to foster popular education. All towns and most of the larger villages now have schools supported by the Central Government. The Minister of Education lays down the syllabus and sends inspectors to see that it is carried out. I was privileged to visit some of these schools in places I passed through on my tour. Reading and writing Persian, Islamic scripture, elementary arithmetic, geography and Persian history are the usual subjects taught, and in one school I noticed human anatomy was one of the subjects.

Towards the end of my tour a Government inspector of schools happened to be my fellow-guest in a Persian house. This gentleman was refined and well educated. He told me that some branch of physical science was supposed to be taught in every school, but that great difficulty was experienced in getting men able to teach it. This will not surprise those who know Persia, but my friend assured me that men were being found gradually.

Moral training is considered an important work of the schools. Very little stress is laid on the cruder practices of Islam, which will probably die with the advent of education as did those of Christianity in Europe.

Thus one evening we were chatting on the roof when we heard a Rozakhani commence. (A Rozakhani is a recital of the story of the deaths of Hasan and Hussin, grandsons of the Prophet. Much feigned wailing and weeping takes place. In the month of Muharram the people beat themselves unmercifully at similar ceremonies—sometimes, though of course not often, inflicting wounds which prove fatal.)

"In another fifty years or so," I said, "when education has become general and people can read the history of this sad affair, I suppose these Rozakhanis will die out."

"In fifty years?" said my friend. "We hope it will happen much earlier than that." His sentiments were evidently shared by the company, which included a headmaster and several Government officials.

Having obtained a set of school readers, I found on perusing them that my friend the inspector did not exaggerate when he said that one of the chief duties of the schools was to train character.

The first few chapters of the one reader teaches the great Islamic idea of the Oneness of God, His Omniscience, Omnipotence, and Loving-kindness. Then the children are taught how to obtain favour in His sight. Thus, "The approval of God is in works which benefit His creatures." The prophets are called "our spiritual fathers," and assurance is given that they are thousands of times kinder than earthly fathers. Also that "obedience to the prophets is obedience to God."

The necessity of prayer is insisted on. "Know that prayer is converse with God, and linger over it." Truthfulness is inculcated thus, "Whatever thou art, be (To thine own self be true). Be not a liar. Lying is a fire which consumes the harvest of honour and respect."

"Truthfulness is the salvation of this world and the next." "Even the liar loves the truth-teller." "The truth-teller is also honest." "The liar is an enemy of God and the prophet." "A truthful unbeliever is better than a Mussalman liar"—which is significant. Honesty is taught thus: "Know your own property as your own and other people's as theirs." "Nothing is lower than thieving." "All the wealth in the world would not compensate for the shame of one theft." "If you commit one theft, a lifetime is required to eradicate the stain."

Children are taught to respect their teachers, but one may perhaps be pardoned for wondering whether the latter feel at all self-conscious when they hear children reading: "The most noble of men in my sight are the school staff, and the most noble of the school staff the headmaster, who is my spiritual father. After the head, my class teacher is the most revered. The school-cleaner, in my eyes, is entitled to more respect than a servant of 'the Royal household.'"

"The acquisition of science," we read, "is incumbent on all—all men and all women." "A Mussalman student if he die in the acquisition of knowledge is a martyr." "Wherever a student sits, angels cover the floor with their wings." "A student who falls asleep over his books is credited with an act of worship." (One can imagine English schoolboys wishing this idea prevailed at home!) "The student is beloved of God and the Prophet." "Angels say 'Amen' to every prayer of a schoolboy." One wonders whether little angels blush when they read: "School children are angels on earth."

An effort is evidently being made to instil an idea of patriotism in the minds of the young. Thus one reads: "The fatherland is more precious than soul and body." "Soul and body must be sacrificed for the fatherland." "The people of the fatherland are all members of one body." "The advancement of the country is a sacred duty of all its inhabitants." "Persia is our fatherland, and our beloved Persia was once the envy of the world."

Coupled with patriotism is forbearance to one's fellow-countrymen, thus: "Should one of my members be diseased, I would not burn but cure it. Should my fellow-countrymen do me harm, I would show patience and teach them better. If my tooth aches, I do not revile it, but try to make it better, and if my fellow-countrymen revile me I 'salaam' them."

The dignity of labour is taught. "I consider artisans most honourable, for without them I should not get my daily bread. If they did not grow cotton and raise wool, of course, I should be without clothes. How very honourable I must consider builders and their labourers who build houses for me! I consider the labour of villagers more honourable than that of town people." "What a worthless fellow I should be if I cannot serve in some way!"

Respect to parents is insisted on—especially to mothers. "God's approbation is conditional to that of mothers." Sex is no mystery to young children in Persia, but imagine a child reading in school: "I cannot carry half a stone on my shoulders for half a day, yet my mother carried me patiently in her womb for nine months."

A spirit of *esprit de corps* is fostered thus: "I will be humble towards my schoolfellows because they are my brothers in learning, my brothers in faith, my beloved fellow-countrymen; because they love and respect me; because I was created to love my fellows in some manner; because I am human, and human beings should have tenderness; because if I did not show kindness towards them I should be a savage; because it is the rule of the school to show kindness, particularly to schoolmates."

Service is insisted on, thus: "I am greatly desirous of being of service to my relations because they are very kind to me. Since I am kind to strangers how much more so should I be to relations. God made me for service to others. Men should experience humanity from men, and if I do not serve them how shall my humanity be manifest?"

"My virtue lies in this, that in return for evil I do good.

I am a seeker of progress, which is impossible except through virtue. I was created for worship, and the greatest glory of worship is service to God's creatures."

A blow is struck at corrupt officials. "I will not entertain hatred of anyone in my heart, except of the enemies of my country. These are of two kinds—internal and foreign. Internal enemies are tyrants and bribe-takers. Foreign enemies are Governments which covet our fatherland. The law is the remedy for internal enemies, and we are keepers of the law. The remedy for foreign enemies lies with warriors, and I myself am a soldier of the Fatherland. To die for the Fatherland is in truth to live."

Industry is insisted on. "Nothing is worse than idleness." "Life is the wages of work, death is better than an idle life." "I will do good without seeking a reward, knowing that I have done my duty. I eat God's daily bread that I may do good to His creatures. Were I to do evil, God's daily bread would become unlawful for me."

"I will not consider old clothes on anyone a sign of his worthlessness. I know that all the prophets wore them that the poor might not feel abashed in their presence. I will never wear foppish clothing to make the poor feel disconcerted. Were I boastful of foppish clothing I should only prove my own stupidity. Contentment I consider the glory of worship."

The above excerpts are from the readers used in the lower standards. In those of the higher standards there are tales and fables—all teaching some great virtue, often with an extract from the poets.

"Let men's worth be gauged by their intelligence,
Not by their money or silver or gold."

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE SECTION

THE MEDICAL ASPECT OF THE OPIUM HABIT IN SOUTH-EAST PERSIA

BY G. EVERARD DODSON
(C.M.S. Medical Missionary, Kerman.)

JUST recently I was given an interesting article to read, entitled "The Opium Trade through Persian Spectacles,"* which caused me to think not a little.

The object of this article, as I understood it, was to show that Persia cannot be expected to enforce a programme of gradual discontinuance of opium cultivation at the behest of the United States of America, without very substantial financial compensation. Knowing something of this land, one at once recalled the fact that as the cultivation of the poppy yields a harvest in a shorter time than any other land crop in Persia, and yields a revenue far greater than any other ground produce of the country, and that this Government income from opium amounts to about 5 per cent. (one-twentieth) of Persia's total revenues, it is obvious that the Persian Government, always at its wits' end for money, will not be willing to discontinue the cultivation of this drug at the behest of the United States of America, or any other foreign country, without some very substantial financial compensation for doing so. And although drugs possessing toxic effects are forbidden in Islam, neither this consideration nor any humanitarian argument in Persia, at present, will suffice to check, let alone prevent, the general cultivation of the poppy in this part of the country.

The object, however, of this article is to show the medical aspect of the opium habit in Persia, or at least as it exists in the south-east quarter of the country, by one who has been in medical practice there for the last twenty years.

* Published in April issue, 1925.

Whatever statements may have been made in the past by medical men, or travellers, or others, on the opium habit in this land or elsewhere, the fact remains that in England opium is scheduled as a poison, is only obtainable in reasonable doses by means of a doctor's signed prescription, and the British Pharmacopœia gives the dose of the drug by mouth as one-half to two grains! And perhaps one thing more than any other is impressed on the student of medicine in connection with opium and its derivatives—viz., to avoid the very real danger of lending a hand to any patient becoming addicted to their habitual use.

Why is this? Because the drug has an altogether peculiar and increasing hold on the habitué, which usually successfully defies any effort to throw the custom off. Quite unlike the individual addicted to alcohol, who can go for periods of some length, and do excellent work, without taking it, the opium habitué is absolutely tied to the times and doses of his soporific, and cannot change them—i.e., whenever the hour for the next dose or smoke of the drug arrives, he is more or less lost, being a drowsy and fuddled being until again soothed by it.

Further, as the individual in most instances takes the drug to get the psychical enjoyment and soothing effects which it so strikingly gives, and as these are only uniformly produced by a gradual increase of the dose, by far the majority of those under the opium habit here are steadily, if slowly, increasing the amount of the drug which they use.

Again, despite some statements which have been made about the opium habit in Persia, the general use of the drug in this part of the country is relatively a new habit, as is indicated by the fact that although its use is so common in the towns, one does not meet with many opium habitués in them who have employed the drug for more than fifteen years, and those who have done so are mainly the relative few who have managed to restrict the amount of it which they use.

Attractive as the Persian character is in many ways, it
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does not exhibit, to the same extent, the self-restraint of some of the more Western races, hence its tendency to fall a victim to any drug habit which it may indulge in. The Persian who drinks alcohol takes long draughts; nevertheless if the effects of the opium habit were not very different from the effects of the alcohol habit in this land, this letter would not have been written.

Opium addicts in this part of Persia exist among all classes, but are far more commonly met with amongst the upper and middle classes than among the artisans and the poor.

It is rare to find the master of the house an opium smoker and his wife, or wives, not addicted to the drug also.

Looking over the first thousand prescription papers of out-patients at the Church Missionary Society's hospital here, of the present year, 1925, I see that thirty-six were noted as opium smokers, smoking from a quarter to three misqalls a day, (18 to 216 grains) and averaging 66 grains per day, and that ten were mentioned as opium eaters, eating from 3 to 36 grains daily, and averaging 16 grains a day. These numbers do not, however, represent by any means the actual percentage of people who take opium, but only those for whom, in the stress of out-patient work, it was considered advisable to make a special record of the amount of the drug they were employing as bearing directly on their treatment. To say that about one-sixth of the total adult population of the upper and middle classes of Kerman is addicted to opium is probably not far from the mark.

What has made the habit so prevalent in the towns here? I should say firstly the fact that the native doctors knew of the pain-killing effect of the drug, and prescribed it for any condition whatever attended with pain, or even discomfort, and their patients, soon grasping the effects which it had, then began to employ the drug without any reference to the native medical men. Doubtless this fact that pain could be

painlessly dispelled by opium introduced many to the drug. Unfortunately it became also to be regarded as a specific for eye diseases, which figure so largely in this country. But other causes have been at work too—*e.g.*, a very enlightened Persian made the remark to me years ago, that in Kerman a thousand people started to smoke opium each Ramazan, the fast month, to enable the days to pass more easily. Probably this exaggerated the increment, but in any case a thousand would not fall a fresh prey to it now each Ramazan, as not only is the fast kept less rigidly than formerly, but there are now relatively fewer left who are not already addicted to it, and who could afford to start the habit at the present high price of the drug.

Again, many a family quarrel some years ago, when the drug, with no restrictions on it, was cheap and easy to get, ended in one of the parties taking opium to get rid of the difficulty. Thus twenty years ago an opium suicide was brought regularly about every fortnight for treatment, and most of their lives saved; nowadays only one about every six or eight weeks comes along.

The opium pipe was the usual method of using the drug when the habit first became general, which led to its becoming a part of the ordinary house equipment for the entertainment of guests, as much as the glasses in which tea was served did.

But has not the Persian Government checked the habit? Opium, from being a non-taxed commodity, obtainable everywhere and cheaply some sixteen years ago, now is taxed at the rate of seventy tomans per man (about 52s. per lb.) What has been the main result? That while the price has gone up sevenfold, the habit of smoking, in the case of those with restricted means, has been changed to that of eating the drug, and as the change to eating about one-twentieth of the quantity previously smoked gives approximately the same physiological effects, the sevenfold rise in price has not checked the opium habit here. I have yet to meet a Persian who gave up this habit because

he could not afford it! Even opium smoking or eating beggars are given the drug as a "savab" (act of merit).

Opium is forbidden in the Persian Army now, and the habit is apparently in abeyance in it, which is all to the good. But does the habit really do harm? The opium habitué of some standing can usually be recognized by several suggestive points. He is almost invariably a dyspeptic, is more or less wasted, and shows by his blue lips and dark tongue a poor aeration of blood, he cannot take active exercise without at once becoming unusually breathless, his mental powers are slow, and if seen when his next dose is due it is obvious that he cannot concentrate properly, and is rather like an individual in the state commonly described as only half awake. The fact is that the opium habitué is below par, is more or less degraded, is unable to take life seriously, and will even give the fumes of the opium pipe to the baby in the cradle to prevent its cries troubling the house!

We have found that such subjects cannot resist severe epidemics, and that although the Persians regarded opium as a specific against cholera, that almost all opium addicts died when they caught it, merely illustrating the fact that they had but little natural resistance left to combat the disease with.

Similarly we found that users of opium were extremely bad subjects for operative treatment of any sort. Years ago cataract cases did so badly that we started to refuse to operate on patients with cataract if they were addicted to this drug and were unwilling to give it up entirely first. This rule has been expanded now, so that operative treatment is not undertaken for non-urgent conditions until the habit has been overcome by medical treatment.

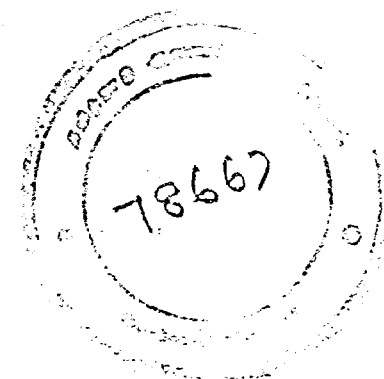
The Persian commonly says that the opium smoker or eater is usually a liar in reference to the habit, and there seems to be a good deal of truth in this.

In the consulting-room, when the question is asked, "How much opium do you smoke?" a common reply is six

nokhuds (18 grains); then when asked, "But who in Kerman would take the trouble to get an opium pipe ready for this amount?" a smile is raised amongst those present, and the patient remarks, "I tell no lie." But when asked, "But do you, however, smoke your misqall (72 grains) at one or two sittings?" the reply often comes, "At two!"

I asked my servant how many opium smokers in Kerman smoke as little as 18 grains a day; he replied, "That would not be classed as opium smoking." And again, "But are there many among those who do smoke who use as little as 18 grains a day?" He replied, "There is talk of it, but (pauses) it is very rarely seen indeed!"

These remarks of mine apply equally to the village population of the large villages in this part of Persia, whose habits (the opium habit included), customs, dress, and speech closely approximate to those dwelling in the towns; but they do not apply to the country-folk in the smaller villages, or to the migratory tribes folk in general, who know little or nothing of the trammels of this pernicious habit, or to the labourers on the land, or to the artisans, or to the muleteers; it is no solace to these folk, and they get on far better without it.



COMMERCIAL SECTION

RECENT INDIAN TRADE STATISTICS

(Compiled from Official Sources)

DIAGRAM I. shows India's position in the world's trade, her place in the commercial sun. In order of importance,

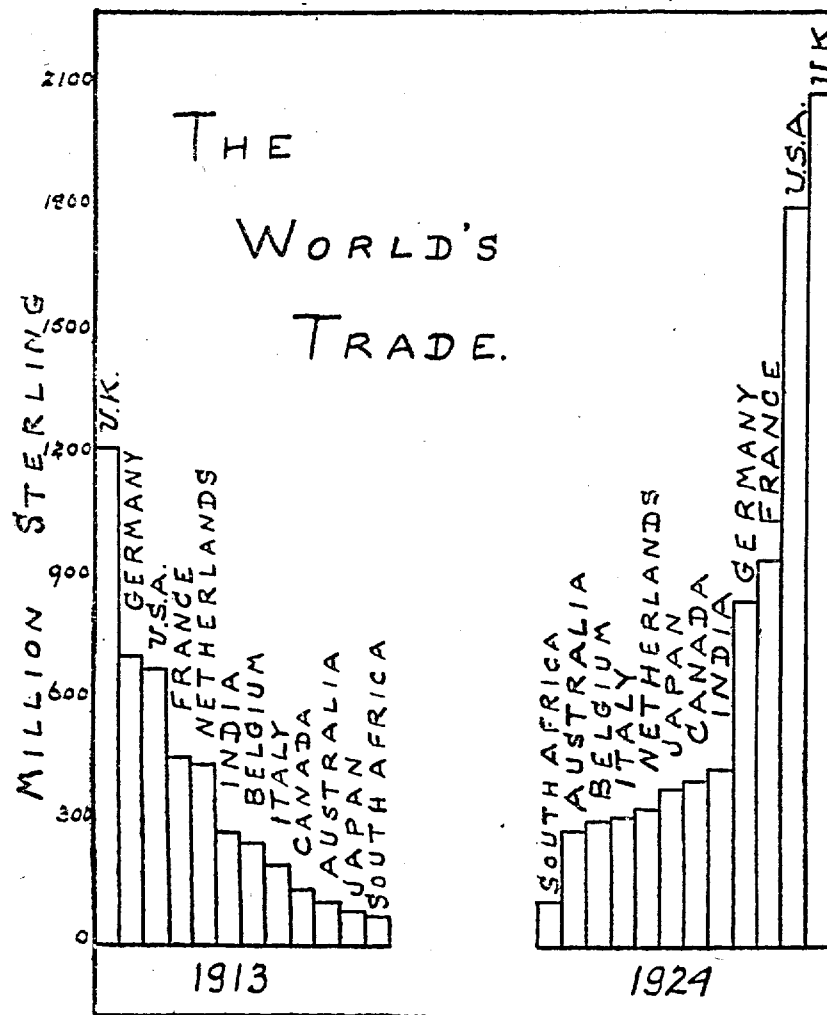


DIAGRAM I.

before the war in 1913, easily the biggest place in the world's trade (exports and imports combined) was taken by the United Kingdom. Germany and the United States

of America came close together as second and third, and France and the Netherlands as fourth and fifth. India came sixth. By 1924 there have been considerable changes. The United Kingdom still heads the list, but the U.S.A. are close behind. A long way after come France third and Germany fourth. India has gone up

EXPORTS FROM UNITED KINGDOM TO PRINCIPAL DESTINATIONS

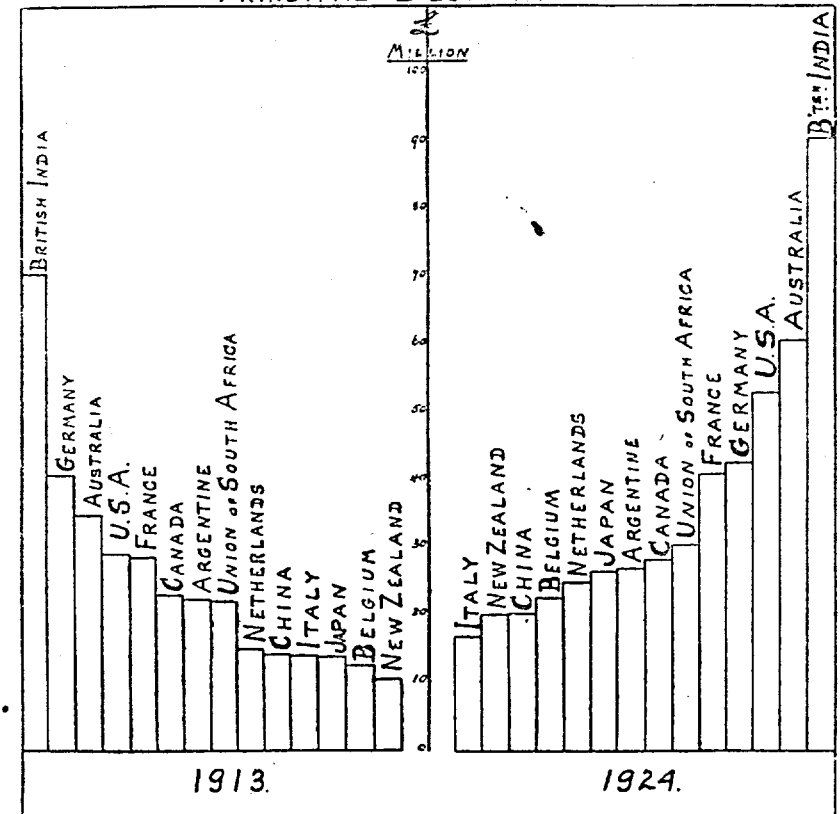


DIAGRAM II.

from sixth place to fifth, and she is now followed closely by Canada sixth. Japan has made the biggest jump, from eleventh place in 1913 to seventh in 1924. The Continent has not made much progress, in spite of the so-called advantage of a depreciated exchange.

Diagram II. shows the importance to this country of the Indian market, relevant to other markets. In 1913 India was our best customer. We then exported to India goods

to the value of £70 million, and our next best market was Germany, which took only £41 million. Australia came third, followed by America, France, and Canada. In 1924 India is still by far our best market, taking our goods to the value of £90 million. Australia comes second with £61 million; America third with £53 million; then Germany, France, and Canada. People are talking nowadays about the depression in the China market. That is a serious matter. But the China market is worth to this country less than one-quarter of the Indian.

But India is not only our biggest market. She is also our best market in the sense that she supplies us with foodstuffs and raw materials, and takes in exchange the products of our factories. In the latest year for which statistics are available, 90 per cent. of our imports from India consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials and 10 per cent. of manufactured goods, while our exports to India consisted of manufactured goods to the extent of 95 per cent. The percentages are practically the same as they were before the war.

In Diagram III. can be traced the movements of the last sixteen years of Indian trade, which includes the average of five pre-war years; the average of five years of war, and each of the subsequent six years, from 1919 to 1924. It is interesting to notice how different were the effects of the post-war boom and the succeeding slump on India's export and import trade. Exports were naturally the first to respond, for a keen demand for manufactured goods is immediately reflected by anticipation in demands for the raw materials from which these goods are made. During 1919 the demand for Indian goods was considerable, but it fell off during 1920, when the first effects of the slump were noticed. On the other hand, against the credits secured for these high exports, India placed considerable orders for overseas goods. The orders took time to execute, and hence the full effect of the boom on India's import trade was not felt until 1920, when her exports had already begun to fall off. Exports and

imports alike dropped heavily during 1921, and the imports continued to fall off during 1922 and 1923, recovering for the first time in 1924.

The strength of India's trade position as a producer of goods which are essential to the rest of the world if existing standards of life are to be maintained is illustrated in the rapid recovery of her export trade during 1922, 1923,

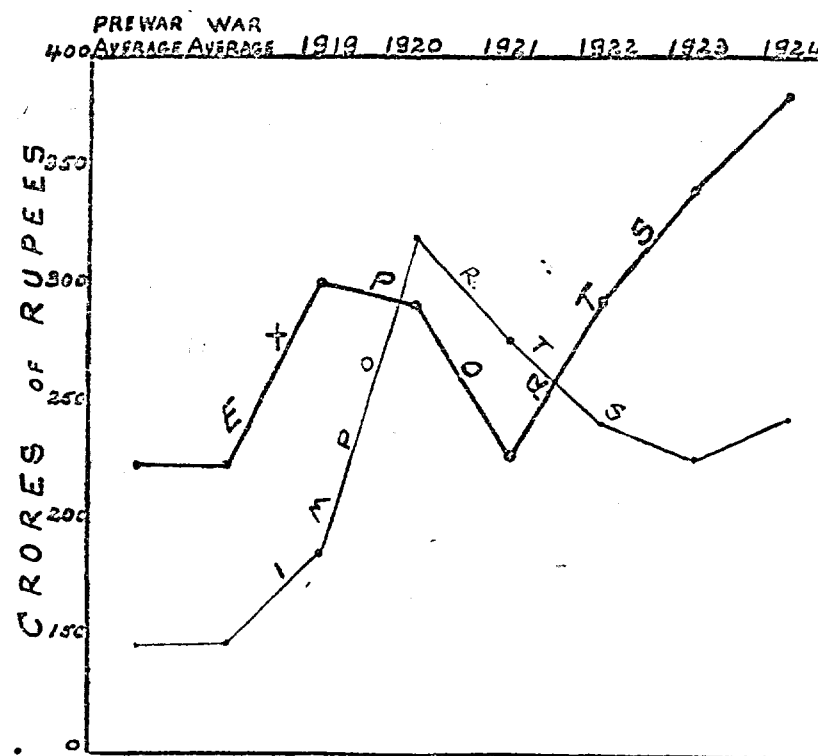
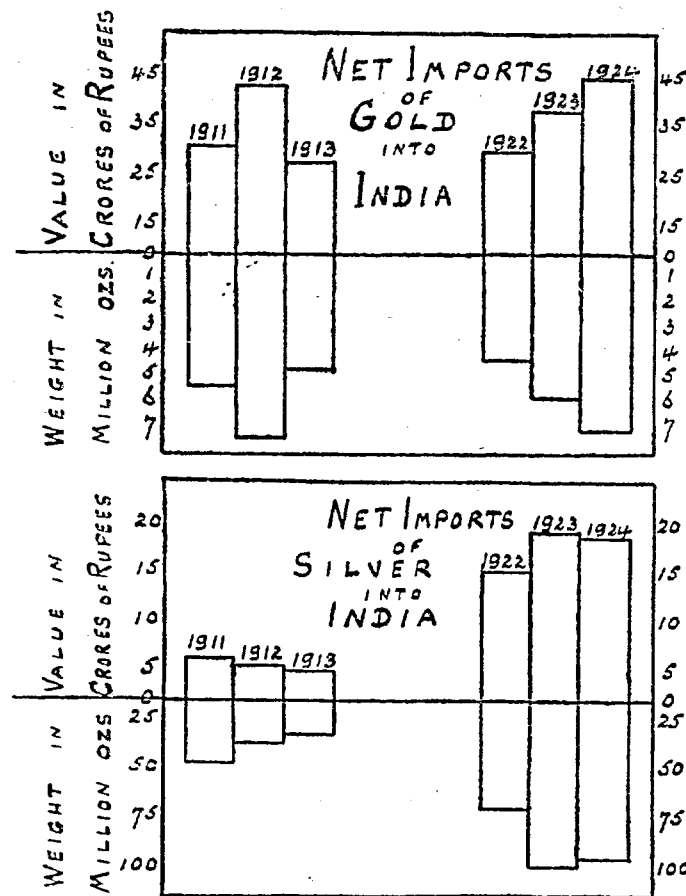


DIAGRAM III.—SIXTEEN YEARS OF INDIAN TRADE.

and 1924. The decline in exports which occurred during 1921 indicated the gradual liquidation of foreign stocks of Indian goods. In the conditions of trade which obtained during the three succeeding years, 1922, 1923, and 1924, stocks were nowhere built up, for price levels have not even yet been established. Foreign purchases from India during these three years represent purchases for immediate consumption, and indicate the extent to which Europe, America, Africa, and Australia depend on India for their most vital requirements.

A survey of India's import and export trade would be

incomplete without a reference to her imports of gold and silver (Diagram IV.). Here, again, there has been a good deal of exaggeration in the Press. It is true that imports of gold during 1922, 1923, and 1924 have been on an ascending scale, and have continued to increase during the first three months of 1925. From this, the hasty conclu-



DIAGRAMS IV. AND V.

sion has been drawn that India is buying gold in quite abnormal quantities, and that if she were not buying gold she would be buying other goods, such as cotton piece-goods, instead. It must not be forgotten, however, that India has always purchased large quantities of the precious metals, and that her supplies were seriously curtailed during the war. This refers, of course, to purchases of gold and

silver on private account, omitting purchases by Government for currency purposes, which are not, strictly speaking, a trade question. As a matter of fact, India's total imports of gold during 1922, 1923, and 1924 are just about on a level with her total purchases during the three pre-war years, 1911, 1912, and 1913. The imports of gold have, it is true, been particularly heavy during the concluding months of 1924 and the first three months of 1925; but there are indications that satiety point has been reached, for the imports have fallen off during April and May, 1925.

With regard to silver, Diagram V. shows that it is not in respect of gold so much as of silver that India has increased her purchases in comparison with pre-war imports. Here, again, the reason is that her supplies were reduced during the war. By 1921 it has been estimated that India was actually between thirty and forty crores short of the silver she might reasonably have been expected to buy had conditions been normal. It is an interesting fact that this shortage was made up by the end of 1924.

There have been striking divergencies in the effect of war and post-war conditions on the prices of manufactured goods and raw materials. In Diagram VI. the top curve represents the index number of cotton manufactures; the middle curve represents the general price index number; and the bottom curve represents the prices of the principal food grains—rice, wheat, and other cereals. The prices ruling just before the outbreak of war are taken as the basis of the comparison, and are represented by 100. From this point, all three curves reach their highest average in 1919 to 1920. From 1920 the general price-level drops slowly year by year, while the price of cotton textiles falls more sharply, and that of food grains declines, but rises between January, 1924, and January, 1925.

From this diagram there is a striking conclusion to be drawn. Everybody knows how serious at present is the condition of the cotton industry of Lancashire. Lancashire

depends largely on her export trade to the East, and particularly to India. The largest consumers of Lancashire goods are the agriculturists in India. As conditions are to-day, the Indian farmer is obtaining for his agricultural produce prices only 35 per cent. higher than those which he was able to secure before the war. But, owing to the high value of cotton, he has to pay for his cotton clothing prices actually 169 per cent. higher than pre-war. It is small wonder that his purchases of cotton cloth are seriously reduced, and that Lancashire is suffering in consequence.

One further point. The general price-level in India now represents an advance of about 71 per cent. over pre-war prices. India's trade during 1924 represents an advance in value of just 69½ per cent. over her pre-war trade. On this calculation the volume of her trade is only just short of what it was before the war.

In Diagram VII. there are composed the quantities of rice, wheat, oil-seeds, raw sugar, cotton, and jute consumed in India, with the exports of each of these crops. All the blocks below the zero line represent consumption in India, while those above the zero line represent exports. It will be noticed that particularly in the case of rice, wheat, and oil-seeds, the exports account for only a small part of the total production, the balance being consumed in the country; while in the case of raw sugar there is no export at all. With regard to cotton, although India exports more cotton than she consumes locally, she exports grades of cotton which are not required by her own mills and fills up the gap by importing grades which she requires from East Africa, America, and other countries. With regard to jute, before the war India exported in the raw state more than her mills consumed, but that position is now reversed.

Diagram VIII. treats of the cotton piece-goods trade of India. There exists side by side in India a demand for heavy piece-goods woven by the Indian mills from short-staple Indian cotton, and also for the finer and lighter cloth woven largely by the United Kingdom from long-staple American

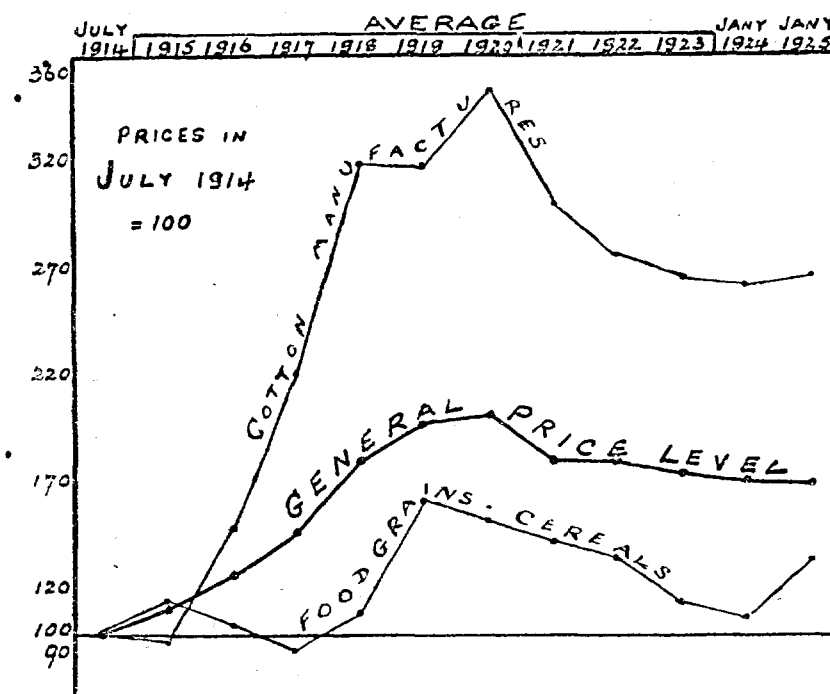


DIAGRAM VI.—CALCUTTA INDEX NUMBER.

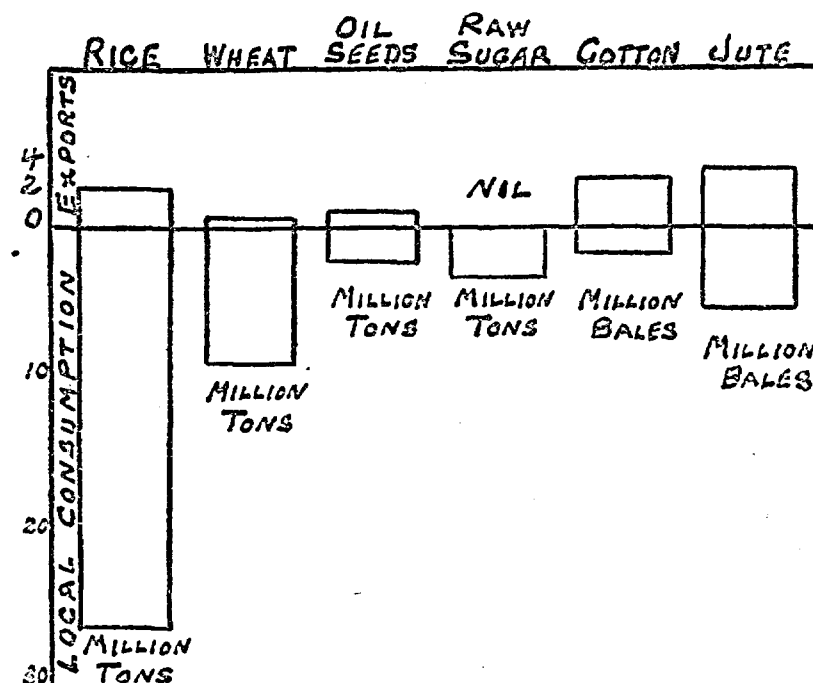


DIAGRAM VII.—LOCAL CONSUMPTION AND EXPORTS OF INDIAN STAPLE PRODUCE, 1924.

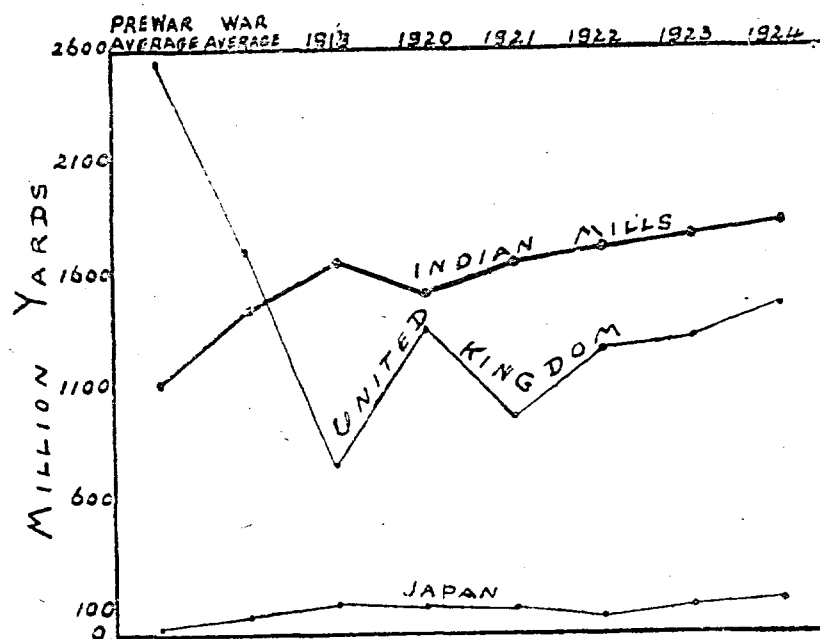


DIAGRAM VIII.—COTTON PIECE-GOODS TRADE OF INDIA.

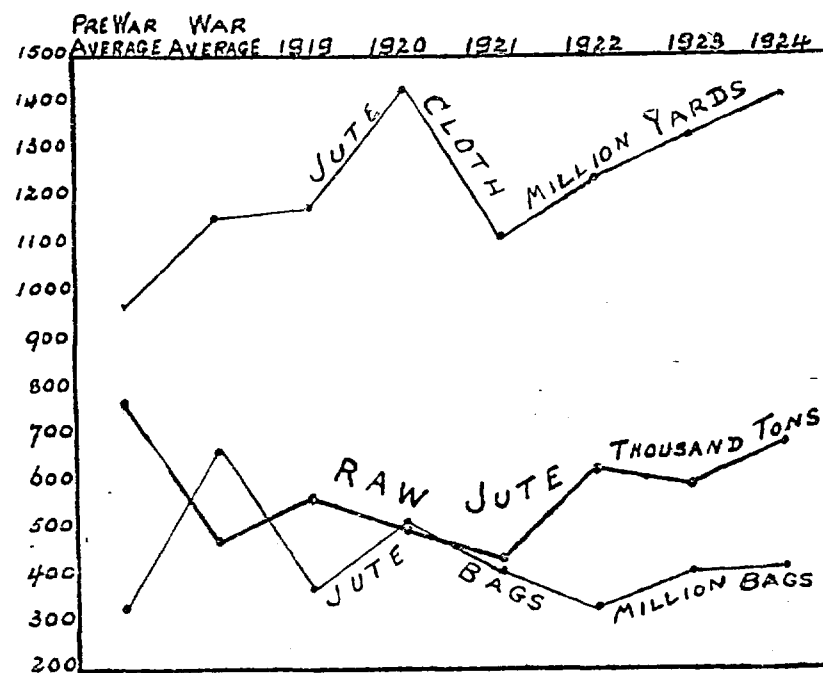


DIAGRAM IX.—JUTE TRADE OF INDIA.

and Egyptian cotton. Japan is the next biggest shipper of cotton piece-goods to India, and Japanese goods compete on the one hand with Lancashire and on the other hand with the Indian mills.

The position of that other great industry in India, the jute industry (Diagram IX.), may now be examined.

Jute is exported from India either in the raw state to be spun and woven abroad (as for example in Dundee and the Continent); or else as cloth, chiefly to North America, there to be cut into lengths and sewn into bags; or else as fully finished bags or sacks chiefly to England, South America, Africa, and Australia. The diagram shows variations in the export of jute in all three stages during the pre-war period, the war period, and during each of the six succeeding years.

The first point to which attention should be drawn is the effect of the war on this trade. Although jute mills have been erected in many parts of the world, the Indian mills are in a commanding position in that they operate in Bengal, close to the only source of supply of the raw material. One effect of the war was to encourage the export of manufactured jute goods from India, in preference to raw jute, which was bulkier and more expensive to transport at a time when ocean freight charges were high. In short, the high cost of ocean freights during the war operated as a protection to the Calcutta jute mills. The result may be seen in the drop which took place during the war in the export of raw jute and the rise in the export of jute cloth and jute bags.

Many questions are being asked just now in regard to the high price of tea (Diagram X.), and it is commonly assumed that although the output of tea in the world has increased since the war, it has not increased proportionally to the increase in the world's demand. Naturally, the price of tea, as of any other commodity, is determined by the relevant forces of demand and supply. But the general assumptions made in regard to the tea position are not

altogether correct. The output of tea has certainly increased in India. There has been an increase of production in Java, but the production in Ceylon has fallen off slightly in comparison with pre-war output, and the production in China has been seriously reduced. Balancing these pluses and minuses, the production of tea for export in the four great producing countries of the world is now less than it was in 1913, the heaviest decrease being in China.

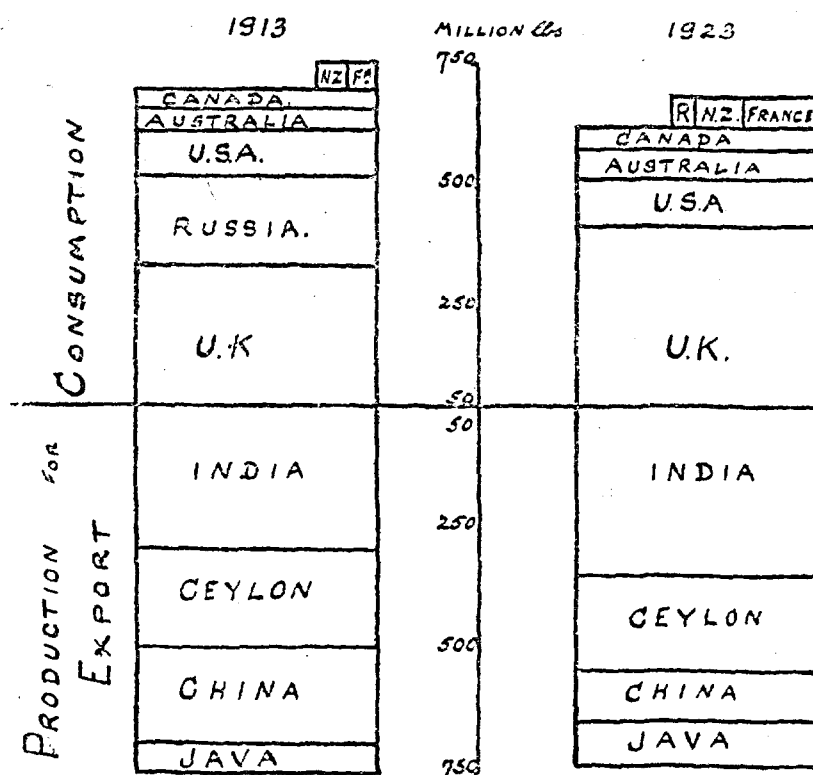


DIAGRAM X.—TEA.

On the consumption side, again, almost every one of the chief consuming countries of the world have increased their purchases—the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Australia and Canada, France and New Zealand, in the order given. But this increase has not been sufficient to make up for the decreased consumption in Russia, whose demand has fallen from 177 million lbs. in 1913 to 3 million lbs. in 1923.

GHOST AND VAMPIRE TALES OF CHINA—II

By G. WILLOUGHBY-MEADE, A.I.A.

(Continued from October issue, p. 700.)

THERE seems little doubt to me that animal stories about foreigners must be connected with *totemism*.

Many beasts, on account of their strength and cunning, are raised in some cases to an heraldic, and in others to a religious, level in barbarous communities. The bear, the wolf, the beaver, the snake, and the fox—to name a few examples—were eventually adopted as tribal badges or clan patrons; family and personal names were taken from them. If the famous Red Indian chief, Sitting Bull, had fought with the ancient Greeks instead of the modern Americans, he would probably have passed into history as a sort of Minotaur; and his portrait would have been rather like the ox-headed T'ang demons described and illustrated by Mr. Hobson and Dr. Laufer, or the bronze devil-statuettes of the Sumerians.

The real importance of totemism is its connection with marriage—that is, in fixing degrees of kindred, and generally serving the social purpose of a modern surname, with a view to securing exogamous unions. The confusion of animal totems with human beings, however, is what we are concerned with now; the inaccurate history of dealings with foreigners as a source of folk-lore.

Next to the tiger and the wolf, the fox is one of the most important animal spectres in the world. Cunning, greedy, and cowardly, it is a byword everywhere; but the word Fox is very commonly used as a surname in various European countries, and is also found in China. One may therefore lay some of its spectral misdeeds at the door of certain tribes or individuals to whom it served the purpose of a totem.

It is held by some authorities that a folk-tale is generally a deposed religious myth, one which has lost ground on account of improved culture—native or foreign—and which, therefore, survives among the more credulous only. To go back a stage further, the myth itself may very well have been based upon a ritual whose meaning is obscured by time or other causes, or upon an historical tradition.

On this understanding, the "totem"—of supreme ritual and social value as a regulator of marriage and otherwise—would degenerate into a mere badge or tribe-name; and the folk-tales based upon it, especially at contact with alien cultures, would tend to "explain away" the unmeaning remnants of totemism in the higher race, by attributing animal ancestry or a bestial name and nature to its adherents among the lower.

A parallel from Western Europe may be helpful at this point.

The *seal* plays a large part in the legendary lore of the West of Ireland and the Hebrides.

For many centuries, no one bearing the surname of Coneely would kill a seal, for fear of incurring bad luck; the reason given being that, at a remote date in the past, certain Coneelys had been turned into seals by enchantment. Coneely meant "seal," and to avert the ill-omen the name is said to have been changed to Connolly.

When seals were caught in the Island of Harris, a seal was set apart to offer to the minister, doubtless as a precaution against misfortune. Formerly it would no doubt have been sacrificed to the gods.

In the district of Ossory, Ireland, the people were referred to in an old MS. as "descendants of the wolf," and there was a strong prejudice against killing wolves in that part of Ireland, so that these animals did not become extinct until the eighteenth century. Aubrey mentions that a wolf fang was worn as a charm "as we do coral," and—more significant still—the men of Ossory were mentioned in a folk-tale quoted 1603 by Fynes Moryson, as having the

power of "turning into wolves yearly." That is, they were *were-wolves*.

In Erris, a district of Connaught, *foxes* were formerly believed to understand human language; there was quite a friendly feeling towards the animal, whereas, in another place—viz., Claddagh, Co. Galway—there was a fear of the fox, and a Claddagh fisherman would not put to sea on the day he saw a fox. The latter incident is attributed to the ancient belief that a totem animal should not be looked at by the tribe of which it was the heraldic or eponymous emblem.

The legendary hero Cuchulain (whose name meant "the dog of Culain") was forbidden to eat the flesh of a dog; and it was after transgressing in this manner against his totem that his death occurred. Diarmid suffered from the same disability in respect of the boar, and when a certain boar died, his life was forfeit.

The hare was not eaten in Wilts nor in certain parts of Scotland in former times, and it was held to be a bad omen if one met a hare. Other creatures were evidently totems in certain parts of the British Isles, but none of them fill so large a space in popular superstition as the seal, the wolf, or the fox.

From the earliest times the fox has been held to be of evil omen in China. As a harbinger of misfortune, as a bringer of disease, as an enchanting female of evil character, or as a mere ordinary spectre, the fox figures in an enormous number of tales in China; and in Japan the same superstition has produced a considerable were-fox literature, some of which is familiar to English readers. Much of it is, of course, of Chinese origin. The fox tales are monotonous, because, as a rule, some wise or brave person finds out the deception and forces the creature to resume its fox form; or kills it, and finds the corpse to be the body of a fox.

Even the harmless necessary donkey is known to do uncanny things at times.

In the year A.D. 742, we are told, a certain Wang Hsün

lived in the village of Yen-shou, district of Ch'ang-an. One night three people came to supper with him. They had just finished eating, when a large, black, hairy arm appeared under the candle-light. Hsün and his friends were startled; still more, when a voice was heard, coming from the other side of the light, saying:

"Sir, you have guests, but may I call on you for one moment? I want some meat; put it into my hand."

Hsün handed some meat to the arm, which took it and withdrew. Again it appeared, demanded meat, grasped it, and vanished. The next time it appeared, Hsün and his friends drew their swords and hacked at it. It fell to the ground, and behold! there was the leg of a donkey lying bleeding on the floor. Next morning they found a track of blood leading from the amputated leg to a house in the village. The occupants said they had had a donkey for over twenty years, which last night had lost a leg, apparently from a sword cut: they were very perturbed and unable to account for it. On hearing of the spectral arm they decided to kill the donkey and eat it.

Other domestic animals are credited with playing devilish pranks at night, and goats—which for some reason were formerly associated with earth spirits—are more often mentioned than pigs, cows, or asses. The goat is also an important figure in European demonology.

The *Tai p'ing kuang chi* contains a tale of a *were-snake* or serpent demon that molested Confucius himself.

Yen Hui and Tzū Lu were seated at the gate of the master when a spectre called to see him. Its eyes glared like suns, and its terrible appearance threw Tzū Lu into a fainting-fit. Yen Hui, however, armed himself, stepped forward, and grappled the spectre by the loins to wrestle with it. It immediately turned into a snake, which he slew with his sword. The master came out to see what had happened, and said with a sigh, "The bold man has no fear, wisdom is not misled; the wise man is not bold, the bold man does not of necessity possess wisdom." We are

told in the Analects that Confucius did not talk about marvels, feats of strength, treasons, rebellions, and ghosts; but seeing how he loved and respected Yen Hui, and mourned at his early death, one would expect a better acknowledgment of his pluck and presence of mind than the tepid platitude put into the Sage's mouth by the writer of this story!

Other snake demons were feared as causing leprosy, ulcers, madness, and a host of different ailments; toads, likewise, were credited with evil powers.

During the T'ang Dynasty the daughter of a petty official fell ill. She ate and drank irregularly; sometimes sang, sometimes wept without cause, or tore her clothes and ran madly about. A diviner was called in, but his sacrifices, spells, and music had no effect. While the medicine-man was at his antics, a passenger-boat was moored close to the dwelling of the sick girl; and a man, lying on the boat to rest, saw in a deep ditch a huge toad as big as a bowl, with red eyes and hairy legs, dancing to the magic drums. The man hauled the beast up with a bamboo, and tied it to an oar. At that moment he heard the girl cry out, "Why do you bind my husband?" Whereupon he knocked at the door, saying, "I can cure diseases like this." The father, overjoyed, asked his fee.

"Not more than a few thousand coins," said the visitor.

"I love my daughter above everything," said the father. "I have spent so much in vain trying to cure her that I don't care how much I pay now; I'll double your fee."

So the passenger boiled the toad in oil, and next day the girl was quite cured.

Owls, as in Europe, are unlucky. They steal human souls at night, and their cries forebode evils of various kinds.

Centipedes, and occasionally fishes, appear in spectral form.

Of dogs, however, it must be stated that their blood was widely credited with the power of breaking spells and

forcing evil entities to reveal themselves. The straw dogs used in sacrifices—referred to in the well-known passage of the *Tao té ching*—would seem to point to real dogs as being used in sacrificial rites in very early times; so their sacred character might well render them efficacious in vanquishing evil "*kuei*."

To cut short the catalogue of creatures which, in popular tales, are described as possessed by, or acting like, evil spirits, we may remind ourselves that animism exaggerates the cunning and venom of animals, insects, and so forth, while it draws no fine distinction between the mind of man and the mysterious instinctive wisdom of certain lower creatures. The Chinese people, anxious out of politeness to conceal emotion in obedience to the rules of etiquette, have an extremely lively imagination; savage enemies, wild creatures, and diseases caused by bad drainage and a trying climate are clearly at the back of their world of grotesque horrors, a mere bold outline of which would fill a large volume.

A type of spectre markedly characteristic of Chinese folk-lore is the ghost of a tree, plant, or even of an inanimate object, especially of any article of organic origin such as wood or rope.

Tree-worship, of course, existed in pre-Christian Scandinavia as well as in China, and sacred groves were common to Britain, Syria, Italy, and Greece; magical and auspicious plants are heard of all over the world. In China, lucky or beneficent trees had a certain amount of *shên* spirit in them; the other kind harboured more objectionable entities.

A Japanese superstition held that, after dark, some trees were able to pull up their roots and move about; New Zealand mythology says that when the gods made men, they planted some of them in the earth upside down, their hair becoming roots and their limbs branches. The Greeks imagined graceful dryads as the spirits of trees; in China, however, snaky or monstrous forms were held to haunt

particular trees, and woe betide the unlucky wight who felled the trunk in search of building material or firewood!

Towards the end of the Liang Dynasty, an empty house in Pu-hsi-chia was declared by various former occupants to be unlucky and not habitable. One day a certain Wei Fu-t'o entered at twilight and saw a monster with a human face and a dog's body running about. He shot an arrow at it and it vanished. Next day the house was opened, and the arrow was found, buried in a rotten tree-stump, with some dried blood coagulated under it. Thereafter the house ceased to be haunted. Tree-spirits, however, were generally said to appear as tall, dark-coloured men, who were easily put to flight by a trenchant sword-cut or well-directed arrow. The tree, on subsequent inspection, generally showed where the "spirit" had been wounded by the marks on its bark. On account, perhaps, of their inflammable nature, trees and tree-ghosts are associated with fire-worship in many countries, and with incendiary devils in China.

The subjective nature of these manifestations is well brought out by the sequel to this and other such tales; the level-headed fellow who attacks the apparition with the nearest weapon goes unhurt, and "lays the ghost" into the bargain.

The spectres of rotten utensils* made from wood deserve a few words. At certain stages of putrefaction wood is slightly phosphorescent in the dark; and if any of the wooden articles are connected with people now dead, or have ever been used in funeral rites, the uncanny association is quite enough to give them superstitious importance.

Liu Hsüan, of Yüeh, was surprised one evening after sunset to see a visitor, dressed in black, approaching him. He lit a torch and saw that it had no face, so that it blundered against everything in its way. So he consulted a soothsayer, who replied thus: "This is a thing coeval with your ancestors; if it is allowed to exist any longer, it

* In Chinese, *mei*.

will become a dangerous spectre and kill men, but having no eyes yet, you may still avert its evil intentions." Liu caught it and tied it up with a rope; then, on his striking it with his sword, it turned into a wooden pillow, of the style of his grandfather's time.

In times of storm, passenger boats on the P'o-yang Lake used to be attacked by a black snakish object, and were always damaged. At length, after a long drought, part of the lake ran dry, and a rotten rope was found lying on the sand. A farmer chopped it to pieces, whereupon blood gushed from it, so he burnt the fragments, and thereafter the rope, an old ship's cable, no longer haunted the lake or damaged the boats.

Once upon a time, a rice dealer of Chia-hsing, province of Chekiang, had to cross a yellow muddy canal in which many persons had been suffocated. As he rode across it on his buffalo, a black hand rose from the mud to grasp his foot. As he drew up his legs, the hand seized the hoof of the buffalo and held it fast. The rider called for help, and after much effort the buffalo was dragged out. An old broom was found attached to its body. The broom was so putrid and offensive that it was hardly possible to approach it. When it was struck with sticks it made a moaning sound, and black blood trickled from it. Knives were brought, and the thing was cut off and burnt, but it left an evil stench for some time. Since then, no more people were suffocated in the yellow mud canal.

It is often asserted, by the way, that the Chinese are very chary of helping a drowning man, lest the water demons may be angry at losing their prey and take the opportunity of drowning the rescuer. Against this allegation, one is pleased to state that on the great rivers there are life-saving societies which possess boats and suitable tackle for rescuing persons in danger of drowning.

There is a Lithuanian tale of a changeling which was left by the elves in place of a stolen human baby; at cock-crow the changeling resumed the shape of a broom.

Another tale, from the same country, relates that the head of the changeling was chopped off; blood flowed, but on examination the neck was found to contain a wisp of straw instead of the usual organs. Brooms are much feared by ghosts and vampires in China, and evidently are credited with occult powers even before they have decayed into goblins.

The punishment of incendiary fire as a penalty for offending elves and goblins occurs in a Norse tale, in which the trolls exclaim: "The red cock shall crow over thy dwelling!" The cock and the red colour, as connected with heat or the sun, are strongly reminiscent of Chinese tradition; and we know that the Norse folk-tales hinge largely upon the magical powers and exploits of the Lapps and Finns, and are thus in intimate connection with the old-time beliefs of North-Eastern Asia.

The soothsayer Kuan Lu was once sent for by the prefect of Hsin-tu, whose wife and daughters lived in a state of nameless terror, and were often ill. Kuan Lu divined the reason as follows:

"On the west side of your hall are buried two corpses, one with a spear, the other with a bow and arrow. The one with the spear pierces the heads of your family, and affects them with dire headaches; the one with the arrows aims at their breasts, and makes them anxious and miserable."

Whereupon the prefect had the ground dug up, and the skeletons and their weapons removed, and everybody in the house recovered.

Here we have a case of the articles buried with the dead being invested with spectral powers of causing illness.

In a Scottish folk-tale from Dornoch, Sutherland, a man who had to attend a funeral on New Year's Day, and thereby miss the festivities of the season, happening to see a skull at his feet, hit it with his staff, saying, "You are alone and uncared for like me. No one has invited me to the New Year's festivity; I invite you!" That night, as he

and his wife sat down alone to supper, a venerable man entered and shared the meal in silence. He came again and again for six nights, but never uttered a word. At last, the old man being induced to speak, invited his host to a feast in the churchyard in an imperious manner that brooked no refusal. The host, shaking with fear, went to the graveyard and found there a gaily lit house, full of people eating, drinking, and dancing. After an apparent lapse of a few hours, the old man warned the mortal visitor to go home; and when he got there he found his wife ready to remarry, as a year had elapsed since the graveyard feast of her husband.

The "Rip Van Winkle" element is here combined with the haunting power of a skull, in a place where the infiltration of an East Asiatic superstition was possible, by way of Lapland and Norway.

The spectres who are blamed for causing nightmares and more serious illnesses, abundant as they are in Chinese folk-lore, are too much like similar spectres elsewhere to detain us here; but I am inclined to put forward the theory that they are closely connected with the most gruesome of all spectres—the *vampire*—not only in China, but in other parts of the world.

Strictly speaking, the vampire* is a demon which inhabits a corpse and preserves it from decay by preying upon other corpses or upon living creatures. This demon-agent, in Chinese belief, is the *p'o*, the lower or animal soul, which remains with the corpse instead of being dissipated into vapour, or going elsewhere in one form or another. So long as the skull, the skeleton, or—better still—the whole body is undecayed or apparently so, the ghost is active and powerful; and if the sun or the moon is allowed to shine directly upon the body before burial,† or if a cat should jump over it—thereby imparting

* In Chinese, *ch'iang shih*.

† Thereby endowing it with a certain amount of Yang, or positive force.

a certain amount of tiger-nature to it—the dead body is likely to become a vampire.

Chinese vampires generally have glaring eyes, long, sharp claws, and a body covered with white or greenish-white hair.

Vampires of long standing acquire the art of flying, and in this guise are sometimes confused with the *Yakshas* of Buddhism. Such spectres are destroyed by a flash of lightning, which may mean that they are conquered by one of the Indian weather-deities whom the Buddhist pantheon brought into China—Indra, for example, who, by all accounts, was a stout fellow!

We may now turn to a few vampire stories.

Liu, a lower-grade literate, tutor to a family living some distance from his home, obtained a holiday at Ch'ing Ming time to tend his ancestral tombs. The day of his return to duty his wife, entering his room to call him in the early morning, found his headless body on the bed, and no trace of blood.

The woman gave the alarm, but was arrested on suspicion of having murdered her husband, and remanded in gaol for further enquiries to be made. Then, one day, a neighbour gathering firewood on an adjoining hill, saw a good, sound coffin, its lid partly raised, lying near a neglected grave. Suspecting robbery, he called some neighbours, and they approached and took off the lid. Within was a corpse with the face of a living man, its body covered with white hair. Between its arms it held the missing head of Liu! The corpse held the head so tightly that its arms had to be chopped off to release the head; fresh blood gushed from its arms, but the head of Liu was dry and bloodless. The magistrate ordered the corpse to be burnt, and Liu's widow to be set free.

One night four travellers, very tired, turned up at an inn in Ts'ai-tien, Shantung. The inn was full, but the travellers pressed the innkeeper to shelter them, and with much hesitation he put them in a lonely house near by, in which his daughter-in-law had recently died. The house was lit by a

dim lamp, and behind a curtain lay the uncoffined body of the girl. The four weary men flung themselves down on the beds provided, and three of them were soon snoring lustily. One of them was not quite asleep when he heard a creaking sound behind the curtain. He opened his eyes and saw the corpse rise up, push aside the curtain, and approach. It stooped over the three sleepers and blew thrice upon them; the fourth, in terror, hid his head under the coverlet and held his breath. The corpse breathed on him also and withdrew. Hearing a rustling sound, he peeped out and saw that it had returned to its couch, and was lying as still as before.

Afraid to call out, the traveller stealthily kicked his sleeping comrades, but they did not stir; so he quietly reached for his clothes and hoped to creep away. Every time he moved, however, he heard the creak of the bier, and he dived under the blanket again and again, listening all the time to the corpse, who came across and breathed on him. At last a pause, followed by the rustling of the shroud, nerved him to a final effort. He put out his hand, seized some clothes, scrambled into them, and rushed, barefooted, from the house. The corpse jumped up, and although he bolted the door in its face, it chased him a long way, gaining on him until, in desperation, he dodged behind a willow-tree four or five feet thick. As the corpse darted to the right, he darted to the left; this went on some time until the enraged corpse rushed at him, missed him as he fell in a faint, and embraced the tree with a rigid grip. At daybreak it was found, when the corpse was pulled away, that its fingers had bored into the tree like an auger. The traveller eventually recovered, but his companions all died of the effects of the corpse's breath.

Outside the southern gate of Tan-yang, Kiangsu, a certain Lu had an orchard which brought him a fair profit every year. Naturally he kept watch, with his sons' help, night and day when the fruit was ripe. One moonlight night he was seated, watching, upon a stone, when he sud-

denly saw among the trees a head, covered with disordered hair, appear out of the ground. He called his sons, and they all went to see what it was. A woman, dressed in red, rose before them; whereupon the old man fainted and the sons ran away terrified. The woman pursued them to the door of their house; there she stopped with one foot inside the threshold and the other outside. At the cries of the sons a number of people ran to the rescue; but the icy breath of the spectre kept them back. The woman entered, glided under a bed, and disappeared. Then the sons went to their father and brought him round with a strong decoction of ginger; but after that they were afraid to guard their fruit trees, and a thief entered the orchard one night. Next morning he was found lying on the ground almost frightened to death. He said he had seen a man without a head. Thereupon they dug in the garden in the place where the manifestations had taken place, and discovered a red coffin containing the body of the woman whose ghost had appeared, and a black one containing the corpse of a decapitated man. Both bodies were perfectly preserved. They were burnt, and thereafter all was quiet.

One asks oneself the question, how could this belief in vampires have arisen? I confess I have not so far found any explanation of it, so perhaps you will pardon me for suggesting one.

To begin with, spectres are credited with causing diseases, and the fevers associated with swamps, old battle-fields, and such places are attributed to the will-o'-the-wisps and fireflies seen hovering over them; mists and vapours are said to be unwholesome and uncanny; fevers cause delirium and anæmia. Secondly, strange savages—that is, "foreign devils"—are charged with cannibalism and head-hunting in numerous folk-tales, in China and elsewhere; even in Europe there are many people who have the unconscious power of exhausting the energy of those with whom they come in contact, and are actually dubbed "psychic sponges" by certain medical

practitioners. The glaring eyes and hairy white bodies of vampires suggest a comparison with wreaths of mist and marsh-fires, although the hairy covering may be derived from the fungi and moulds which attach themselves to shrouds after burial; and the notion that bad deeds are punished—subject to the decrees of heaven—by ghosts of various kinds is very ancient, and appears to be sanctioned by the classical writers of China.

There is also the important influence of the Central Asian races—Turks, Uigurs, Mongols, and so forth—people more fierce than the Chinese, and associated in the popular mind with witchcraft, spiritualism, and lycanthropy; and the belief in vampires is notably prevalent in that part of Eastern Europe with which the same Central Asian races are in contact.

We have seen, further, that the lively imagination of the Chinese people invests every article connected with death, or the rites of burial, with horror and fear; that their popular mythology is crammed with monstrous shapes and characters in greater variety than that of any other people; that they have suffered from the invasions of savages, Melanesian and others; from wild beasts and venomous reptiles; from the scourges of tropical disease and the misuse of opium; from ignorance of medicine and hygiene.

Given, then, these mingled terrors of this world and the next, it is hardly to be wondered at that a belief in vampires has arisen—as so many other errors arise—from a mixture of inaccurate history, illness, and sheer subjective “funk.”

Though negative evidence is of little value, it has been noticed that tales of vampires, in the European sense of the word, are infrequent in *ancient* Chinese folk-lore, but are more frequently met with in story-books of the last two centuries, whereas other spectres are described in works of high antiquity. The foreign element—largely Central Asian—in modern Chinese tales is often clearly recognizable, and confirms the theory put forward above, that

mixed or garbled traditions of aliens are great stimulants of folk-lore. The Manchus may thus have influenced Chinese superstition in the same way as the Hungarians and the Turks have coloured the beliefs prevalent in Eastern Europe.

Mr. Robertson Scott, author of “The Foundations of Japan,” quotes an interesting remark made to him by a Westernized Japanese with whom he was discussing “The Golden Bough.” The Japanese said, “There are things in our life which are too near to criticize. Do you know that there are parts of Japan where folk-lore is still being made?”

There is little doubt that the same could be said of China.

The late Sir Lawrence Gomme, in his “Folk-lore as an Historical Science,” mentions that a woman buried at Croxton, near Rochester, England, insisted upon being buried in a coffin with a lock and key, and had a key placed in her hand in case she might feel inclined to leave her coffin from time to time. Unfortunately, no date is given, but the tale has a very Oriental flavour, coming as it does from a place quite close to London. In English folk-lore there are very few like it.

I must conclude by apologizing for touching, in so hasty a manner, upon so vast a subject. There are many who have a far better knowledge of Chinese folk-lore than myself, but few have written upon it.

Professor Herbert Giles and one or two other writers have translated a number of interesting ghost tales from the Chinese, but they have merely whetted our appetite. China evidently possesses a vast body of written record—and who knows how much more in the form of verbal tradition?—exemplifying practically every superstition known to man, and linking up the primitive beliefs of Northern Europe with the ghost-lore of Eastern Asia and dim, fearful traditions of Melanesian cannibals.

Chinese art, ethics, philosophy, and history are gradually

becoming known—albeit at second-hand—to educated Europeans; but the folk-tales which, in other countries, are sedulously collected and analyzed by careful specialists, have received but little attention from Chinese scholars.

THREE GHAZALS

BY J. CALDWELL-JOHNSTON

I

DAWN

Low sighs the wind, the lilies bow and beckon,
The tulips flame, the orioles like stars
Flit through the brakes of sombre-dreaming cypress,
Where sleeps, the long day through, Love's nightingale.

II

NOON

All the day long the strings of my zither trembled,
As the water trembles when steals my skiff slowly o'er the
pool.
I trail my hand, the waves glide through my fingers.
Love, tell me what shall cool my fevered heart?

III

MOONRISE

When the moon rises, the nightingale's notes like silver
Pour from the cypress thickets, where all the roses sleep.
Love, let me be the jasmine that o'er thy lattice
Dreams the night through, a fountain of silver stars!

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

CIVILIZATIONS—EAST AND WEST*

BY STANLEY RICE

It all depends how you look at it. If you will take your courage in both hands and confess boldly that nothing better awaits man than this life on earth, that at least the future is hidden, and that beliefs, however reasoned, must eventually rest upon conjecture, you will challenge the generally accepted idea that the spirit and the intellect are superior to the body, and that therefore a material civilization must be something lower than a spiritual. There is much to recommend such a view. For if there is no certainty of a future, it is wiser to make the most of what lies before us, to aim at power, at wealth, at fame, at comfort, at intellectual achievement, all of which things the world abundantly promises. It is mere futility to waste time in arguing about what after all may not exist, especially as such argument leads to nothing definite; it is worse than futility to separate oneself from the world and to live voluntarily a life of renunciation and suffering in order to purify the soul and make it more fit for some future life that exists only in the imagination. Metaphysics are from this point of view nothing but a spinning of spiders' webs: man has a right to glory in his scientific achievements, not only for themselves, but because the application of them has given him power and wealth and comfort. All the more for that reason; there is much in science that tends to avoid or to diminish suffering and pain, and if such things are put to baser uses, that cannot be helped, for nothing is without its countervailing disadvantages. It is easy to argue from the comfortable armchair and in the Lucretian manner that the drowning man is exchanging a worse for a better life, or to reason that his suffering is all imaginary. The humane man is humane by intuition, and his instinct will lead him to obey the wireless signal and hurry to the

* "Orient et Occident," by René Guénon (Paris: Payot).

rescue. It is easy to argue that the discovery of anæsthetics is a trumpery fragment compared with a knowledge of the universe; the man under the knife will be of a different opinion.

All this and much more you can argue, if you have the courage of your opinions. That you must have. Man in whatever state of civilization has always entertained the hope of immortality; even the aboriginal tribes of India believe in the persistence of life or of some kind of existence after death, and take steps to prevent the return of the ghost to the house. It is the great hope and it is difficult to relinquish. It is not a question of religion, for religion teaches only the same doctrine in many forms and inculcates various methods for attaining to eternal bliss. Christianity teaches the survival of the individual soul, which is redeemed by a vicarious atonement, and may be (in certain forms of the creed) purified by the intermediate stage of purgatory; Hinduism teaches absorption through contemplation and the purification of the body through reincarnation. Buddhism and Islam have their own special doctrines and their own special conceptions, but all alike speculate upon the survival of the soul, and all alike dwell upon the temporary character of life upon earth compared with the future. The thoroughgoing materialist denies this in effect if not in words. He acts upon the assumption that this life contains all that is worth having, and is prepared to take the risk of the future.

The Hindu, on the other hand, is taught that this world is Maya, which does not mean that he is living in a world of dreams and that the phenomenal earth has no existence except in imagination, but that it is relatively unimportant. He acts upon this belief, sometimes consciously, but more often as the result of tradition. It is this attitude of mind that is the key to much that is otherwise incomprehensible to the Western mentality. Thus the economic waste which results from the reverence of the cow is the despair of Western administrators; it is vain to point out that the weak and the old and the decrepit should be sacrificed to make more room for the young and the strong and the vigorous. The European looks upon the cow as he looks upon any other property—a thing to be got rid of when it has lost its economic value, but a thing which, having life and being susceptible to pain, should be mercifully destroyed. The Hindu, who at one time was not averse to destroying female infants, would put up with any economic loss rather than kill a cow. Why this reverence for the cow arose is

not very clear. It is usual to ascribe it to the part which the animal plays in Indian economy, and to reason that it has been exalted from the sphere of material to that of spiritual values. If this is so, the special sanctity of the cow would seem to be in the same category as the rite of circumcision, which, originally instituted as a matter of hygiene, has become a religious dogma. Thus, too, it has been held that the old Vedic gods took rank in the hierarchy according to the special need of man for the provinces of nature over which they presided. But it is just for the very reason that the Indian tends to live in a world of ideas that it is usually unsafe to assume a utilitarian origin for anything. Be that as it may, the cow has been so exalted; to the European the dogma seems little more than an unreasonable superstition, while to the Indian the idea has completely transcended all material considerations. It would never occur to any Christian of whatever faith to abstain from killing a lamb for dinner because in a most solemn part of a solemn ritual the image of the Lamb is used as a personification of a Divine Person.

European civilization is essentially material. Is it therefore, as M. René Guénon argues in his book, "*Orient et Occident*," a civilization "*pour qui l'intelligence n'est qu'un moyen d'agir sur la matière et de la plier à des fins pratiques, et pour qui la science, dans le sens restreint où ils l'entendent, vaut surtout dans la mesure où elle est susceptible d'aboutir à des applications industrielles*"? At first sight the answer must be emphatically in the affirmative. We have only to look about us to see how utterly inconsistent it is with its own professions. The idea of a future life, the idea of the transitoriness of this one, the idea in short of Maya, is reserved, if at all, for a single hour on Sunday, and is then left behind in the pew with the prayer book and hymn book. For the rest of the week the busy world is taken up with buying and selling, with inventing new processes for conquering time and space, with curing diseases and arguing cases, with a thousand and one things that belong to this world. It has often been said that religion is the mainspring of Indian life. That is true in a sense, and because the outward and visible signs of religion consist of meticulous observances of caste and ritual, we are inclined to scoff and to talk of superstition. But it would be more correct to say that the mainspring of Indian life is metaphysics, and that India values ideas more than facts. Caste is a symbol more than a fact. That which defiles the body defiles the soul, said a Brahman, and though we

may feel intuitively that it is not so, the Indian rightly recognizes the danger of a Laodicean attitude. That is the root of most of the errors which missionaries make. Caste to them is a hideous institution, which results in the oppression of the helpless, and leads to nothing but injustice and tyranny, as to the economist it was in the past the great obstacle to material progress. But to the Indian it is not these things, or if it is he regards them of little account. As another Brahman said, when asked why he would not drink pure water drawn but not touched by a low-caste man and yet would drink the water in which the man had bathed, "it would be the thin end of the wedge." No amount of inconvenience or discomfort weighs in the balance against the idea; an Indian would go thirsty rather than accept water contrary to the rules of caste, while the practical European would not hesitate to sacrifice the idea to bodily comfort.

There is an implied inconsistency in Western conduct which the ordinary man is perhaps loath to acknowledge, and yet it is at the bottom of that desertion of the Churches of which the clergy complain. The West has taken its religion from the East, and Eastern ideas do not fit. What is inculcated is not suited to the modern world. We are bidden to turn the other cheek to the smiter and sell all we have and give to the poor. We do neither of these things and we know that we never shall. Such things are possible in the East; the example of Buddha, who exchanged a throne for the beggar's robe, is followed even to-day by the naked ascetic who has renounced the world. It is remarkable, too, that those who have studied Eastern religions have lately been unanimous in confessing that they are more logical than the Christianity of the West. It is not logical to accept the Sermon on the Mount and to behave as though it did not exist. It is not logical to project the soul into an eternity of the future or to ignore the eternity of the past. It is not logical to worship a God of Love and Justice who for the sins of a moment condemns his creatures to eternal torment. The Hindu does none of these things. As was already pointed out, he is quite capable of carrying out in the letter what has been enjoined upon him. He regards his soul as emanating from Brahma, to whom (or should it be to which?) it eventually returns; it is a spark thrown off for a moment to be drawn again into the generating fire. He does not believe in eternal torment, nor does he look upon this life as a single episode to be expiated in the purification of purgatory, but thinks that it may be extended

indefinitely until such time as by repeated trial it has shown itself worthy of Ananda.

But life is complex and ideas are at most only relative. The extreme materialist believes in nothing but matter and is justified in acting upon his belief; the extreme spiritualist ignores the world altogether and is far less justified, for while the one denies a theory, the other disregards a fact, and is not even logical in so disregarding it, because he cannot ignore the necessities of existence. So much is elementary, but other things remain. We think intuitively that man was placed upon the earth for a purpose and that the instinct of aggregation was equally implanted for a purpose. Religious intolerance leads to war, to torture, to nameless horrors, for the sake of a creed; religious tolerance is very apt to degenerate into indifference, as indeed has happened in a great part of Europe. And in the same manner the spiritual mind, concentrated upon spirituality, is apt to become self-centred; segregated from the world, it lives in an unnatural seclusion, which eventually regards nothing of importance save the Self. Therein lies the principal difference in the attitude towards caste. The missionary looks at man as a social being; he neither divorces nor wishes to divorce himself from the world, holding that his duty towards his neighbour is essential in the position in which he is placed; the Hindu is inclined to disregard the world, and holding that his own spiritual future is of far greater importance, leaves his neighbour severely alone. Hence it was that, as Herr Wegener records, to his surprise, the caste Hindu would not go to the rescue of an outcaste who had been injured. Spirituality and materialism are relative; each is complementary to the other, and therefore in each civilization we find the two intermingled, but while in the one the material, in the other the spiritual predominates. The well-balanced mind concentrates on neither the one nor the other, but chooses the middle course, giving either the greater weight according to temperament, not ignorant of the possibilities of the future nor indifferent to the surroundings of the present.

M. René Guénon goes too far in his indictment of Western civilization. His main thesis is that metaphysics is the only true knowledge, the only pure intellectualism. It is the science of the universal, and the universal transcends the general as far as the general transcends the particular. The East has found this. She has clung to metaphysics, and in that knowledge she rests confident; to her all the little sciences of Europe are supremely indifferent,

the mere playthings of children, unfit for serious minds. It is true that there is a tendency among Europeans to treat with a certain amused contempt subjects which the Hindus deem of importance, but which do not come within the orbit of Western science; "*la haine dont ils témoignent contre tout ce qui . . . dépasse leur compréhension.*" But is it true of men of science? Is it not characteristic of ignorance that it rejects and despises and "hates" all that it cannot understand? and is it not the mark of the intellectual man that the more intellectual he is the more he holds his judgment in suspense? With each step forward we acknowledge that what we thought impossible or non-existent is both possible and existent; with ever-broadening intercourse with unfamiliar civilizations we begin to recognize that things may be revealed to their intuition which are hid from our reason. The man of fifty years ago scoffed at astrology and the various forms of occultism; the man of to-day, if he is not self-satisfied in his ignorance, will at least admit that, little as we may know about either, we are justified in agnosticism; the East produces functions of which we have no experience, and as search proceeds we become aware that the human mind may be capable of processes of which we have not dreamed.

But we are told metaphysics is the pure science: Europe knows nothing of this and she is losing herself in a chaos of unrelated fragments. Asia has acquired knowledge and is content with that. Let us grant that, considered as pure knowledge, or if you prefer the word, intellectuality, applied science is not upon a high plane. Regarded from this point of view, motor-cars and steamships, aeroplanes and wireless telegraphy, the discovery of the methods of healing and the discovery of the methods of killing, are after all no very great achievements. Are we then to be content with the traditional spirit, with which M. Guénon credits the East? The East is static. It has reached its goal long ago and does not question its ancient discoveries. But again, is this true? Hinduism itself has more than one explanation to offer. Not everyone is a Vaishnava, not everyone is a Saiva. One system of philosophy holds the monistic, another the dualistic theory; a third combines the two into the *Bedhábedha*. M. Guénon would perhaps say that such differences do not matter, since they all lead to the same thing; his main point appears to be that Europe concerns herself solely with the phenomenal world, and that therefore her boasted knowledge is not knowledge at all. Let us concede so much. Asia then has found herself and is content; she

disregards the phenomenal world altogether and tries to look into the Unseen. Europe is not satisfied; she hopes by means of the phenomenal to arrive at the universal. She cannot be content when from day to day the discoveries in the sphere of phenomena upset the preconceptions as to the invisible. She is therefore working from the particular to the general, from the general to the universal. Her picture is like a vast mosaic into which all her workers are adding their small pieces to fill in the design, and sometimes false pieces are put in and must be extracted and replaced by others. This may not be a conscious process; nevertheless we cannot but see how the progress of science, which is not pursued for its commercial possibilities, though the material civilization values it as such, converges towards the modification of metaphysical conceptions. Asia must indeed be in a parlous way; for if she has really attained true knowledge she has realized her ideal, and the realization of an ideal is the end of hope. The man who submits blindly and passively to the dictates of authority becomes spiritually atrophied; if true knowledge is the knowledge of metaphysics, and that is traditional, there is nothing left on which to exercise the mind but the acquisition, by rote as it were, of that tradition.

Of late, however, there have been great changes in the Indian outlook. The passion for pure spirituality is becoming tempered with material desires. Those who talk of the "awakening of Asia" always mean the present approximation of Asia to the material civilization of Europe; it is, as I have pointed out elsewhere, not so much an awakening as a deflection of ideas. There is at present going on in Asia an awakening in the partial spheres of comfort as represented by invention, of health as represented by medical science, of prosperity as represented by trade; but there has been no awakening in the sphere of thought, in which in fact Asia has always been awake. No doubt her thoughts have been directed elsewhere; one does not know how many books on philosophy are being published in the many vernacular languages, but one does know that there is a constant stream of books in English dealing especially with the various aspects of India's past, among which history once ignored by Hindus now plays a prominent, if not the foremost, part. More and more every day we realize that we owe to Indian research our knowledge of ancient times, and it would not be rash to prophesy that when the leaven has worked to the full, our estimates of Indian influence in the various realms of thought

will be entirely altered. Already there are new creeds, whatever we may think of them, which owe their inspiration to Indian ideals and Indian concepts. If, as M. Guénon holds, European thought is chaotic, it is partly because new ideas have reacted upon the old ones, and have loosened the hold of tradition. To what extremes tradition can go was exemplified by a witness in a now famous trial, who declared that Christianity was good enough for him, and that the metaphysical and religious conceptions of other creeds and systems were not worth troubling about. Paul Kruger was the upholder of a lost cause.

But the very fact that Asia can be regarded as "awakened" in the material sphere proves that she is undergoing modifications. Lord Ronaldshay has pointed to the revolt in India against all things Western, and in his view the political revolt is only a single manifestation of a general movement. We are not here concerned to discuss his views in detail, but only with the causes of the revolt. It is not enough to ascribe it to the national reaction against the too enthusiastic adoption of foreign ideas; what caused that reaction was the fear that India was exchanging her traditional spirituality for the pure materialism of the West. The fear was expressed in many ways and in many speeches. The cry was raised of "Back to the Vedas." Gandhi with his soul force was opposing a typically Indian idea to the encroachments of the West, and the fear was evident in such speeches as that of a Bengali orator who passionately demanded that all that the English had brought, good and evil alike, might be taken "away beyond the seas, far off to your Western home." M. Guénon therefore is interpreting rather the aspirations of this class of Indians than the actual situation when he says of compulsory education that the East will always appreciate its very definite inconveniences rather than its supposed benefits. India is not always consistent; perhaps none of us are. For while the school of "revolt" has been crying out against all things Western, another school, and even the same school in a different mood, has freely accused England of keeping the people in ignorance in order to prolong their slavery.

This modern tendency to materialism has on the whole beneficial effects, inasmuch as it puts the phenomenal world into a truer perspective. The world and humanity have their places in the universal order of things. Western thought believes that man, by whomsoever created and by whatsoever means intended for eternal existence, was meant to make the best of his surroundings, was meant to unlock

the secret doors of nature with the power divinely granted to him, was meant to train his soul not only by meditation and seclusion, but also by contact with and service for his fellows. By this means he may attain to the knowledge of the universal, which M. Guénon insists is the only true knowledge. The danger is that materialism will, like the rank weeds of a neglected garden, overcome and finally kill the finer flowers of spirituality. It is the easier path; it is the path down which the majority in Europe have been walking for some centuries, and its baser aspect—an aspect which moreover is inevitable—is to be seen in the vulgarity which surrounds us everywhere. Materialism is tangible, obvious, certain; its profits can be calculated. Spirituality is intangible, unseen, uncertain, and its profits are speculative. To revive the spirit in a world of matter requires a dead-lift effort; to crush the spirit in a world of matter is a task which accomplishes itself. It is just for this reason that we place the spirit in a higher category; but India, which boasts so justly of her civilization, is gradually choosing the path of materialism. Will she be able to call a halt at the proper time? All history is against her.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ART SECTION

CHINESE SCULPTURE

CHINESE SCULPTURE FROM THE FIFTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

By Osvald Sirén. 4 vols. (*Ernest Benn.*)(*Reviewed by* LAURENCE BINYON.)

A generation ago it was the general belief that Chinese sculpture was negligible or non-existent. Now in 1925 we see the production of these massive volumes, three of which are entirely devoted to plates, illustrating over 900 specimens. The earlier art of China has aroused such interest and curiosity that a first glance through these volumes may well produce a certain disappointment, and even disillusion. Apart from the fact that much of the sculpture, rock-hewn in caves, can only be photographed at a disadvantage, these pages reproduce a quantity of works which have little interest for the general student of art. A selection of the finest things—and some of these are magnificent—would have made a much stronger and more immediate impression. But Professor Sirén's object, no doubt, was to establish the study of this great subject on a firm foundation, and for that purpose he has wished to present his material fully, though he disclaims any attempt at exhaustive treatment. For special students the volumes provide a *corpus* of examples which is of the greatest value; all the more so as the author has arranged the sculpture in chronological order: and within this framework has tried to establish provincial groups. This last classification is admittedly somewhat tentative; but, at any rate, a foundation has been laid by which future workers will assuredly profit, whether they agree with Professor Sirén or no. Volume I. contains the text, half of which is devoted to a description of the plates; the other half consists of a sketch of the evolution of Chinese sculpture and a useful chapter on the iconography. Professor Sirén begins with some general remarks on the peculiar character of Chinese sculpture, and contrasts it with the sculpture of Europe. Usually we find that sculpture precedes painting, but in China painting has always been the typical and pre-eminent art, and Chinese reliefs in the indigenous style have the character of translations from painting. But in the period covered by this book sculpture was dominated by Indian ideals; it was almost entirely Buddhist, and absorbed by spiritual conceptions, so that the purely plastic problems with which the sculpture of Europe is preoccupied had little place in its development. Professor Sirén's analysis of the European tradition and the contrasting tradition of Buddhist sculpture is admirable and illuminating. Chinese sculpture, he says, "may almost be called anti-anthropomorphic. Individual human beings, engaged in action or moved by desire, have no

place in this art." Some readers may question his claim that the Buddhist sculpture of China is "much more human and variegated" than the Buddhist sculpture of India, even while admitting the superior artistic genius of China. Professor Sirén allows, however, that the full importance of the native tradition is less evident in the religious figures than in the animal sculptures which are in the direct line of descent from the indigenous plastic art of China, and which command universal admiration by their vitality and power. The subject is divided by him into an "archaic period" (though the pre-Buddhist—what might be called pagan art—of ancient times is excluded from his purview); a transition period; the period of maturity; and a period of decadence and renaissance. In the first of these periods we have the beautiful works of the Wei dynasties, with their long, flowing, linear rhythm. In the period of maturity, which ends, for Professor Sirén, about the beginning of the eighth century, and therefore only covers the early part of the T'ang dynasty, we have the grandest and most impressive sculpture that China has produced, ranking with the greatest sculpture in the world. The beautiful, though more emotional, statues in wood which have in quite recent years been brought to Europe and America, and which the fine example in the British Museum has made familiar to English people, date mostly from after the close of the T'ang period. Of these the author has reproduced only a few specimens. It remains to add that the work of reproduction in collotype is throughout admirable. Many of the plates reproduce photographs taken by the author. Though we do not feel that even this monumental work does full justice to all sides of Chinese sculpture (the archaic bronzes, for one thing, are excluded from its scheme), Professor Sirén must be congratulated on having carried through a labour of enormous magnitude. The collection of the material alone was a heavy task, the classification of it still more arduous; and though the reader is very rarely conscious of it, the book is written in what for the author is a foreign language.

DOCUMENTS D'ART CHINOIS DE LA COLLECTION OSVALD SIRÉN. Publié par M. Raymond Koechlin, avec la collaboration de S. Elisséev, Gustaf Munthe, et O. Sirén. (*Van Oest.*) 200 francs.

This stately volume forms Tome VII. of the *Ars Asiatica*, well known to all lovers and students of Oriental art. As in the previous volumes, the plates again in this new work are beautifully and clearly produced by the collotype process; the printing and materials are of the best. Professor Sirén has kindly lent his extraordinary collection to the Cernuschi Museum, where it has been exhibited since 1924 in two special rooms, and we are informed that those visitors who have viewed it have been greatly struck by its excellence. The present writer can but endorse this judgment. We have added to our knowledge of ancient Chinese bronzes through a short and masterly chapter, which might well have been amplified, particularly as there are quite a number of plates of various kinds on the subject. The next chapter deals with bosses and their inscriptions. Readers will recall the articles of Mr. L. C. Hopkins in the *JOURNAL* of

the Royal Asiatic Society—these plates are an indispensable accompaniment to them. M. Henri Rivière contributes the section on ceramics, and Professor Elisséév the one (perhaps the most important) on sculpture. Amid such a feast of joy we may especially mention some very remarkable heads of the Buddha, and particularly (Plate 50) a bust in white marble of Bodhisattva.

H.

L'ASIE MINEURE EN RUINES. Ouvrage orné de 49 gravures hors texte et 8 cartes. By S. Ximenez. (Paris: Plon Nourrit.)

In his preface to this interesting work M. B. Haussoullier (membre de l'Institut) tells us how two eminent Spaniards, both imbued with passionate love for Ancient Greece, visited Asia Minor in their leisure time after the Great War. One of them, M. Cambo, the owner of the yacht *Catalonia* in which they cruised, is well known as a high functionary of state; the other (the author of the book), M. Ximenez, is his friend and companion, an archaeological adviser who has long lived in Turkey under the old régime, knowing the language of the country, and thus well qualified for his task. The rare knowledge he has of ancient history and archaeology, the authorities on which he bases his book—to mention among many only Herodotus and Livy—together with his experiences of more recent times, make of the perusal of this volume a most thrilling experience.

The first chapter is devoted to Brussa, the former capital of Turkey, situated at the foot of the Mysian Olympus, which was founded by Prusias, the friend of Hannibal, who received him when the latter was forced to leave Carthage upon his final defeat by the Romans. There is a common belief among the people at Brussa that Hannibal was buried on the Olympus where he ended his days. The view from the summit of this lofty mountain (8,000 feet high) is such that, according to the author, there is almost nothing to equal it in beauty. I agree with him entirely, having had in my younger days the rare sensation to reach it on horse-back. From there we see at our feet the lakes of Nicæa and Apollonia, Constantinople, the Bosphorus, and, on a clear day, even the Black Sea. On the first spurs of this wonderful mountain, covered on the top like the Alps with eternal snow, and after which the Greek Olympus has had its name, is situated the town of old Brussa, with its stately mosques, its fertile plain, and its rivers flowing down from the various hills; one of them is the "Nilufer," so-called after the fair Greek maiden whom Sultan Osman, the conqueror of Brussa, had abducted on the day of her nuptials and made her his wife.

M. Ximenez dwells at length on the numerous mosques at Brussa, and, more especially, on the famous "Green Mosque," built in white marble by Muhammad I., on the site of the principal Byzantine church, which Pierre Loti has so exquisitely described. Its coloured mosaics and enamels, its cupola, its whole structure, is considered to represent the highest development of Turkish architecture in Asia Minor. Noteworthy, too, are the other monuments of Brussa, the *turbés* and baths and its other numerous imposing mosques, especially also the "Ullu Tchami," the so-called

"Great Mosque," with its 300-year-old plane tree and its large fountain. It is in the centre of the town, and has four cupolas, sustained by massive pillars in the interior. From a circular opening at the top, 20 feet in diameter, the light streams into the vast building, which is decorated with numerous large inscriptions from the Koran. The Muradie Mosque, built by Sultan Murad II., conqueror of Thessaly, Morea, and Hungary, the rival of Scanderberg, who defeated Hunyadi at Kossova, is also most noteworthy. In its proximity is a mausoleum, with Sultan Murad's gorgeous tomb, surrounded by his Sultanas, among them a Serbian Princess whom he captured when the Serbian kingdom was subjugated by him.

Brussa, when visited by the author, was celebrating with great "éclat" its deliverance from the Greeks. The houses were decorated with garlands and flags, and the population arrayed in gay garments. Processions of *•*hodjas and muftis, soldiers, and boy and girl scouts, headed by gendarmerie, were filling the streets; nor was there a lack of music, which M. Ximenez found very monotonous and *agaçant*. But when one of his Turkish friends explained to him that it was by the sounds of that same old music that the Turks had once arrived before Vienna, he took more interest in it.

Smyrna, says the author, did not escape so lightly from the terrors of war as the more fortunate sister-town of Brussa. Indeed, it is to Smyrna that the title of his book, "Asia Minor in Ruins," more especially applies; because from the most flourishing and the most Europeanized of all the Turkish cities it has been reduced to utter desolation. Who burnt down Smyrna is a question not yet solved. Are the Turks culpable of this misdeed? Was it one of their acts of fanaticism, or are the Greeks themselves responsible for it through losing control over themselves when obliged to flee, and taking this revenge before abandoning their homes? But what about the terrible looting and killing that took place in the burning city! It is only the legendary river "Meles" that is still flowing in and around Smyrna; nor has the grotto disappeared where Homer is supposed to have written the "Iliad" and "Odyssey." Also the memory of Policarp and his grave on one of the adjacent hills is left untouched; he it was who brought Christianity to Smyrna, and there died the death of a martyr.

Our travellers had no reason to tarry long in the melancholy, devastated city. After refreshing themselves with delicious Smyrna figs, known elsewhere only in their dried condition, they turned to Ephesus—to the ruins of that ancient city, of which the book contains most interesting illustrations, one of these being the old statue of the Artemis, to whom the famous temple of Ephesus had been dedicated, showing her still as an Oriental divinity. The author reminds us that the honour of having discovered after many vain attempts the site of the temple of Ephesus—20 feet below the surface of the earth—and vanished for many centuries, belongs to Mr. Wood, who at last succeeded in excavating those remains which now have found a permanent home in the British Museum. Space will not allow us to enter more fully into the descriptions of those ancient towns of

Pergamos, Hierapolis, Teos, Priene, Didymus, and Tralle, from where came that wonderful Hellenistic shepherd-boy, now in the Museum of Constantinople. But we cannot conclude without still mentioning his description of Halicarnassus, a description to which M. Ximenez devotes some of his last and most interesting pages. Also here, as throughout his book, he links ancient history and archaeology with the conditions prevailing in these towns at the present time, which gives even a great fascination to his book. He describes King Mausolus as a cultured man, who erected in his capital a famous palace of white marble, and whose inconsolable widow Artemisia II., imbued with a keen love for art, raised to her dead consort that famous Mausoleum, the remains of which are now at the British Museum. Indeed, Lucius makes Mausolus say in his "Dialogue of the Dead": "I have in Halicarnassus an immense tomb, such as never a dead man had before. The horses and the men are so admirably modelled in most beautiful marble that even in a temple one cannot find their equal. Do you believe now that I have every reason to be proud?" This Mausoleum was spared and revered throughout many centuries, even by the Byzantines, who destroyed so many pagan temples, until an earthquake made it fall. Subsequently the Knights of St. John utilized many of its remains for the construction of a fortified castle, called "Boudroum," which is now in the hands of the Turks and of which they are very proud. The description which M. Ximenez gives us about their visit to the subterranean site, where this great Mausoleum once stood, is not devoid of humour. When they had descended into the space and found absolutely nothing, the Caimacan (a Turkish functionary), observing their dismay, said: "Mais voilà Mister Newton avate mporté tout mais tout!"

M. Ximenez ends his great work by saying, not without emotion, that the battle of "Eski-Cheir" marks for the Hellenic nation even a more fatal date than the fall of Constantinople in 1453. For if even before that date the Turks had conquered Asia Minor, the Greeks, in spite of great vicissitudes, had been allowed to remain; but now their exodus has been complete, leaving a great loss to the country and even to the Turks themselves.

Whereas ancient ruins are always for the cultured and learned a vision of beauty and interest, these modern ruins now spread over Asia Minor, once the most flourishing and cultured part of the world, awake a sense of horror and deep sadness which fills our travellers with great regret. The silhouette of the Parthenon, when passing Athens on his homeward journey, seems, however, to have consoled the author, when he says: "In the existence of human races it is only the beautiful that survives."

L. M. R.

LA SCULPTURE KHMÈRE ANCIENNE. By George Groslier. (Paris: *Crès*.)

The author, who has recently returned to Indo-China, is well known for the services he has rendered in the development of arts and crafts. He has here attempted for the first time a connected account of that difficult subject—the continuity of Khmer sculpture. In this study he considers only

the best specimens of the art of the Cambodian sculptor, many of them discovered in the course of the last three years, and thus presented for the first time to the public. In a notable passage (p. 29) he emphasizes the problem as being one of striking the imagination of the worshipper as he enters the temple by immediate and, if necessary, violent effects—hence the giant proportions, and in some cases the glaring colours. Students of Indian art may be referred to the Indian Society's publication on "The Influences of Indian Art," to which Victor Goloubeff (now attached to the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient) contributed an important chapter on the connection between the sculpture of Southern India and Indo-China.

L'ART DE LA PERSE ANCIENNE. By F. Sarre. (Paris: *Crès*.)

This is an excellent translation by Paul Budry from the German original, thus making it more accessible to English readers, and forms a volume in the series "L'Art de l'Orient." The author divides the text into three parts, devoted respectively to the Achemenidan, Seleucian, and Sassanian art. The text is brief and to the point, the main attraction being the 150 illustrations which help the reader to distinguish for himself the three epochs. Many of them are from photographs taken on the spot by the author. There are also some fine examples from the British Museum.

ARTIBUS ASIAE, No. 1. 1925. (Dresden: *Avalun Verlag*.)

This volume, under the editorship of Carl Hentze, of Antwerp, and Alfred Salmony, of Cologne, consists of a collection of essays covering 80 pages. The first contribution is an interesting one from Mr. Arthur Waley, who makes the suggestion that a fragmentary life-size painting in the Aurel Stein Collection at the British Museum, attributed to Bodhisattva, might in reality be the Good Shepherd. He submits the problem to the reader for judgment. Professor William King writes on Persian Porcelain, and the remainder of the articles are in French and German.

INDIA

THE INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION OF INDIA IN RECENT TIMES. By D. R. Gadgil, B.A., M.Litt. (Cantab). Madras. 1924.

(Reviewed by SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

This work was written, apparently some years ago, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Letters of Cambridge University, and as such achieved its object. The period dealt with covers the half-century preceding the outbreak of the Great War, and there is plenty of evidence of a careful study of the voluminous official or semi-official literature dealing with the subject, and at the outset we may compliment the author on the compilation of a useful Bibliography.

Of late much interest has been evinced in India in economic questions, giving rise to a steadily growing market for general economic literature, and for specialized studies of the many Indian problems which are pressing

for solution in the immediate future. The demand for information has created a supply, but unfortunately much of it has been coloured to suit the views of the ardent nationalists whose main object is to discredit the results of the British connection. Mr. Gadgil's work is entirely free from this blemish, and it is not a little to his credit that in the polemical atmosphere of the present time he has been able to prepare an unbiassed account of the economic movements which are slowly transforming the conditions of life in India. As he modestly states in his preface, he prefers no claim to novel views or originality of treatment, but he has displayed no little skill in telling a very complicated story, and has shown a grasp of his subject by the selection of the salient facts which have influenced the course of events during the period. As might be expected in a University student his sense of values is not always quite accurate, and he probably attaches undue importance to the decline of artistic handicrafts, whilst he does not appreciate at its full the advantages accruing from either the concentration of industry in suitable centres or of the cultivation of crops in areas where climatic and soil conditions are favourable to their growth. Neither has he realized the great burden which has been removed from the women of India by the introduction of power-driven machinery for cotton ginning and spinning, or of mills for rice-milling and the grinding of cereals. The abolition of these forms of drudgery is the first step towards the introduction of a higher standard of family life and a general amelioration of the position of women. In regard to the future Mr. Gadgil is unduly pessimistic. He sums it up in the statement "the progress will be slow." His thesis ends with the outbreak of war, and whilst we agree with him that "the conditions obtaining even to-day (1924) are not normal enough to enable us to measure accurately the effects of the events of the last decade," we think that India during those ten years has bought a good deal of experience fairly cheap, and is now much better equipped to make new advances in the way of developing her resources as soon as more stable conditions prevail elsewhere. We agree that the burden on the land is steadily increasing, but cannot accept the proposition that the growth of industries will relieve the pressure on the land. Obviously that will only tend to extend the margin of cultivation. The remedy lies in the improvement of the conditions of rural life—a gradual rise in the standard of living, increased efficiency of labour, the elimination of inferior cattle, the greatly extended employment of machines and better implements, the supply of superior seed, the concentration of holdings, the expansion of irrigation, and the provision of additional sources of manure. In these and in other minor directions progress is certainly being made, and without excessive optimism one may expect that it will be accelerated. This will react on industrial development as it has done in the United States. Internal factories will be established to meet the growing requirements of agriculture, and it is reasonable to anticipate a great expansion in the production of iron and steel manufactures. A good deal of the preliminary work has already been done, and though mistakes have been made, valuable experience has been obtained. It is true that the vast majority of the people of India are very

poor in the sense that they do not possess fluid capital, but in the hands of a relatively very small number wealth has rapidly increased in recent years, and in the judicious application of that capital to the development of the country lies the promise of a bright future. To anyone beginning a study of Indian economics Mr. Gadgil has rendered a real service, and we hope that his initial effort will obtain sufficient recognition to encourage him to further efforts in this direction.

HISTORY OF BURMA: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO MARCH 10, 1824, THE BEGINNING OF THE ENGLISH CONQUEST. By G. E. Harvey, I.C.S., with a Preface by Sir Richard Temple. (*Longmans, Green and Co.*) 1925. 21s. net.

Burma, between the years 97 and 120 A.D., appears to have lain on one of the routes of communication between the West and China. The mountains of the Yunnan border no doubt prevented this route developing. The advantages of the sea-route by the Straits of Malacca were realized, it seems, as early as A.D. 131, and Burma (if we except Tenasserim in the sixteenth century) has remained a backwater ever since. To many, this fact will make its history all the more interesting. Its home problems generally were plain enough: to absorb the various wilder tribes filtering in from the north and east; to resist rare invasions from China, Siam, and Manipur; to unify the independent races, speaking mostly Tibeto-Burman or Mon-Khmer languages, which have occupied Burma from very early times; and finally to organize a riverine country split by three difficult ranges running north and south and three climatic zones running east and west. Burma never long succeeded in meeting all these problems. The invading Shans were absorbed ultimately, but they ruled Upper Burma from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. The Talaings, who had civilized Upper Burma in the eleventh century and who showed at times some promise of development, were exhausted by continual war and overwhelmed by Alaungpaya in 1757. Organization was limited, in general, to an effective village system. Foreign trade fell into the hands of the foreigner.

But external conditions are not the sole *milieu* of the Burman. If they had been, he must have "gone under," and either not survived or relapsed into barbarism as so many of the tribes of Further India. Whereas the truth is that even under the gloomiest conditions he never lost his pride nor his gusto, nor his grip on civilization. His literature took rise in the darkest days of the Shan tyranny. Acts of heroism occur from first to last, often when least expected; the feeblest despots had men proud to die for them. Much, no doubt, was due to the influence of Buddhism, the central fact of Burmese history. But even this does not explain everything. It is hard to read the doctrine of *dukkha* in a Burman's face. The main problem of the historian of Burma is to reach its real, through its recorded, history.

Sir Arthur Phayre's "History of Burma" has stood alone, by sheer merit, for over forty years. It is accurate, impartial, thorough—a quite

admirable work. But it is dull; and, as such, can never be the final word on the Burman, among whose faults dullness is not one. Phayre himself was not the dullard; nor were his authorities dull. A portion of the chief one—the Glass Palace Chronicle—has recently been published, in translation; and a glance at that amusing work will show the difficulties which the historian of Burma has to face. At first sight it seems useless for his purpose. Based on Ceylonese models, it is court-record, fiction, fairy-tale, and handbook of morality, all in one. What seems most credible, is the gossip; but this gossip is often copied straight from a Jataka or the Mahavamsa. Discarding these, the scientific historian is left with a dreary record of battle, murder, and sudden death. Phayre, one imagines, must have felt that so bald, so bloody a tale would give an unjust picture of the Burmese—a people naturally gentle, though their king would resort to roasting or sawing asunder as regular procedure, accepting, perhaps, the doom himself as cheerfully as he would inflict it on others. Certain it is that Phayre softened on the one hand the horrors of Burmese history, and on the other excluded most of the gossip, leaving us merely with the skeleton, divested of the flesh and also of the blood.

Mr. Harvey, it is clear, will brook no glozing of the record. He will clear our minds of cant. Burmese kings, as a rule, were petty chieftains, their hosts hordes, their treaties scraps of paper, their administration *nil*, their justice often infernal. More consistently than Phayre, he sees Burma, as she never saw herself, against the background of the world. The stage has shrunk in consequence. But the motives of the actors, however petty, are still part of the record. And it often happens that great men have trod this narrow stage. Anawrahta, Kyanzittha, Bayinnaung, Alaungpaya—to mention only the kings—would have been great men anywhere. Mr. Harvey fastens on the careers of great and small with a mordant irony, at times a savage glee. His is no calm scientific curiosity; no one who does not know and love Burma could be so exasperated by her. The long-drawn agony of his final pages, giving the king's reflections at the outbreak of the First Anglo-Burmese War, reminds one distantly of the Song of Deborah:

"His armies would take Calcutta, march to England, and establish his son as Viceroy of all the English countries. But even at this dread hour the royal heart was merciful, for the hosts were enjoined to spare the life of the English Viceroy; and the royal taste was exquisite, for the chains in which he was to be brought back were coated with gold."

This is a powerful and a grim book, intensely personal, the work of a whole man, not of one part of him. Quite unorthodox in historical method, it nevertheless succeeds in giving the truest picture of Burmese history we have yet. The author, as is clear from the footnotes and the very full Bibliography, has studied, usually in the original, all the main authorities. The long Notes in the Appendix show wide research, and they double the value of the book. Much has been discovered since Phayre's time; and Mr. Harvey's work is fully referenced and up-to-date. His treatment of Arakan and the Shan States is somewhat meagre; but

this is inevitable at present. Further study of Chinese sources will probably modify our view, particularly of the early period. Wars now traced to personal caprice may prove to have had deeper causes. But the main limitation of this history is clearly seen by the author (p. xiv):

"It is difficult to see the history of Burma in its true colour and orientation, because material is lacking. Weakness is the predominant feature of central government in the East, and in Burma most of our material is that of the Central Government; hence the story told in this book is sombre. But it is less depressing than that of many Eastern countries, and it would not be depressing at all if only we could get out of the palace and among the people. It is a people which must sometimes have wondered whether its government did not emanate from a vampire rather than a king, and yet it never lost its buoyancy or missed its hold on the essentials of civilization. The clergy may have been recluses, but they not only lived beautiful lives, they fearlessly maintained the Law of Mercy. When greater races bound the feet or veiled the face of their women, or doubted if she had a soul, the Burmese held her free and enthroned her as chieftainess and queen.

"Perhaps some better equipped writer will tell this story and portray the life of which we catch glimpses in many an old song. When he appears, much that is ugly will recede into the background; at present it clogs the foreground. Those who would have it omitted forget that an historian has no power to suppress an integral part of the record; neither the rules of his craft nor the dictates of his conscience allow it."

SCENES AND CHARACTERS FROM INDIAN HISTORY AS DESCRIBED IN THE WORKS OF SOME OLD MASTERS. Compiled and Edited, with Historical and Explanatory Notes, by C. H. Payne. (*Oxford University Press.*) 6s. net.

Mr. Payne states in his introduction that we go "for atmosphere and life to those who wrote amidst the scenes they describe," or if that is not feasible, to "original authorities once removed"—that is, to those whose narratives are based on the accounts of eye-witnesses. It is with this well-known principle of historical study in view that Mr. Payne has compiled this volume, and in some cases personally translated the passages he has selected. The passages are in some cases autobiographical, in others they are secondhand but contemporary; in all cases they admirably fulfil their purpose of shedding around certain features and personalities of old India the picturesque light and the atmosphere of reality which no textbook, however well written, can give.

The autobiographical passages are, as might be expected, the most attractive to read, and it is to some extent regrettable that Mr. Payne did not increase their number to the exclusion of other passages. From the memoirs of Babar, written with the freshness and candour of a Pepys, Mr. Payne has selected the scenes in which the emperor describes how, after defeating his Mussulman rival at Panipat, he had to beat down the Rajputs and their valiant king Ranasunga, before the mastery of Northern

India could be his: how, in the face of danger, he roused the spirit of his troops by renouncing wine for ever.

The second autobiographical passage is the account by Henry Oxinden, a servant of the East India Company at Bombay, of his official visit to the great Sivaji in his stronghold of Raigarh in the Western Ghats, and how he was able to witness the coronation by which Sivaji in 1674 declared his independence of the Moguls. This account cannot fail to be of interest to any reader who has stayed at Mahableshwar and visited Partabgarh.

Last of the autobiographical selections is the account by the French traveller Tavernier of his visit to the court of Aurangzeb at Delhi in 1665, shortly after that monarch had attained to supreme power. Few better pictures have been drawn of the wealth, magnificence, and omnipotence of the Mogul Emperors, so soon to crumble away after Aurangzeb's death.

The remaining extracts must be noticed more shortly. There is a selection from Plutarch's life of Alexander the Great, giving an account of the battle with Porus, and of Alexander's retirement from India. A passage is given from the Chinese writer Hwui Li, describing how his master Hiouen Thsang, in the course of his pilgrimage to places mentioned in Buddhist history and tradition, visited Assam in A.D. 643. A selection is given from the account of Abdur Razzak of his visit in 1443 to the great empire and city of Vijayanagar in the Deccan, at that time at the height of its power and wealth. We also read, in an extract from the "Roteiro de viagem de Dom Vasco da Gama à India," of the first landing of the Portuguese at Calicut in 1498. An account, taken from Firishta's history, is given of the accession of Akbar and the second battle of Panipat. Two selections from the history of Portuguese exploration and conquest up to 1610, written by Father du Jarrie, are given, one describing Akbar at the height of his power, about 1582, the other giving an account of the rebellion of Prince Khusru against Jahangir in 1606.

The book is well compiled, excellently annotated, and clearly printed in the excellent manner that is to be expected from the products of the Oxford Press. The only suggestions offered for its improvement, in view of a second edition, are, first, that the book would be additionally attractive to general readers, unacquainted with Indian history, if a few portraits of the characters depicted could be included; secondly, if certain of the footnotes could be included in the notes introducing each passage, to avoid the reader's attention being too constantly diverted from the narrative.

P. S. C.

IN THE HEART OF ASIA. By Lieut.-Colonel P. T. Etherton. (*Constable*.) 16s. net.

The author is already known to readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for the articles he has been contributing to its "New East Series," in which he drew attention for the first time to the commercial possibilities of Chinese Turkestan. He was one of a mission of three Indian Army officers, the others being Lieut.-Colonel F. M. Bailey, C.I.E., and Major L. V. S. Blacker, who went on a secret mission to Turkestan in 1918. Writing of Pan-

Islamism, he declares that: "The movement is to my mind, at the moment, at any rate, merely platonic, has little inward vitality, and does not impress me as a potential menace of the near future." Two of the difficulties he had to contend with were the damaging reports spread by the Afghans as to the outcome of their war with the British Raj in 1919, and the Chinese opposition to the Shantung clauses of the Versailles Treaty. Both these matters caused currents of anti-British feeling at the time. The author lifts the veil from many dark corners of Central Asian history in the post-war period, and one begins to wonder whether a connected account of it will not be the prize-puzzle of future generations of University historians.

BIG-GAME HUNTING IN THE HIMALAYAS AND TIBET. By Major Gerald Burrard. (*Jenkins*.) 25s. net.

This is one of the most fascinating books of sport and adventure in distant lands published in recent years. The author commences with a humorous note of warning against shikari guides, who in some cases have used big-game hunters, annually, to do the extermination of wild animals for their near their own native villages, which may please both parties when there is game, but not when it has been destroyed as the result of frequent visits. Though primarily a text-book for the aspirant for Himalayan trophies, the subject and the manner in which it is presented should prove attractive also to the general reader. There are twenty-four illustrations and eight maps, and several other authorities have contributed sections to the book.

NEAR EAST.

THE ARAB AT HOME. By Paul W. Harrison, M.D. (*Hutchinson*.) 15s. net.

This book by an American doctor, addressed chiefly to an American public, contains the following home-truth: "The outstanding task of our times is not the discovery and exploitation of the unused material resources of the world. The world is full of resources, infinitely more valuable than petroleum and iron and coal. In these sister races" (*i.e.*, Arabs) "there are treasures of the human spirit and acts of human association capable of transforming our whole outlook in life, and idealizing our whole social order. The world offers no adventure so splendid as the opportunity to share in their discovery and development." Such ideas are the proper mental equipment for one who would write with sympathy and understanding, and therefore with truthfulness, of Oriental peoples. The book is full of charming anecdotes illustrative of Arab life.

The chapter dealing with the British régime in Mesopotamia is of special interest, and credit is given to the officials for their ability and integrity. The author thinks that the spread of education will inevitably lead to increased unrest, and criticizes the system of retaining the Sheikhs in the seat of power. Comparing the British with the Turks he writes: "The Turkish ruler is usually disliked by the rich and loved by the poor."

The British ruler is loved by the rich and disliked by the poor." Though the author's conclusions are sometimes superficial, it may be said that he has made a deep study of his subject. L.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By Albert Demangeon. (*Harrap.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The translator has emerged with success from the ordeal of giving this book an English garb, as may be expected from one who has already tried his hand at interpreting Gide. Here is another book dealing with the British system of rule—this time from a Frenchman. Many Englishmen have seen and praised the great work of France in North Africa, achieved under the guidance of Galliéni and Lyautey. It is pleasant to see that the compliment is sometimes returned. With his innate Latin love for classification, the author distinguishes between colonization in hot and temperate countries, and enumerates the "weapons" of British colonization as (i.) means of transport, (ii.) irrigation works, (iii.) British capital, (iv.) scientific investigation and research. He paints a somewhat gloomy picture of the Indian situation, blames the educational system for most of the trouble, and criticizes the Europeans for leaving the country as soon as their work is accomplished, and at frequent intervals during their leave. There is, he adds, absence of proper contact between the European officials, who are generally men of mark, and the people. The former, only about ten thousand in number, are surrounded by two and a half million Indian minor officials. "The Englishmen cannot get near the people." The author, however, has no remedies to offer, and perhaps has not grasped the vastness of the problem. He concludes that the only way the Empire can keep its cohesion is by remaining strong, particularly on the sea.

THROUGH KHIVA TO GOLDEN SAMARKAND. By Ella R. Christie, F.R.G.S. (*Seeley.*) 21s. net.

Imperial Russia's experiment in Central Asia still awaits an historian. The books of Shuyler and Stephen Graham are well known, and furnish delightful reading, but they are admittedly travel-books. The same can be said of this volume by a lady who crossed the land twice from West to East by different routes. She writes with genuine enthusiasm and knowledge of the historic cities of Bokhara and Samarkand and of Khokand or "Cottonopolis." The Russians had made a somewhat inauspicious start with Skobelev and Kaufmann, the latter of whom was credited with ambitions of invading India, and it is doubtful whether their rule would ever have been really acceptable to the people, particularly when the Pan-Slav movement made headway—a movement which, whatever its merits in Europe, was a disastrous gospel to preach in Asia. During the present century the Russian Government tried to wipe out the memory of Geok Tepé by a more tolerant régime; as regards the present conditions, it is very difficult to obtain accurate information. The author, who of course visited the country before 1914, informs us that the colossal monument to Kaufmann in Tashkent, fully described in Stephen Graham's "Russian Central Asia," is a thing of the past.

"HARD LYING." By Capt. L. B. Weldon, M.C. (*Jenkins.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The title, it should be immediately explained, has no reference to the Commandment, but "is a term applied to a special allowance granted to men serving in small craft, such as destroyers, torpedo-boats, trawlers, etc." It is a record drawn from the author's diary. He was in the Survey Department of Egypt when the war broke out, and on his way home for his usual biennial leave. He thereupon was ordered back to Egypt, and the present volume is an account of his experiences in the Intelligence Department, which he describes with great vivacity. His first duty was the landing and re-embarking of "agents" on the Turkish coast—always rather a "ticklish" job. There is a description of life at Mudros, and his work in connection with the Gallipoli landing, followed by more cruises in the Mediterranean. The "Secret Service Novel" has always had a great fascination for the public—here we have all the attractions of the most exciting fiction, made more important and useful through being an account of facts concerning what will always be regarded as one of the great epics in the world's history.

BEYOND THE UTMOST PURPLE RIM. By E. Alexander Powell. (*John Long.*) 18s. net.

The author is already known by his interesting book on "The Struggle for Power in Moslem Asia." This volume shows that he can also write a delightful book of travel. He describes Somaliland, Kenya, Abyssinia, Zanzibar, and Madagascar. Of these, the island of mystery for the general reader is undoubtedly Madagascar. The author points out that, although it is the third largest island in the world, no book dealing with it in English has appeared for the last thirty years. It appears that in the political sphere the Malgaches are fairly contented, but that there are many complaints about lack of development. Morocco is denounced as France's latest darling daughter, on whom all available cash is being lavished. A curious fact is that nearly all the ports face towards the Indian Ocean, though, in the writer's opinion, there is a very ready market for the produce of the island in South Africa, which has never been touched. The melancholy fact is that the financial stringency from which France is suffering is now being also extended to the colonies, particularly the outlying possessions.

SIX YEARS IN THE MALAY JUNGLE. By Carveth Wells. (*Heinemann.*) 10s. 6d. net.

This volume, also written by an American, is yet very different in character. Whereas Mr. Powell was granted special facilities by foreign Governments as an honoured guest, the present author was an employee of Government, sent as a surveyor to the "Malay Jungle" for two years, and forced to stay there for six on account of the Great War, which, as is pointed out in the preface, made its influence felt in the remotest corners of the earth. So Mr. Wells writes, not about politics, civilizations, and history but the plain every-day happenings of life among the people themselves—

and the animals, large and small. Although written in a refreshingly jocular vein, his descriptions show the very considerable hardships and dangers from disease and animals these pioneers have to undergo.

GENERAL.

THE TRAVEL DIARY OF A PHILOSOPHER. By Count Hermann Keyserling.
(*Jonathan Cape.*) 36s. net.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

For a traveller in the East to write a book upon it after a few months' tour is not uncommon, and most travellers who go to the East with a purpose see what they expected to see. Here is a book of the kind, but with a difference—a difference so great that it is hardly fair to class it as the record of a travel at all. Count Keyserling's method is to set down his reflections on a single observed fact; there is not one feature of India so described as to recall a vivid picture to the mind. No one who had not already seen them would have the faintest idea of a Hindu temple or Muhammadan mosque from reading this book, and no one reading other books of Eastern travel would have the faintest idea of their inner meaning. Yet even that is not Count Keyserling's object. If any single thread may be said to run through a mass of more or less unrelated reflections, it is that of self-introspection and self-realization. The book is truly a diary, though dates are not mentioned. Each place visited suggests new thoughts conjured up by its peculiar atmosphere, or by what would be called in more commonplace diaries its "objects of interest." In Ceylon and Southern India the author seizes upon natural exuberance as the motif which inspires much of the variety and richness of Hindu and Buddhist thought. From thence he travels to Adyar, where, of course, theosophy is uppermost, and its doctrines are submitted to a very long critical analysis as well as its relation to its Eastern parentage. Jaipur, Lahore, Peshawar, and Agra all evoked their appropriate thoughts. It is characteristic of Count Keyserling that he sees in the Taj Mahal "perhaps the greatest of all pieces of artifice which the creative spirit of man has ever achieved," but utterly soulless, for which very reason it is the "most absolute work of art which architects have ever erected."

It is difficult to do justice to such a book as this which does not unfold a single scheme, but follows out various trains of thought on subjects wholly unconnected either in reality or in appearance. Each separate dissertation might be read as a complete whole: what Count Keyserling really does is to evolve a systematic survey of the nations whom he has visited, with special reference to their European counterparts. He is seldom superficial, sometimes startling in his conclusions, but here and there one seems to detect lapses. Thus in one place he says that, had it not been for St. Paul and St. Augustine, we should never have heard any more of Christ. Possibly not. But what does it matter? Can we not say the same thing of every teacher? If the teaching is fundamentally true, it will gather disciples about it, and the original plant will be watered

by their enthusiasm. If no one had believed Muhammad or Buddha, we should equally have heard no more of them.

In China he discovers that the Chinese head is beautiful: a European, he thinks, "must have rugged features, wild hair, a powerfully marked cranium," if he is to look remarkable. But a good Chinese head "seems more classic than an equally good European one." This, with respect to the Count, is sheer nonsense. It simply means, if the meaning is worth analyzing, that the author is so accustomed to Europeans that it is only the abnormal which excites observation, and that with a preconceived idea of finding something to say in favour of the Chinese he has discovered that there is something "remarkable" in their novelty.

Whatever faults the book contains, obscurity, due to over-condensation, is assuredly not one of them. Through seven hundred and fifty pages the Count "dissertates," and the reader sometimes suspects that he has set down what occurred to him at the moment without much attempt at revision. The suspicion is apparently unjust, for he gave to his translator (who has done his part admirably) the most precise instructions that not a word and not a stop were to be altered. He even rewrote parts of the book himself.

It is impossible to follow the Count through his manifold reflections. He finds in India a concentration on "recognition" (a favourite word by which seems to be implied the knowledge of reality), which has made them eminently unpractical, because such an attitude "shows how little good it does if everyone strives after perfection in the capacity of philosophers." In China he discovers the leading characteristic to be the perfection of externals; the Japanese have reached the highest realization of æsthetic art, while, in America, efficiency has been raised to the position of an ideal. If that were all, we should have to confess that the Count has discovered nothing new; but in reaching these conclusions, the Count discusses acutely many side issues that arise from time to time, and here shows both originality and deep-thinking. He admits, however, that it is difficult for him "to judge without bias, because I notice in Europeans mainly what they lack, and in the Asiatics what speaks in their favour." For all that, he is intensely European in outlook. He finds much to praise in the East, and while there he thinks it has got much farther than the West in all that permanently matters. He approaches America with a certain horror, fearful lest a kind of brutal materialism should break in upon and destroy the splendid images of the East, but before he leaves America has won him over. He hates Chicago, which turns man into a machine, but he is in sympathy with the American mind, which knows its own goal and works towards it with unremitting energy. And when at last he comes home again, "the remembered pictures of the wide world continue to pale. Already I can only recall India, China, and Japan with difficulty." And it is just then, when he is able to see things in perspective, that his own summary of his impressions is most valuable. "For the outer formation of life, for purposes of objective scientific recognition, the soul of the European is most serviceable; an Indian for realization in the psychic sphere, a Chinese for rendering concrete an idea, a Japanese for

the æsthetic understanding of Nature"—which, after all, comes to much the same thing as we saw a few moments ago.

As a justification of that suspicion which was earlier mentioned, we may notice that in China and America democracy appears to him in very different lights. While in Peking he wrote:

"I admit unconditionally that, if people were perfectly cultured, it (a republic) embodies the best of all forms of the State. But at the stage at which even the most advanced peoples of our day have arrived, it leads to the opposite of that which it is to bring about; to the rule of the incompetent instead of that of the best; to enslavement in the place of liberation; and instead of raising the general level it lowers it." But on the way to America his thoughts take a different turn, and he reflects that "in advanced countries there will ere long be no very low layers of the people at all; everyone will be schooled and even cultured to a certain degree. . . . The democratic ideal brings about a spiritual rise of the lower strata of the people." These two statements seem self-contradictory: they can be differentiated, but they leave the average reader bewildered and asking how the same thing can lower the general level and yet bring about a spiritual rise.

This is not a book to read through; it is rather a field in which to browse. The mind is wearied by pages and pages of discourse upon a single subject, followed by more pages upon something quite different. The index shows over what a variety of topics the Count ranges, and the most satisfactory plan is to choose a subject, read that, and lay the book aside. In fact, the book should be read as we read the Bible—in short, in instalments at a time, to be picked up as the reader feels inclined, but not treated as a task to be accomplished.

THE EVOLUTION OF PROVINCIAL FINANCE IN BRITISH INDIA. By B. R. Ambedkar, D.Sc. (*P. S. King and Son.*) 15s. net.

(Reviewed by P. PADMANABHA PILLAI.)

We have pleasure in extending a warm welcome to Mr. Ambedkar's new book. The author of "The Problem of the Rupee" has here given us a clear and careful study of a rather complicated subject. Public expenditure in modern states of a federal character is incurred usually under three main heads—local or municipal, state or provincial, and central or imperial or federal; and the allocation of expenditure between the different spending authorities depends upon the division of governmental functions. Alterations in the division of governmental functions lead necessarily to alterations in the allocation of expenditure; and these alterations have a close relation to the constitutional position of the various authorities towards one another. In Canada, for example, the provinces are the creatures of the Dominion Government, which retains all powers not explicitly handed over to the provinces; and the reverse is the case with the Commonwealth of Australia. The question in every case is how to obtain the money for all the expenditure needed; whether the Central Government should supply the funds to the subordinate units, or whether

the provinces should keep alive the Central Government. Mr. Ambedkar here gives us an objective recitation of the developments that have taken place in the financial relations between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments in British India; and in spite of the mass of controversial matter he has had to tackle, he has given us on the whole a fair and reliable presentation of the salient facts of the case. He divides his subject into four parts. In describing the origin of provincial finance he tells us how the Imperial system broke down, as it called for no co-operation from the provinces; the latter had no means of knowing the measure by which their annual demands upon the Imperial Government ought to be regulated, and found by experience that the less economy they practised, and the more importunate their demands, the more likely they were to persuade the Central Government of the imperative necessity for letting them have the funds for which they clamoured. The inevitable failure of this system led the Central Government to devise the methods of "assignments," "assigned revenues," and "shared revenues," which are described and criticized in the second part of the book. In the third part we have a discussion of the nature and limitations of provincial finance, and in the fourth we have an account of the present system of provincial finance introduced as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. During the transition period, the difficulties that occurred were obviously due to the fact that the Central Government was far too fond of keeping the provinces in leading strings: and, even under the reformed constitution, the alliance called diarchy, with its division of interests, there is a danger of the provinces being brought into financial difficulties.

Mr. Ambedkar's study is valuable for two reasons: it is, so far as the reviewer is aware, the first systematic attempt to treat of the evolution of provincial finance in British India; and secondly, it is in itself a scholarly work of high scientific value, where the underlying principles of the financial relations between the states and the Central Government are exhaustively examined. The volume is embellished with a good index and an appreciative foreword from Professor Seligman.

RICE, ITS CULTIVATION AND PREPARATION. By C. E. Douglas. (London: *Isaac Pitman and Son, Ltd.*) 1925. 3s. net.

This is one of the recent additions to Messrs. Pitmans' well-known series of little handbooks called "Common Commodities and Industries," and, as for its contents, it is enough to say that it comes fully up to the high level of its predecessors. It is clear that, in these after-war days, when we are all examining the immediate prospects of the supply of raw material and foodstuffs of all kinds, volumes of this nature should have an increasing demand. Mr. Douglas gives us a full and connected account of the life-history of rice, from its seedling stage to its appearance on the table, and anyone who is interested in the commodity, whether as purchaser, merchant, or consumer, will find in this volume something to interest and to profit by. For, besides giving an account of practices and processes of cultivation and preparation as they obtain in different countries, the book is full of many shrewd and practical suggestions. There are some chapters

here which will specially interest the economist; such, for example, as those which deal with the distribution and production of the commodity, and also the charts showing the price of Burma paddy, for the period 1902-1922 and the acreage production in Japan from 1818 to 1908. The value of this little handbook is further enhanced by apt illustrations, an index and bibliography, and the get-up leaves nothing to be desired. P. P. P.

URBANISME. By Le Corbusier. (Paris: *Crès*.)

(Reviewed by H. V. LANCHESTER, F.R.I.B.A.)

The author of this treatise on civic development has a faculty for incisive and epigrammatic expression, which is certainly an aid towards the enforcement of his arguments, though it sometimes leads to departures from the logical sequence of these. Moreover, he does not seem able to resist the inclusion of numerous facsimile cuttings from the daily press which are not always *à propos*, nor the temptation to make ingenious suggestions having little bearing on the matter in hand.

Having made these criticisms, it is only fair to add that the book displays a wide knowledge of the salient features of the problems presented by the demands of the modern city, and if it appears to insist unduly on the rectangular basis of planning, the examples cited from the old civilizations of Eastern Asia—to which might be added the traditional methods of India—offer a very definite justification for this preference.

The only example of a well-organized Asiatic city illustrated is Peking; but, as is generally known, in the Indian *Silpa Sastras* a number of typical town plans are laid down, all on rectilinear lines, and one is disposed to agree with the author when he regards departures from this as illogical except when demanded by the conformation of the site. The large proportion of level ground characterizing India and China has enabled nearly all Eastern cities to be provided for, and thus favoured the more or less geometrical type of plan.

The disadvantages of rectangular planning, when applied to large cities, do not seem to be fully apprehended, and the "Voisin" design for the reconstruction of Paris, which takes up a large portion of this book, disregards the possibility of radial routes. At a glance it might be thought that such a plan, with its 600-foot sky-scraper residences, occupying only 5 per cent. of the surface, the remainder being devoted to gardens, cafés, and one-storey public buildings, is mere madness; but when we read the new zoning regulations for Flatbush, Long Island, we must realize that America is moving in the direction of Voisin's remarkable vision.

Here some trolley-car streets had already partly developed into business districts with shops only one storey high. The zoning plan continued these streets for the same purpose throughout their entire length; several wide streets with deep lots were zoned for lofty apartment houses. Buffer districts for these were introduced between business streets, and detached home districts. The remaining land was zoned for one- and two-family houses. This is distinctly a step towards Voisin.

Taken as a whole, the book is more calculated to inspire an interest in "urbanisme" than to afford a serious study of its various aspects.

BÉLED-ES-SIBA. By W. E. D. Allen. (*Macmillan*.) 8s. 6d.

(Reviewed by NEIL GRANT, C.B.E.)

Mr. Allen is one of those young Englishmen who serves his country at home by taking a keen and practical interest in what is happening abroad, and more particularly in those racial movements and nationalist mutterings which are transforming the northern shores of Africa and the countries which bridge Europe and Asia. He is of the school of Aubrey Herbert, to whom he pays a tribute of respect and affection in one of the chapters of this book, combining a study of foreign affairs with a zest for travel and a love of adventure which give a special charm to these pages. Mr. Allen is no lover of the tourist and his Grand Babylon hotels. He will have nothing to do with the folk whom he contemptuously dismisses as "the gods of pence," and whether he be mounting the foothills of the Atlas Mountains or meandering through the Austrian roads of Bosnia, he is always seeking the primitive and strong, and cursing with manly English breath the insidious progress of our materialistic civilization.

Mr. Allen loves colour, and it is the East which attracts him. Its very smells move him to rhapsodies, and turning his back on Zagreb and the iron road that links it to London, he bursts forth:

"In Bosnia the traveller, when he gets beyond the Zagreb-Belgrad railway and the weary narrow gauge which links that with Serajevo and Ragusa, must wander in medieval style. And although he may have a motor for a pack-horse, he must lie in inns with tinkers, farmers, and recruits, unless the lord of some old castle or the Trappist monks of Banjaluka will take compassion on him. But his nostrils will inhale the first faint whiffs of that great and generous and uplifting Smell of the East whose bard is Mr. Kipling; that Smell which the Gods of Pence in the great Temple of London do perpetually withhold from him; that most old, most glorious, most worthy Smell, which is dirty men and dirty sheep and dirty goats and dirty dogs and dirty huts and dirty bugs, which is a burning sun and parching rocks and ancient woods and rushing water, and silent and still most stinking water, and coffee rich and sweet, and tobacco strong and pure, and women strong and beautiful and dirty. And he who wanders thus with his nose sniffing most gratefully, and his fingers scratching most comfortably, will come upon ruins of which he cannot buy coloured postcards, and he will tramp the sides of mountains, with much labour and perspiration, which would have been quite unnecessary if he had had the advantage of the guidance of one of the employees of Mr. Thomas Cook and his son."

That is the spirit of all these chapters, and while sniffing gratefully those moving smells, he has always an eye for some picturesque amalgam of colour like the following little vignette of the Moorish town in Tetuan:

"Here you find some broken mosque roofed with wondrous green tiles and plastered with delicate mosaics and woodwork of the greater days; here, again, is the shaded courtyard of the Khalifa's palace, some fat, white-robed courtiers lounging round, a grinning negro soldier, and,

sleeping in the sun, two hirsute boars; and here rides a Moorish squir from the Rif maybe, or wealthy merchant on cream trotting mule, harnessed in red leather."

He, too, takes a Rabelaisian interest in his fellow-men, in the strange derelicts of many races and both sexes who look out on the desert and on death from the booths and blockhouses which France and Spain have planted in Morocco, and we have seldom read anything more amusing or more frank than the visit he and his escort paid to the hospitable but homely quarters of a worthy lady of Tarudant. Indeed, far and away the best chapters of this book are those on Béled-es-Siba, the free country of Morocco, with its extraordinarily human descriptions of Marrakesh, Mogador, Tarudant, and, above all, of Khenifra, with its dusty café and wearied Légionnaires and memories of more than one desperate scrimmage. Here you know that the traveller not only saw and read and spoke, but also felt. He is moved by the menace to all these wild places and the mentality of the even wilder men, Moorish and European, who live and die in them.

The countries on which Mr. Allen has specialized, Morocco, Croatia, and Poland, the new Turkey and the Caucasus—his contribution on Georgia to Mr. Buchan's recent series of modern nations was an admirable and authoritative piece of work—are nearly all affected by that ardent spirit of nationalism which has taken wings from the bloodstained fields of western Europe, and which is now seeking in the mountains and deserts and immemorial cities of the East a new outlet for its passions and its dreams. Abdel Krim is still bombarding Tetuan, and the Syrian is becoming as nationalist as the Riffi. Kemal is as ardent a champion of the State as Henry VIII. or Louis XIV., and there is little difference in the intense feeling of nationalism between Poland in victory and Hungary in defeat. Even crushed Georgia may yet experience a new spring. Mr. Allen feels the stirrings of this new life in the East and in the gateways which lead to it, but above all he is fascinated by its glamour, its romance, and that tawny simplicity which the gods of pence cannot buy. His chapters on the little-known Caucasian campaigns of 1853-55, and on the Serbo-Turkish campaign of 1876, show that he is a student of military history, and his summary of the Treaty of Trianon reveals his misgivings concerning the Paris settlements of 1918; but above all he is a traveller with a rage for colour and adventure, and if ever it be my good fortune to tramp the road to Mogador and exchange civilities with the Pasha of Taradant, I trust I may have in my ageing knapsack a little of Mr. Allen's zest and *joie de vivre*.

A HISTORY OF THE MARATHA PEOPLE. By Mr. Kincaid, C.V.O., and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. Vol. III. (Oxford University Press.) 10s. 6d.

(Reviewed by SIR H. VERNEY LOVETT.)

In this volume Mr. Kincaid, C.V.O., now Judicial Commissioner in Sind, and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis bring their joint enterprise to a close.

Their book is of exceptional value, for not only is it the work of experts who have devoted years of study to their subject, but also because it is based on many authorities—English, Maratha, and Portuguese. Mr. Kincaid throughout his long official career has devoted infinite time and trouble to the study of Marathi literature and the Maratha people. He is familiar with the scenes of the stirring events which he describes. His style is instinct with enthusiasm for his subject. Rao Bahadur Parasnis has collected numerous Marathi bakhars or chronicles, and has acquired from the family of the famous Nana Farnavis the letters and dispatches which the Peishwa's envoys at Indian courts addressed to the Poona Government during the closing decades of the eighteenth century. His collections will be preserved in the historical museum and library which, with the co-operation of the Bombay Government, are now being opened at Satara.

We must regret that the authors of this history were unable, for reasons given by Mr. Kincaid, to carry out their original plan, and give us also some account of the fortunes of the principal Maratha states after the year 1818, for the story is one of remarkable interest. But the book, as things are, is of considerable length, and this task may be reserved for some future historian.

We also regret that the history of the Marathas from 1774 to 1818 has been dealt with in a somewhat summary fashion. It has already been told in detail by Grant Duff; but whereas he wrote primarily for English readers, our authors have addressed themselves to the Maratha people, and consider that the latter will prefer to hear mainly of the glorious period of the empire of the Peishwas. We are not sure of this. In any case, the whole story of the increasing contact between the Marathas and the British Government is one of great interest. It abounds in remarkable episodes, and almost all the battles between the rival powers were well and honourably contested. But Assaye, for instance, is here dealt with in a few lines; yet it was a famous struggle, and disclosed a remarkable feeling of comradeship between the British and Indian soldiers who followed Arthur Wellesley. We are tempted to quote a passage which gives an indication of the survival of this spirit in local tradition. The 1924 May number of the *National Review* includes a delightful article by General R. G. Burton, "Footsteps of Wellington in India," which contains the following passage: "The village of Assaye, remote from all sounds of war and far from the busy life of cities, slumbers peacefully on the banks of the Jurah river. It is an insignificant hamlet, with few inhabitants and a small ruined mud fort inhabited by a colony of pigeons. Ninety-five years after the battle there was no indication of the event except a few ruined graves and the rough hammered iron bullets turned up by the husbandmen on the field which had shaken with the thunder of guns, the hoof-beats of charging squadrons, and the tramp of infantry. But seventy years before this an officer who visited the scene found a grove of mangoes shading a Moslem 'idgah' outside the village. Round this grove reposed many of the officers who had been slain in the action, and high overhead, attached to a pole on one of the umbrageous mango-trees, fluttered the triangular white

flag of a fakir. Under a single banyan-tree was the grave of a staff officer, upon which lay a heap of stones with a small lamp at the head. The trunk of the banyan-tree was fallen, and in it had lived a fakir who had nightly lighted the lamp on the tomb. So sleep the brave for evermore." The Indian Empire of to-day is a great partnership, and in that partnership the Marathas possess an honourable share. The Great War showed that they have not degenerated from the high spirit of their ancestors. To return, however, to our authors.

We think that the most valuable parts of the book are those pages which describe the halcyon days of the Peishwas and the great battle of Panipat. The delineations of the characters of the famous Balaji, of Nana Farnavis, of Mahadaji Sindia, are clear and vivid; the narrative of the famous attack on Koregaon and the resurrection of Pattinson reminds us of the famous episode "Debout les Morts!" in the Great War; the whole work is a valuable contribution to Indian history.

BROKEN TIES AND OTHER STORIES. By Rabindranath Tagore. (*Macmillan*.) 7s. 6d. net; Rs. 5.

(Reviewed by F. R. Scatcherd.)

An illuminating review of "Broken Ties" appeared in the *Daily News* (November 30) by Gerald Gould. He starts with the quotation: "Secondly, I had a rooted belief that atheists were worse than murderers; nay, worse than beef-eaters." He then points out the difficulty for the Western reader of entering into the mind of a man who could write such a sentence seriously, and the still greater difficulty if it were written sarcastically; for remote as the ingenuousness of one civilization may be from that of another, still more remote must be its sophistications. He finally winds up with a reference to "psychological curiosities," and an admission that the strangeness is attractive, though it forms an unsatisfactory basis for literary criticism. He is willing to admit the inability in himself, and leave the matter there. But he has unwittingly, in his modesty, stumbled upon the truth; for "Broken Ties and other Stories" is a collection of psychological studies, and as such valuable and illuminating, in the same sense as that in which Mr. Gould's article was illuminating. For Mr. Gould shows the need of the Western mind to realize that psychology is the key to the understanding of other minds, while the Eastern mind often fails to realize that the Western mind is more concerned with the objective than the subjective.

Kalpaka, "India's only Psychic and Spiritual Review," is edited by T. R. Sanjivi. Its contents are varied and interesting, but some discrimination is necessary on the part of the reader, and considerable psychological knowledge of the kind lacking to most thinkers and students. It is a brave venture, and merits success.

SHORTER NOTICES

HOW THE WAR BEGAN IN 1914: BEING THE DIARY OF THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN OFFICE. Translated by Major W. Cyprian Bridge. (*Allen and Unwin*.) 5s. net.

The publishers deserve credit for thus issuing at a moderate price the Russian case regarding the fateful events in 1914. In an important foreword, contributed by M. Sazonoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, the latter states: "As regards [the accusation often addressed by Germany to Russia that she desired war in order to acquire the Straits and Constantinople], I feel bound to state that shortly after Germany had declared war upon the Dual Alliance, and before the Berlin Government had sent its warships through the Straits into the Black Sea, and had thus drawn Turkey into a war with Russia, the Russian Government, together with its Allies, had offered Turkey to guarantee her territorial integrity on the sole condition of her remaining neutral." The diary which forms this volume consists of the notes made at the time by Baron Schilling, at that time Director of the Chancellory of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which may be assumed to coincide with our Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office. It was first published in the "Red Archives" (Moscow, 1923). A perusal of the English translation shows that the Russian case has been, if anything, strengthened by the new "revelation."

EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT ABROAD. With an Introductory Essay by Professor F. C. J. Hearnshaw. (*Harrap*.) 5s. net.

Twelve chapters are contributed by various authors, including one on Japan, by J. H. Nicholson, and India, by M. R. Paranjpe of New Poona College, University of Bombay. The latter, after outlining the obvious defects, states that "no improvement in Indian education will be possible until . . . schools are started on the lines of the public and grammar schools in England to suit the needs of different classes and enjoying perfect liberty in internal administration." He also has something to say regarding the dominant position of the English language. "The Prussian Government was universally hated for insisting on German being the medium of instruction in the schools at Alsace and Lorraine. In India, however, it is not the British bureaucracy which is to blame. . . ." He lays the fault at the door of the older educationists, especially in cosmopolitan towns like Bombay and Calcutta. He thinks a change may come with "the democratization of the Universities."

NEAR EAST

A CENTURY OF EXCAVATION IN PALESTINE. By Professor R. A. S. Macalister. (*Religious Tract Society*.) 10s. 6d. net.

The above presents in an attractive form and at a popular price the results of the last hundred years of excavation in Palestine, and the light they have thrown on its history. The volume opens with a lengthy chapter giving

the history of this great effort. The excellent work of the Palestine Exploration Fund is, of course, well-known, but it is not generally realized that work has been going on for so long. The work of Edward Robinson, Tobler, and Victor Guérin is duly set out. There follow chapters dealing with topography, political, cultural, and religious history.

BABYLONIAN LIFE AND HISTORY. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. (*Religious Tract Society.*) 10s. 6d. net.

This is a new and enlarged issue of the edition published in 1884. It has been entirely rewritten, and the author has consulted the works of the latest Assyriologists. He points out how much the reissue of the work has proved necessary on account of the results of the excavations in Babylonia and Assyria by scholars of every nationality. It is, of course, a popular account—but that is precisely what is needed to attract new recruits, whilst the useful bibliography spurs them on to explore the subject still further.

MOSUL AND ITS MINORITIES. By H. C. Luke. (*Martin Hopkinson.*) 10s. 6d. net.

A work of supreme importance at the present time. The aim of the author is to shed light on the customs and ethnology of these interesting peoples, whose fate has loomed so large in contemporary history, without adequate knowledge of their characteristics being made available for the reading public. The Nestorians, the Jacobites, the Yezides are all fully described, and the work is well illustrated.

SIX PRISONS AND TWO REVOLUTIONS. By Oliver Baldwin. (*Hodder and Stoughton.*) 12s. 6d. net.

A chance meeting in the August of 1920 in an Alexandria hotel with the first President of the newly formed Armenian Republic led the author to accept an invitation to go to Armenia as an infantry instructor to that country's army. Arrived there, he passed through two revolutions and became an inmate of six prisons. He writes feelingly of the fate of the Armenians who had embraced the Allied cause since the commencement of the Great War. It is difficult, however, to see how the great tragedy he described could have been averted, when one remembers the great "war-weariness" that came over this country and all Western Europe after the signing of the Armistice. But that only makes the tragedy more poignant.

THE REAL JEW. Edited by H. Newman. (*A. and C. Black.*)

This volume, in the words of the Chief Rabbi, is a miscellany of essays on Jews and Judaism and some aspects of the Jewish contribution to human culture. It is designed to show the services rendered to the world by this ancient race in art, science, and commerce, and contains the names of many leading Jews, describing the fields of their activity. The recent impetus given to Zionism as the result of the Great War is described as

adding to the dignity of the Jewish position in the world, and it is explained that this does not in any way imply a dual allegiance. Modern Anti-Semitism is ascribed to Bismarck, and Nietzsche is cited as one of its protagonists.

FRENCH BOOKS

DANS LA TARTARIE. By R. P. Huc. (*Plon-Nourrit.*) 10 francs.

Father Huc was born at Toulouse in 1813, and travelled in Mongolia as a Lazarist missionary in 1844. A second volume is to deal with the author's experiences in Thibet. It is interesting to compare his account with that of Mr. Ossendowski, whose books have also appeared in English, and who describes the state of affairs since the Revolution. The conclusion to be drawn is that there as elsewhere the clock has been set back. Perhaps the most striking passage in the present volume is that describing an invocation by a bard to the great Timur in the midst of the Mongolian steppes, and the immense enthusiasm thereby created. Mr. D'Ardenne de Tizac, director of the Cernuschi Museum in Paris, contributes a valuable foreword.

HISTOIRE DU MONDE, Vol. III. Indo-Européens et indo-iraniens, l'Inde jusque vers 300 avant J. C. (*Boccard.*) 20 francs.

This world history appears under the general editorship of Dr. M. E. Cavaignac, Professor at Strasbourg University, and the volume under consideration issues from the learned plan of L. de la Valée-Poussin, which is in itself an assurance of learning and scholarship. The object of this series is to relate the world's history without giving a disproportionate rôle to the civilization of Europe, thus for the first time giving its proper place to the influence of Asia. It is only thus, the editor claims, that a just appreciation of European history can be attained. The author candidly admits the chronological difficulties that face the historian of India, but warns against radical scepticism in this respect, as leading to an entire destruction of the picture. The chapters dealing with the castes and classes are the most important for the general reader.

RÉMINISCENCES D'UNE ÉMIGRÉE (1865-1920). By Princess Véra Galitzine. (Paris: *Plon.*)

Viscount E.-M. de Vogüé, of the French Embassy in St. Petersburg, writing to a friend in 1879, stated: "If the revolution comes too early, it will be crushed, but, if it awaits the psychological moment, there will follow social decomposition unparalleled in the world's history—for this country is like a pyramid standing on its head, the only support of which is the bayonet." It would appear that Alexander II. foresaw the danger. He fell by the assassin's hand, and after that there was no turning back. Princess Galitzine's memoirs bear out this judgment, and are valuable in giving a proper perspective to the events leading to the downfall of Imperial Russia. There are interesting descriptions of the leading figures in Russian history, including Witte, Plehve, and Stolypin.

DERNIÈRES PAGES INÉDITES D'ANATOLE FRANCE. By Michel Corday.
(Paris: Calmann-Lévy.) 7 f. 50 c. net.

A violent controversy has arisen in France over the "morality" or otherwise of Anatole France's views. The present volume, containing unpublished fragments which were to be used for a series of dialogues on Astronomy, Love, and Death, does not furnish much ammunition for the dead author's detractors. His views on war, socialism, and religion are well-known, but less so his vegetarian doctrines. Thus he says: "It is true that man will remain cruel so long as he eats the flesh of animals. There is very little difference between killing men and animals. But plants also have a life. In eating vegetables we are simply obeying the law of destruction which has been imposed on us. Until the extinction of this detestable planet, life will depend on killing. Man and beast alike live by such means only. The first of all arts is to kill, the second to give birth. All the countless other arts that exist only serve to strengthen the survival of these two."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. (A Survey, January, 1920—June, 1925.)
League of Nations Secretariat, Geneva. 1s.

This survey of the League of Nations is an indispensable record of the fruitful activities of the League since its first session, January 16, 1920, up to that of June, 1925. It forms the completion of a series of sixteen, dealing with special sections of the League's activities, and aims at avoiding political philosophy, while endeavouring to give an authoritative account of the growth of the League, its methods of procedure, and its achievements. No one can afford to ignore the facts contained therein. Indeed it should be placed in the hands of all those who are, as yet, unconvinced of the League's substantial contribution to world welfare. F.R.S.

ORIENTALIA

MEDICINE AND SURGERY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

THAT the foundations of modern medical science were laid in Egypt more than fifty centuries ago there can no longer be any reasonable doubt. Although many writers have credited the Egyptians with scientific medical knowledge of profound extent, others have denied the claim almost to the point of non-existence. Between these two extremes lies the truth. A nation which had evolved sufficient knowledge and skill to plan and accomplish feats of engineering and models of art as old as, and indeed much older than, the Pyramid Age (third millennium B.C.), and whose mathematical knowledge involved the use of abstruse calculations and an acquaintance with cubic capacity, angles, fractions, decimals and the principles of the square root, must have been far ahead of its contemporaries in mental achievements. Time has spared for our admiration not only the tangible proofs of what the Egyptians could do, but in addition a mass of documentary evidence. As regards medicine and surgery a relatively large number of documents has fortunately survived. These are written in the cursive script known as *hieratic* on rolls of papyrus.

THE MEDICAL PAPYRI

1. The celebrated *Ebers Papyrus* is the longest and most famous of these documents. It is now preserved in the University of Leipzig, where it was deposited many years ago by the Egyptologist whose name it bears. It was written about 1500 B.C., but there is abundant evidence, on philological and other grounds, that it was copied from a series of books many centuries older; indeed, it is stated in the papyrus itself that one passage dates from a king of

the First Dynasty, and another prescription is associated with the name of a queen of the Sixth Dynasty. The book as a whole is at least as old as the Twelfth Dynasty (about 2000 B.C.), and may be far older. It consists of a long series of prescriptions for numerous named ailments, specifying the drugs to be used, the quantities of each, and often the methods of administering them. Other sections deal not only with the treatment, but with the diagnosis of various diseases, and many passages have explanatory glosses or comments, proving that the book was intended as a practical manual for physicians. It is clear that the papyrus in its present form is an assemblage of extracts from separate works, each dealing with a special subject, freely interspersed with incantations and magical spells. The text covers 110 large columns in the original roll, which a modern editor has conveniently divided into 877 numbered prescriptions and sections.

2. The *Berlin Medical Papyrus* is of somewhat later date than Ebers, but it likewise betrays its ancient origin. Its general form resembles that of Ebers, but it is not so long, and consists of 204 sections.

3. The *Hearst Papyrus*, which is now in California, is of about the same period as that of Ebers, and consists of eighteen columns containing 260 sections.

4. The *Kahun Medical Papyrus* is older than any of the above, and must be assigned to the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty. It deals with one subject only, namely gynaecology, and contains 34 sections.

5. The *London Medical Papyrus*, now in the British Museum, is in a fragmentary condition, but sufficient can be deciphered to show that it is similar in nature to the others, although it contains a larger proportion of purely magical matter. It mentions the name of Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid, and although the actual document is referable to the Nineteenth Dynasty, its ultimate origin may be at least a thousand years earlier.

6. *Other Documents.* In addition to the above, certain

other documents are known to exist, but as these have not yet been published, it is premature to speak of them. The *Edwin Smith Papyrus*, a most important document which treats of surgery, we will deal with in a later section of this paper. A veterinary papyrus dealing with diseases of animals was found at Kahun, and a series of magical papyri scattered in various museums, notably those of Leyden and Turin, although not strictly medical in character, afford some interesting details. We may also refer to a papyrus at Berlin which contains a collection of spells and prescriptions for mothers and their babies, and to another in the same collection, the *Westcar Papyrus*, which, although not concerned with medicine at all, but containing a series of popular stories, describes in graphic detail the birth of triplets. As an additional source of information concerning Egyptian medicine, we have to draw upon such relevant facts as can be found in the pictures and tomb-scenes in the general literature of Egypt, and in the antiquities preserved in various museums. Finally, it may be mentioned that there is in the Louvre a chip of limestone inscribed with several prescriptions for the ears, and in the present writer's collection is a similar fragment.

ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY

The practice of embalming the dead in Egypt had a great influence upon the growth of medicine, although it was not carried out by doctors, but was a religious observance. Not only did the customs of mummification familiarize the Egyptians with much of the internal structure of the body, but it also acquainted them with the antiseptic properties of many resins, gums, and balsams, and likewise with the preservative values of soda, salt, and natron. It provided the first opportunities for the study of comparative anatomy, and familiarized its practitioners with the analogies between the organs of the human body and those of animals, the latter long familiar to them from the time-honoured customs of cutting up animals for sacrifice and for

food. It is an interesting fact that the various hieroglyphs representing parts of the body, and especially the internal organs, are pictures of the organs of mammals, and not of human beings. This shows that the Egyptians' knowledge of the internal structure of animals is older than their knowledge of that of man; it shows further that they recognized the essential identity of the two, for they borrowed the signs based upon the organs of animals and used them unaltered when speaking of the corresponding organs of the human body. Thus the sign for "heart" is the heart of an ox, not of a man, and the word for "throat" is determined with the head and windpipe of an ox. The sign for "ear" is a mammalian ear, and for "tooth" an animal's tusk. Other signs borrowed from mammalian anatomy found amongst the hieroglyphs include the liver, uterus, *mammæ* and genitalia, and others.

Mummification, however, had its most important effect in familiarizing the mind through thirty centuries with the idea of cutting the human body. Egyptian customs thus made it possible for the Greek physicians of the Ptolemaic period to begin for the first time the systematic dissection of the human body which popular prejudice forbade in all other parts of the world.

From the scientific investigation of Egyptian mummies, a branch of enquiry which was created by Professor Elliot Smith, a great harvest of knowledge has become available of the technical processes employed by the embalmers and of the medicaments used by them. An interesting series of pathological conditions has been observed in mummified bodies, including, *inter alia*, gall-stones, appendicitis, talipes, rheumatoid arthritis, gout, mastoid disease, Pott's disease, and many other conditions. We must, however, leave the subject of mummification, having indicated some of the ways in which it has a direct bearing upon the history of medicine, but before doing so it may be mentioned that the earliest use of the surgical ligature makes its appearance in the sewn-up wound of a mummy of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

As regards physiology, it may be mentioned that the Ebers Papyrus contains several sections which deal with the functions of the heart. The Egyptians recognized that it was the central organ of the vascular system, and perceived its connection with the pulse. A long description is given of an elaborate system of vessels which radiate from the heart to various parts of the body. The conception of air reaching every part of the body was familiar, although it was supposed that air entered the nostrils and travelled by the arteries to the heart and to other parts of the body. Descriptions are given of the effect of various forms of illness upon the heart, and indications are given as to how, from the behaviour of the heart, the seat of the trouble may be located, even though it occurs in another part of the body.

PATHOLOGY AND THERAPEUTICS

There cannot be the slightest doubt that Egyptian medicine had its origin in magic, and that magic never lost a hold on medicine, even when rationalism was pervading it to a greater and greater extent. Many of the drugs in the pharmacopœia, even when wholesome and rational, were clearly adopted in the first instance for purely magical reasons. From a study of the medical papyri it is abundantly evident that the Egyptians believed all illness and disease to be the manifestation of a possessing spirit, and the art of the physician had its beginnings in the various attempts which were made to coax, charm, or forcibly expel the spirit from its involuntary host. Originally only in cases of illness or injury which had an apparent and palpable cause were purely rational methods of treatment employed. Thus wounds, which are inflicted by visible human agency, are dealt with by rational therapeutic methods, but diseases or injuries which had well marked external manifestations, such as swellings, eruptions, or the like, were submitted more often to magical than to purely medical treatment. Magic and medicine were always more or less hand in hand in dealing with maladies which had

no such obvious external manifestations as boils, cuts, wounds or burns.

The simplest method of treatment was the recitation of a spell or incantation in which the demon was bidden to be gone. The efficacy of these spells is often enhanced by directions as to how and when they are to be uttered. "To be recited at eventide when the sun is setting," is one such direction, or "To be said over a cord in which seven knots have been tied" is another, and so forth. The magical papyri are full of such formulæ, and the connection between magic and medicine is manifest in the fact, which Dr. Alan Gardiner has pointed out, "that medical books are seldom free from incantations, and the magical papyri are leavened with medical prescriptions." Some illnesses are expressly stated to be due to magic, and one of the prescriptions in the Ebers Papyrus is headed "To banish magic from the body." Others are said to be due to the influence of the dead, or of a spirit of foreign origin, such as a negress, or the "Asiatic woman who steals in secretly in the darkness." Such spirits either resided in the body of the afflicted patient or else injected into it some evil emanation. Once installed, the spirits made the patient ill, and they had to be speedily ejected. This was accomplished either by the incantations referred to above, or by administering a medicine to the patient, or by both methods combined. In the medical papyri the prescriptions are each headed by a title, and instead of the simple phrase "prescription for curing" such and such a disease, we have "prescription for driving out," "banishing," "expelling" or "terrifying" such and such a disease. In such phraseology the notion of possession is manifest, and it will further account for the fact that many of the doses are of a very foul or offensive nature and were deliberately made as unpalatable as possible for the possessing spirit. Some of the drugs are emetics or strong purgatives, and the purpose the physician had in view when prescribing them was the expulsion of the spirit along with the excretory products of the patient. Again, the

magical nature of many of the prescriptions are indicated by their very multiplicity, for very frequently a large number of duplicate remedies are given for one and the same complaint.

When we come to consider the pathology of the medical papyri, we are at once confronted by a host of difficulties. In the first place the texts are full of philological and lexicographical problems. They are written in a specialized and concise form which is full of syntactical difficulties. Many of the prescriptions are copied from older books, and show evidence of textual corruption. But the greatest difficulty of all is our inability to translate into English a great number of the maladies described and the names of most of the drugs. There are, for instance, some half-dozen words for which we have no closer equivalent than "swelling" or "lump," although each term had a specific meaning to the Egyptians. In such cases we have to rely mainly upon the context. Some of these "swellings" are clearly boils and carbuncles of various kinds; but others, again, are unmistakably manifestations of bilharzia infection, which was in ancient times, as it is to-day, a terrible menace to the inhabitants of the Nile valley.

Generally speaking, the maladies with which the papyri are concerned are those which attack the fellahin of to-day. Intestinal troubles due to bad water, to worms and other causes, ophthalmia and a large number of eye complaints, boils, sores, and bites of insects, skin diseases, bilharzia infection and mastoid disease figure amongst the many maladies for which the ancient physicians had to provide treatment. The Ebers Papyrus, after some general introductory incantations intended to give efficacy to the prescriptions which follow, commences with a long series of remedies for maladies of the stomach and bowels, for purging and for promoting and correcting urination, for pains and swellings in the abdomen, and for getting rid of various kinds of intestinal worms. Another group deals with the prevention of vomiting and the promotion of

appetite and good digestion. As might easily be supposed, a very long space is devoted to diseases of the eyes, a quite natural state of affairs in a country where eye troubles abound. We find also prescriptions for the lungs, liver, and stomach (the Egyptian word for which is literally "mouth of the heart"), the latter very elaborate with symptoms, diagnosis, and treatment detailed at length. We have, then, a series of remedies for the head and scalp, and ointments to prevent the hair from falling out or from turning grey. Other sections deal with fevers and with affections of the mouth, teeth, tongue, throat, and ears. A long series of remedies is provided for "relaxing stiffness of the joints," clearly rheumatoid complaints; then follows a section devoted to diseases of women, and this in turn is followed by a collection of household recipes, such as ridding the house of fleas, mice, snakes, and other vermin. Between these useful hints and the concluding section, which deals with boils and suppurating sores, is inserted the treatise on the heart and its arteries to which we have already referred. It may be mentioned that the work on the heart is found also in the Berlin Papyrus, and the Edwin Smith Papyrus also contained a copy of it, fragments of which remain.

SURGERY

The earliest form of surgery known, the rite of circumcision, must be eliminated entirely from the domain of medicine, as it is purely a religious observance. Until recently all we knew of Egyptian surgery was derived from a passage of the Ebers Papyrus, but the discovery of the Edwin Smith Papyrus provides us with a mass of new information. This remarkable document, which is now in the possession of the New York Historical Society, has been closely studied by Professor Breasted of Chicago, who promises a complete edition of it. In the meantime, however, he has issued three preliminary accounts of it which give us some insight into its contents whilst we eagerly await the full edition of it.

The Edwin Smith Papyrus differs from all the other medical Papyri in that it is not a collection of prescriptions, but a handbook of practical surgery as applied to wounds. It deals, therefore, not with remedies, but with cases. Unfortunately it is incomplete, but what remains contains forty-eight cases drawn up in a systematic manner. These cases are wounds in various parts of the body, starting with the top of the head and proceeding downwards as far as the thorax. Doubtless the entire work should have traversed the whole body, ending with the feet, but the scribe tired of his labour, and broke off when he reached the part which deals with the breast, and resumed with extracts from two other books called respectively "Incantations for driving out Wind in the Year of Pest" and "The Book for transforming an Old Man into a Youth of Twenty."

The cases are presented in a very systematic fashion, and all contain the following elements: (i.) Title, (ii.) Examination, (iii.) Diagnosis, (iv.) Verdict, (v.) Treatment. In many cases glosses are added which afford much additional information on Egyptian medicine, for these explanatory phrases define for us the exact meanings of various idioms and technical terms. The treatment is throughout appropriate and rational, and in this respect it conforms to what we have already pointed out, namely that rational methods are to be expected when dealing with wounds which are of evident human agency. Professor Breasted claims that the discovery of this papyrus destroys the opinion generally held that Egyptian medicine originated in magic. He believes that this document affords evidence that anatomy was practised for its own sake, and that the Edwin Smith Papyrus is in the true sense a scientific book. Whilst agreeing with the latter opinion, it seems that too much is claimed for this single manuscript, on the very back of which two magical books are written. It does not in the least detract from the value and interest of the document to prefer the opinion that whilst it undoubtedly affords evidence that a serious attempt was being made to understand anatomy, it must be

clearly borne in mind that it deals only with wounds which are of obvious human agency, and therefore readily understood and treated by human means, instead of by the magical devices which had perforce to be used when the cause of the patient's suffering was due to disease which was intangible and invisible.

In the Ebers Papyrus, as we have already mentioned, there is a section devoted to surgical cases. These appear to be boils or tumours, and directions are given for lancing and dissecting them. Instructions are given for incising the tumour, for fastening back the edges of the wound, for removing the morbid contents, and for cleansing and dressing it.

Surgical instruments have been discovered in Egypt, amongst which are delicate scalpels, probes, forceps, and knives. Splints have also been discovered, and these were applied to fractured limbs.

GYNÆCOLOGY

Childbirth did not come within the scope of medicine in Egypt. Midwives assisted at births and cut the umbilical cord and washed the new-born infants, as we learn from a passage in the Westcar Papyrus. The Kahun Papyrus and one section of the Ebers Papyrus contain details of the diagnosis and treatment of various vaginal and uterine maladies. Methods are given for ascertaining whether conception has taken place or not, and for determining the sex of unborn children. Some of these have survived almost to the present day, and they are frequent in books of popular medicine in this country in the eighteenth century. There are also prescriptions for irregularity, for prolapsus and other common female disorders, and also for bringing milk to a woman who is nursing a child. Methods are also given for ascertaining if a new-born infant will live or die. Babies were believed to be particularly liable to the attacks of malign demons, and large collections of spells and recipes were composed for their protection.

MATERIA MEDICA

The same difficulty confronts us when dealing with the drugs as we have already mentioned in connection with the maladies, namely our inability to identify a large number of them. Some hundreds of ingredients are mentioned in the prescriptions, and they were derived from the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms. Most of the animals we are able to identify. Usually their fat or blood is employed, but if small enough the whole animal is used. Thus we find the fat of the ox, ass, lion, hippopotamus, mouse, bat, frog, lizard, and snake used, also the blood of these and other animals. Hartshorn, tortoise-shell, and calcined hoofs, hides, bones, and horns are likewise employed. In the case of the vegetables we are unable to identify with certainty more than a small proportion of the very large number whose names abound in the prescriptions. We find the whole plant, or its leaves, root, juice or fruits employed as drugs.

The vehicles for liquid doses are usually water, milk, honey, wine or beer. For emollients and ointments, honey and fats of various kinds are used, goose grease being especially frequent. Dry medicines are to be crushed or ground. Some of the remedies are boiled, warmed or cooled as the case may be. Ointments are usually directed to be applied to the affected part, either by rubbing or by bandaging. Compound remedies, into which numerous ingredients enter, are usually to be mixed into one mass, and directions are often given as to when and how the dose or medicine is to be administered, and whether the patient is to lie down or assume any other specified attitude. Some of the remedies are to be taken fasting, and others after food. The quantities of each drug are meticulously specified, minute fractional notations being used, from which we may infer that great care was used in making up the prescriptions.

Many of the Egyptian drugs and prescriptions were

copied by the Greeks, and passed thence into the medical literature of other nations. Egyptian influence is manifest in Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Syriac and Western European medical works. Space forbids a quotation of a series of instances, but they are at once apparent to any inquirer who compares such works, and many prescriptions in use at the present day can be tracked down to their source in ancient Egypt.

CONCLUSION

The above paragraphs will, it is hoped, convey some idea of the nature and practice of medicine in ancient Egypt. To do justice to the subject, a large volume would be required, and I have abstained from quoting any of the numerous prescriptions in the papyri, as in order to convey an adequate idea of their purpose and kind, too great a number of quotations would have been requisite. The subject is full of interest and charm, and one of the most fascinating features of Egyptian medicine is that to which attention has already been called, namely, its persistence in later literature. Much that is in the works of Dioscorides, Galen, and Pliny, to mention but three, is directly borrowed from the Ebers Papyrus and kindred books, and has been handed down by the classical authors to the medical writers of medieval times from whom the herbalists and popular medical writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries drew for much of their material. Egyptian medical traditions were carried on by the Copts after the country had become converted to Christianity, and at this stage the independent elements of Greek medicine make their appearance and blend themselves with the more primitive Egyptian material. This aspect of the subject I have already dealt with elsewhere.*

* *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, vol. xvii., pp. 51-57.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1926

ON the eve of his departure for India Lord Irwin sent the following farewell message to the ASIATIC REVIEW :

INDIA OFFICE,
WHITEHALL, S.W. 1.

I readily comply with the request to write a few farewell lines to the ASIATIC REVIEW. For more than forty years the REVIEW has kept before the public the detailed consideration of matters of vital interest to India and this country, and many leading authorities on every aspect of Indian administration and life have written for it.

During the last few months, that I have been seeking to inform myself on many Indian questions, I have had occasion to consult the files of the REVIEW upon matters to which I have been giving attention. Not the least valuable of its features is the full account it gives of the proceedings of the East India Association, which serves the invaluable purpose of providing a platform for the discussion of Indian problems at home, irrespective of creed or party. I am also greatly interested to learn that a group of men of experience in Eastern affairs is forming an "Asian Circle" with the object of furnishing informed, progressive, and disinterested views on Asiatic affairs, and that one of the first articles to appear under its auspices will be a survey of the work of my predecessor in India. From the record of that work those called to succeed him will draw encouragement and inspiration.

I wish the ASIATIC REVIEW all success in the good work it is doing.



March 4, 1926.

NEW SECTION

THE ASIAN CIRCLE

A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole. Its membership includes :

The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I. (President).

Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Sir Harry Lamb, G.B.E., K.C.M.G.

Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.,
D.S.O.

Mr. Stanley Rice.

It is understood that where articles are signed in this section they do not necessarily represent the views of members of the Circle other than the writer.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The importance of Asia to the world is growing day by day. After her long subordination, direct and indirect, to Europe, she is becoming conscious of nationality, and the same political ferment is working in India, in China, in Indo-China, in Persia, Irak, and Egypt, which in everything but geographical classification is an Asiatic country. Japan is definitely a first-class power, to be reckoned with as a serious competitor with Europe and America both in war and in peace. Even if that were all, there would be sufficient reason for a better knowledge of the Asiatic continent. But it is far from being all. Asia supplies a large proportion of the world's raw material. India has a monopoly of jute ; China joins India in supplying tea, and

Japan in the production of silk ; oil in Persia and Burma, rubber in Borneo and Malaya, cotton in Egypt. These are but a few of the world's necessities which the resources of undeveloped Asia can provide. To obtain these for the needs of our complex modern civilization Europe has established herself all over the Continent of Asia, and the invasion of Asia by European trade and proselytizing missions has more than once led to political, and even to armed, interference. We may learn from the mistakes of the past how much we have to regret that might have been avoided by a fuller knowledge of the peoples.

But Asia is far away, and the tradition still lingers amongst a folk, who still prefer to read the details of a "popular" murder than momentous issues in distant countries, that Asia is not worth bothering about. Indian agitators are simply a nuisance ; Chinese "patriots" are merely childish ; both deserve a passing notice, not so much for their own sakes as for the reactions they may have on Europe. They perhaps forget that the Great War was fought for the ultimate prize of Asia, and that it was Germany's object—witness the "Drang nach Osten"—so to paralyze Europe that she might command the vast resources of Asia without fear of competition. In the special case of India, there is a very common fallacy of viewing Indian problems outside their Asiatic setting. Though her land frontiers are the Himalayas, she is the very centre of Asia in all that pertains to sea communications. In a continent where land routes are few, this point is of paramount importance, and the whole history of Asia—commercial, political, and artistic—is there to prove it. He, therefore, who would follow events in India, either on account of past service there or as a student of the Empire as a whole, cannot do so intelligently without taking into consideration what is going on in the other countries of Asia.

Some such considerations as these drew together a few men impressed by the importance of Asia, and the outcome

of their conferences has been the formation of an "Asian Circle," the aim of which is to widen the scope of knowledge in England on Asiatic subjects by the publication of periodical articles written by men with first-hand knowledge. These articles, which may deal with any aspect of Asiatic affairs in any country in Asia, will for the present be published in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

It may perhaps be argued by some that Asia is a matter for the experts, who alone are interested, and that if they like to display their knowledge in articles that is their affair; but it does not affect the British public, who, in so far as they are concerned with anything that is not an internal question, have quite enough to do to keep pace with the changing conditions of Europe and America. The world has shrunk and is shrinking. The affairs of China, Japan, Syria, and Persia cannot be ignored, for each one of them impinges upon the British Empire and its fortunes. The exclusion of the Japanese from Australia, the disabilities of Indians in South and East Africa, the spread of Bolshevism in China, the general policy of Japan in the Pacific—these and similar problems are matters of Imperial interest which it is as unsafe to ignore as it is to be oblivious of the doings of the Free State or of France. We—many of us at least—have yet to realize that Europe is not the world, and that the future of the British Empire rests in larger measure upon the development of the natural resources of unexploited countries, whether by the efforts of the native inhabitants alone, or by their efforts in co-operation with European direction, than upon the avoidance of the continual quarrels in Europe that have kept open the doors of the Temple of Janus so often and so long. It is upon colonial development and colonial enterprise that we largely depend; and so long as things are what they are, it is foolish to regard Asia as other than one of the most important factors in the world's make-up. Our appeal is, therefore, not only to the people of Great Britain—we look further afield; and in our desire to

quicken interest in Asia so far as we can, we do not want to confine ourselves to the rôle of teachers, but welcome the co-operation of others from all parts of the world who have something to contribute towards the object in view. Our appeal is for a wider outlook, and is made impartially to all members of the English-speaking races.

STANLEY RICE.

LORD READING'S VICEROYALTY: THEN AND NOW

To realize the great results of Lord Reading's Viceroyalty, it is only necessary to consider the position that confronted him when he landed in India on April 3, 1921, and to compare it with the position that he leaves behind him on the relinquishment of his office. When Lord Reading took up the reins of government, the first session of the Reformed Councils had just closed, and the new dispensation was entering on its trial. The conduct of martial law administration in the Punjab was still an open sore; the Khilafat agitation was at its height; Mr. Gandhi, at the zenith of his power, had just begun the collection of the crore of rupees that was to form the financial backing of his non-co-operation movement, and that did, in fact, provide the money for the recruitment of the "National Volunteers," who were the direct cause of so much of the violence that followed; the trouble with the Akali Sikhs had attained great proportions, the Nankana massacre having occurred only six weeks before. The Afghan situation was still unadjusted, with a deplorable effect on the situation on the frontier. In the year 1920-21 there had been no less than 391 frontier raids, resulting in the death of 153 persons and the kidnapping of 56 others; important military operations were proceeding in Waziristan. There had been a conspicuously bad monsoon in 1920; the price of wheat was soaring to unprecedented heights; trade was in the lowest trough of depression, the balance

against India amounting during the year to no less than 79 crores of rupees; the attempt to keep up the exchange value of the rupee by the sale of "reverse Councils" had disastrously broken down, and it had fallen alarmingly; the finances of India were thoroughly disorganized, the financial year having ended, a few days before Lord Reading's arrival, with a deficit of $20\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. Now, when he lays down his office, the Reformed Constitution has survived the early peril of a complete breakdown, and is visibly beginning to work; the Punjab troubles are forgotten; the Khilafat agitation is irrevocably dead; the non-co-operation movement has withered away, and the power of Mr. Gandhi has departed; the Sikh dispute is settled. A treaty has been signed with Afghanistan, the frontier is quiet, and raids have ceased. There are still troops in Waziristan, but only on a "peace footing." There have been five successive good monsoons, prices have fallen, trade is improving, the "visible balance" is greatly in India's favour, the rupee is steady at over 1s. 6d., and the budget shows a substantial surplus.

In the process of achieving this result Lord Reading and his Government have had to face many difficulties. When the non-co-operation movement was first started, Lord Chelmsford described it as one that was bound to die "of its own inanity"; but he underestimated the wide gulf that lay between "non-violence" in theory and in practice, and the effect of the latter on a vast population suffering from "post-war discontent," which, though dimly and vaguely apprehended, was none the less real. The result was to bring about a widespread, indeed, almost universal, contempt for authority, which was on the point of reaching its zenith when Lord Reading arrived in India. During his first year of office there were sixty outbreaks of disorder, more or less serious, and the assistance of the military was invoked on seventy occasions. It would appear that Lord Reading arrived with the idea that the troubled state of India was mainly due to the aftermath of the Punjab

disturbances, for his first official act was to pay a visit to Amritsar; and his first official utterances announced his determination to administer "justice"—presumably of a different brand, as it appeared to him, from that which had been administered in the Punjab in 1919. But he soon realized that India was suffering from a complication of serious diseases, the symptoms of which were being aggravated by the nostrums of a number of practitioners, chief among whom were Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers—the former, it may be charitably assumed, unintentionally, the latter with the most open and virulent intention. The personal interviews with Mr. Gandhi, though they achieved an apparent result in the apology of the Ali Brothers—addressed, it may be remarked, not to the Viceroy, but to Mr. Gandhi—did not avail to prevent an almost immediate relapse on their part which was the direct cause of the outbreak of rebellion in Malabar; and their net effect was greatly to enhance the prestige of Mr. Gandhi, and to place him in the position of acknowledged dictatorship that he held when, in the following February, he felt himself strong enough to cross swords openly with the Viceroy and to launch his ultimatum, which he only withdrew when the tragedy of Chauri Chaura shattered his hopes, and with them his ascendancy in Indian politics. The formidable Moplah rebellion was still in swing when, in September, 1921, Lord Reading made his first formal acquaintance with his legislators, on which occasion he announced the impending visit of the Prince of Wales, to whom he said he knew he could count on a warm welcome characteristic of the traditional loyalty of the Indian people; and, referring to the non-co-operation movement, declared that, "above all, we shall continue to enforce the ordinary law and to take care that it is respected." How soon and how completely these prophecies were falsified was shown by the fierce rioting at Bombay when the Prince landed, when fifty-three persons were killed and over four hundred wounded, and the simultaneous observance of "hartals"

throughout India; while, after prolonged hesitation, martial law was introduced in Malabar in October, and in November special legislation was put in force against the National Volunteers. Later on in his administration—again after prolonged hesitation—Lord Reading found himself compelled to make an even more notable departure from the “ordinary law” in the shape of the Bengal ordinance—a decision abundantly justified by results. As for the most spectacular act of his Viceroyalty, the arrest of Mr. Gandhi—popularly believed to have been forced on him by what almost amounted to a threat of mutiny among his governors—this was not nearly so important as it looked. Mr. Gandhi had then already ceased to be subjectively dangerous, though he remained objectively so. At the time of his release, two years later, he had ceased even to be that.

The military commander who conducts operations in the field is entitled to take credit for the successful operations of his subordinates, just as he has to take the blame for their failures. Lord Reading is justly entitled to the credit due to the two most conspicuously successful appointments of his régime—Sir Basil Blackett in finance, and Sir Malcolm Hailey in the Punjab. He is also entitled to claim credit for the results achieved by others who were not his subordinates—chief among whom is Mr. Gandhi himself. The non-co-operation movement failed in the end in consequence of its very success. The boycott of the Legislative Councils was complete, and allowed the Government of India a precious breathing-space of three years in which to start the reformed Constitution. Those critical years passed not without occasional imminent danger of shipwreck, the avoidance of which is greatly to the credit of Lord Reading and his Government, whose conciliatory attitude, though often criticized at the time as carried to dangerous lengths, triumphed in the end. Mr. Gandhi's championship of the Khilafat cause produced a specious appearance of a Hindu-Moslem “united front” against Government; but it led directly to the Moplah rebellion

and the ferocious treatment of the Malabar Hindus by the rebels which, more than anything else, showed the surface unity as not only non-existent, but impossible of realization. Even the spectacular success of Mr. Gandhi's collection of a crore of rupees defeated its own object; for it allowed of the great extension of his army of National Volunteers, and the intolerant truculence of these hired gentlemen disgusted and repelled peaceful citizens, who hailed their suppression by Government with unmistakable relief. Another ally was Mr. C. R. Das. So long as the boycott of the Councils continued, the National Congress was a quite serious rival to the official legislatures. A proposal, put forward at the Session of 1921, for the establishment of a parallel Government on the Sinn Fein model, with Congress as the National Parliament, was only defeated on the personal intervention of Mr. Gandhi, who was at the time engaged in negotiations for a “round-table conference,” the object of which was to be the registry of his decrees as unquestioned victor over Government. The immediate effect of the entry of the extremists into the Councils was to make the latter the unchallenged parliamentary centre, and to reduce the importance of Congress; which now, under the inept leadership of Mr. Das' successors, has faded into complete impotence. Among Lord Reading's other unofficial allies, the Turks must also be reckoned. In their attempt to represent the demands of the Moslems of India, as voiced by the Khilafat enthusiasts, the Government of India urged on the British Government the rendition of Adrianople and Smyrna, and the recognition of the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey over the Moslem holy places. The Turks solved both of these questions: the first by forcibly ejecting the Greeks, the second by dethroning the Sultan and abolishing the Khilafat altogether. Again, no military commander can be successful unless he is also lucky: and Lord Reading has enjoyed the almost unprecedented good fortune of five successive favourable monsoons. It is not to be supposed

that, when he "certified" the Salt Tax in March, 1923, he foresaw that one of its chief political results would be the elimination of the Moderates from the Councils and their replacement by the extremists of the Swaraj party; but this is what did happen, with the immediate advantage of bringing to the Councils of India important political leaders whose absence had gravely impaired the representative character of the Legislature; while three years' experience has already brought home to an important section of the Swaraj Party the folly of a purely obstructive attitude, and the future holds forth distinct promise of the useful association of all schools of political thought in the Councils of the Indian Empire. Nor can Lord Reading's Government have supposed, when they sent home their despatch on the Turkish settlement, that this would lead to the resignation of the Secretary of State, a political fact that largely neutralized public interest in the arrest of Mr. Gandhi. But, when all is said, the campaign has been a conspicuous success, and the victorious commander hands over to Lord Irwin with the proud consciousness of a great task faithfully and untiringly accomplished—one in which, more than most men of his time, he has deserved well of his country.

CECIL KAYE.

IRAQ AND AL MAUSIL

Now that the frontier question is nearly settled there is a definite prospect of the state of Iraq settling down fairly to the task of becoming an ordered independent kingdom, fit to enter the League of Nations and to become one of the pillars of the world. So long as not only the frontier line, but the actual future of a principal component was a matter of doubt, no country could possibly settle down to business, let alone a country just formed from a people released from the condition of a Turkish possession.

Before, however, commercial enterprise requiring foreign

capital can get under weigh, there is still one fence ahead, and until that is cleared the road is not straight. The League of Nations has recommended that the province or *wilayat* of Mosul, which in Arabic is "Al Mausil," the junction—*i.e.*, of trade routes—shall form a part of Iraq, provided always that Great Britain will act as sponsor. Great Britain, as she was in duty bound, despite a considerable attempt to make her go back on her war liabilities, has agreed. There is no need to recapitulate the arguments. It was always known to those behind the scenes that the Turks had no logical claim on equitable or ethnological grounds. It was always believed that we were bound in honour to see this new Arab state through, however much it might be to our own disadvantage. The fence still to be cleared is the concurrence of Turkey in the League of Nations' decision—a concurrence which is obdurately refused at present, and has still to be obtained, for it is unthinkable that it shall remain as an open and immediate sore. If the truth were known, it is probable that Kurdistan and Kurdish aspirations lie at the bottom of Turkish obduracy, though no doubt the desire for revenue and proximity to Bagdad are present in their minds. The Kurds, no more than any other non-Turkish people, are happy under Turkish rule, and it is only the fact that they also are Muslims that has made the bond tolerable. There has always been an *intelligenzia* movement by a small party, residing mostly in Paris, who have worked for Kurdish autonomy. The Turks have recently suppressed a Kurdish rising, and they have fears lest the Kurds of Iraq—that is to say, the Kurds of Sulimanieh, Rowanduz, and Amadia round to the Goyan country, who lie in the hills that are within the Iraq boundaries, and whose economic life is bound up with Bagdad and Mosul, should form a centre for Kurdish intrigue for independence. This fear does not rest on any basis of fact, for Great Britain can easily give assurances as to her policy, while King Feisal is not likely to want to interfere at any time in a matter which is so far outside

his concern. Could they be reassured, as no doubt they will be on this point, their attitude will probably change. Further, should it at any time be possible to allow them to bring their line on from Nisibin to Mosul through the French territory in which it now works, the only other real reason for wanting Mosul should disappear. This may be outside the bounds of permissible concession for strategical reasons, but it is important to explore all the avenues that can possibly settle the matter, for the Middle East cannot settle down so long as Turkey remains in a disgruntled state.

THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM

The financial problem is a serious one. It is important to this country that Iraq shall be as small a burden as possible on the British taxpayer. The finances of the country are approaching equilibrium, but it is necessary to have a clear idea of what charges are involved which really are fair burdens on Great Britain as part of her world stability. A special mission, it will be remembered, consisting of Mr. Hilton Young, M.P., and Mr. Vernon, of the Colonial Office, visited the country last year to inquire into the financial position and prospects of Iraq generally. Their report, issued in April, 1925 (Commd. Paper 2,438), showed that the annual deficit, slowly decreasing for the last few years, had been converted into a surplus. But the report pointed out that there were two new charges ahead which would turn the present surplus into a deficit. The first was the share of the Ottoman debt, fairly accepted on behalf of a dismembered limb of the Ottoman Empire, which with arrears was now due; and the other was a necessary increase to the Iraqi army, to enable the British Indian units to be reduced. The Committee was of opinion that, if certain extra customs and taxes which they recommended were introduced, and the British Government was helpful in certain directions, the budget would continue to balance, but that there could not be any funds

available for development for a long time. It recommended that a British loan for development should be made, and that certain debts for services, such as railway and the Port of Basra, etc., should be cancelled. It also made recommendations for turning the Mesopotamian railways into a corporation. The general sense of their report was, therefore, that, under certain conditions and strict economy, the State could maintain financial equilibrium. But it was also clear that there was no chance of any contribution being forthcoming towards the cost of the British forces—chiefly Air Force—which defended the country. Nor is it reasonable that we should expect it. The establishment of Iraq and its maintenance is the debt we are paying for the revolt of the Arabs against Turkey, and the cost thereof is but an item in the general cost of Empire. It must be put in the balance against the general improvement of our position in the Middle East and of the disappearance of many problems—notably that of the Bagdad railway and its port, which harassed us before the war, and which was about to terminate in a very unsatisfactory agreement, now happily dead.

THE COMMERCIAL ASSETS OF IRAQ

As we are compelled by our wartime obligations to accept the responsibility of this young State, it is but fair that we should console ourselves with any prospects of trade and commerce which our connection therewith should bring in its train. The principal ones are undoubtedly the influence over an oil zone, for this Empire hitherto has been very deficient in oil-bearing countries within its spheres of control. The oil-fields of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, situated though they are in Persia, have their outlet through Iraq, or through the Shatt El Arab, which is Iraqi water. The oil-fields north of Bagdad lie in reserve for the day in which their oil is wanted. They are probably extensive, though the oil has a long way to come, whether south or west, to get to the sea, but it lies within the sphere

of British influence. Only those behind the scenes during the war knew how we were hampered by the fact that so little oil was derived from lands within British control. When coal has so long made us mistress of the seas, it is not desirable to lose that position for want of oil.

The second great possibility of Iraq is cotton. The world wants long-staple cotton; Iraq has produced an excellent cotton, and irrigation sufficient for cotton production is easy to arrange. Already on the Diala, north-east of Bagdad, a considerable commencement has been made. When the future of Iraq is finally settled by some composition with Turkey, the time for the use of more European capital will have come. The larger problem of reirrigation of the ancient cornlands between the Tigris and Euphrates does not arise at present. The country itself has all it wants; there is no population to handle extra land, and the world at present is not sufficiently in need of corn to start on an enterprise which is still problematical. But of all the industries in the country the date gardening is the most successful and the most highly developed, and for many years has had a great export trade to all parts of the world. The value of the date as food is being more and more recognized; and though the United States have been studying the Mesopotamian date, and have been very successful in introducing it in America, there is still an expanding trade, and there is still room at Basra for more gardens, which the daily tides irrigate so successfully without cost to the gardeners.

THE FRONTIERS OF IRAQ

The various frontiers of Iraq must, of course, be an anxiety; and it may be admitted at once that Great Britain would never of malice aforethought have made herself responsible for frontiers with Turkey and Persia, let alone the rather nebulous desert borders on the west. But the Turkish border must be defended if need be elsewhere than in Iraq. The frontier between Mesopotamia and

Persia was settled amicably shortly before the war by a joint Turco-British-Persian boundary commission, and presents no difficulties; while the Iraq Government have just arrived at a convention with Ibn Saud as regards the western border, and the question of migrating tribes who wish to change their habitats and cross an undefined desert line. But it cannot be disguised that any land frontier must always be an embarrassment, and an embarrassment of which an inland power is always conscious. The fact that Iraq and her neighbours may have frontier disputes, with which, for some years at any rate, we shall be connected, is one of the disadvantages which the post-war conditions of the Middle East have brought in their train.

THE ROADS TO PERSIA

Because of the difficulties of the old road to Persia by the Karun and Ahwaz, made by British commercial enterprise for pack-animals, known as the Lynch Road, and the general length and inconvenience of the other routes from ports on the Persian Gulf, trade has preferred to use the great facilities of the new Basra Port, which is a war relic, the railway from Basra via the Euphrates through Bagdad to the Persian border, and the military lorry road into North Persia via Kermanshah, Hamadan, Kasvin, and Teheran. Also the trade routes from Europe via Russia and Baku, or from the Volga to the Persian Port of Enzeli, on the Caspian, are not working properly, so that the Mesopotamian route attracts much of that trade. The Russian route will no doubt be eventually restored, but the route through Iraq will by that time have a considerable hold on the custom of the traders and the importing houses at the ports, which may well last. When it is remembered that to climb from the level of the Gulf or of the Tigris several thousand feet on to the Persian plateau will be a very costly undertaking for the railway engineer, only to be justified if an immense volume of trade is likely to result, it will be seen that the Iraqi route to Persia is

likely to be the popular one for a very long time. These are all points to the good for the growing prosperity of Iraq. One matter is important in the eyes of the British public, and that is that, in view of the sacrifices that Great Britain has still to make for Iraq, no trading or development concessions shall be granted by its Government to any foreigner other than British, except at any rate with the approval of the British Government, for the labourer is, at least, worthy of his hire, and some compensation is necessary to this country.

GEORGE MACMUNN

A SURVEY OF RECENT INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE PRESENT SITUATION

BY SIR PATRICK FAGAN, K.C.J.E., C.S.I.

THE two works cited at the bottom of this page are in a sense mutually complementary. They contain material which cannot fail to interest students of current Indian politics. The first is frankly an attempt to envisage the future ; the second is more concerned with the present as the outcome of previous developments, though in his post-script the author indulges in some suggestive reflections on the political future of India.

In his first seven chapters Mr. Archibold presents us with a well-arranged account, replete with interesting detail, of the course of Indian constitutional development during the two and a half centuries which elapsed between the original creation of the East India Company and the assumption of government by the Crown in 1858; though it should be noted that the word "constitutional" must here be understood as including the higher branches of administration, such, for instance, as the structure and the jurisdiction of the courts of law. The retrospect is both instructive and useful, and all the more so because amid the modern enthusiasm for quickened political evolution there is a general temptation to neglect the facts and the teachings of the past. The English critic who sees reason to condemn the slowness of such evolution in India within the last sixty years is apt to overlook the lapse of centuries which the process has required in his own country.

- (1) INDIA; A FEDERATION? By Sir Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.I. (*Government of India*.) 4s. net.
- (2) OUTLINES OF INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By W. A. J. Archibold. (*P. S. King and Son*.) 18s. net.

The latter half of the book is concerned with the gradual and tentative development of the Indian Legislature after 1853, the year in which the author finds the first rudiments of a parliamentary system, with oral instead of written discussion, the reference of Bills to select committees, and legislative debates conducted in public instead of *in camera*. The text and the appendices contain copious references to as well as reproductions of official documents, Acts, etc., the whole forming a compendious account of recent developments. The story, from beginning to end, is one of a process of improvisation responsive to the varying conditions and apparent needs of the time, rather than to the requirements and prescriptions of any clearly preconceived plan. That Lords Morley and Minto in 1909—only eight years before the momentous announcement of August, 1917—should have repudiated any intention of introducing responsible parliamentary government into India is, perhaps, as clear an indication of the comparatively unorganized course of Indian constitutional development as it is possible to have.

The greater part of Sir Frederick Whyte's book is devoted to an analysis and comparison of seven federal Constitutions, of which six are at present in operation. They comprise those of the United States, of the three British Dominions, of Switzerland, and of Germany, Imperial and Republican. This portion of the volume will be of interest to the general political student, quite apart from any possible relation to the present or the future of India, though it is, of course, such a relation which constitutes the main *motif* of the work. India as a federation of diverse political units, including the present feudatory states, is the goal which the author has in view.

In his second chapter he indicates how in other countries national and federal patriotism has grown on the basis of narrower and more intense local loyalties focussed around units such as the state and the canton. Federalism has been the final concrete bond by which smaller regional

groups, already politically self-conscious, have, while maintaining their respective individualities, combined themselves into a larger and more self-sufficing unity. A central government has been the ultimate outcome—in a sense the expression—of political activity organized on a smaller, and therefore for many purposes on a less efficient, scale. But in India this indispensable foundation of well-defined though related minor groups, nationally and politically self-conscious, is for the most part yet lacking. Thus by a process of inversion, not otherwise unknown in India, growth must be from the summit downwards rather than from the roots upwards. The differentiation of a centralized unitary government, imposed by alien influence, into autonomous but subordinate constituent states, and not a synthesis of subsisting politically conscious sub-national groups in a higher unity, must be the course of Indian federation; if such is indeed a possible goal.

In his last chapter, while clearly exposing the ambiguity which surrounds the term "provincial autonomy," as used by Indian publicists and politicians, the author rightly maintains that in India such autonomy at present exists only in embryo. And how indeed could it be otherwise, seeing that the last century has been none too long a period for those developments, political, moral, and economic, which a strong centralized government alone could secure for an India recently rescued from chaos?

In the volume there may be traced a note of complaint that the ultimate constitutional issue between centralized government and federalism has not been foreseen by the India Government more distinctly and in more practical shape, even in that measure of devolution which has been sanctioned by, and actually adopted, under the recent Government of India Act. Its preoccupation in the past has been with administrative efficiency and political order rather than with constitutional development. That the future historian, free, it may be, from the distorting haze of current political controversy, will regard such an attitude as

a legitimate ground for adverse criticism, is perhaps more than doubtful. But however that may be, it is quite true, as Sir Frederick Whyte contends, that up to date there has been little, if any, conscious elaboration of provincial autonomy as the prelude or, perhaps better, as the necessary embodiment of Indian federalism. He seems to suggest, and to suggest rightly, that neither the British Government, nor the Indian Government, nor the Indian politician have yet gone far in reducing to tangible and concrete shape the somewhat vague ideals of political development contained in the Government of India Act. And in truth one could scarcely expect otherwise when the moral, political, and social requirements of federal unity are compared with the wide heterogeneity which characterizes corresponding Indian conditions, and with the history of which they are the outcome.

Sir Frederick Whyte's interesting work brings into clear view, it may be unintentionally, the very long distance, measured in decades and generations, which yet separates India from the goal of a self-sufficient federation of autonomous states, whatever the form which autonomy may take in each particular case.

In order to reach any sound estimate of the existing political situation in India, it is in the present writer's view essential to distinguish the mass of the population, the vast majority of them illiterate, from—to quote Mr. Archibold's words on the second page of his book—"the comparatively small number of educated men (who) wish to exercise the powers of (government)." To attribute identity of sentiment to the two elements is the inveterate propensity of both English and Indian publicists; so much so, indeed, that insistence on the distinction is apt to evoke impatient criticism. A future fusion in mental attitude and political aspiration between the two at present widely divergent classes is possible, nay, indeed essential if there is to be such a thing as federal self-government in India. But that time is yet distant; and the centre of gravity of

the Indian problem lies well within the comparatively inert subjacent mass rather than on the tenuous upper film formed by the politically minded groups. We are told, and told truly, that the awakening effects of the Great War have not left the masses untouched. But so far as this is true, and the extent to which it is so is limited, the result has been to emphasize in their view the desirability of economic, moral, and social progress, to be secured by efficient government, under whatever system, rather than the mere satisfaction to be derived from democratic self-government under leaders in whom their confidence is necessarily far from complete. Considerations such as these cannot be safely neglected in an attempt to gauge the present situation. They are at least as relevant as those connected with the manoeuvres of political parties or with the use of the common catchwords of political party warfare—"campaign," "platform," "programme," "party organization," and so forth—which India has imported from this country, and which bulk so large in references to India in the columns of the English Press.

The political turmoil of the years 1920-24 has given place to comparative calm, thanks largely to those great sedatives of Indian unrest—economic prosperity, satisfactory harvests, and moderated prices—though inter-communal tension has reached a pitch of bitterness almost unique. The cult of Mahatma Gandhi has lost its original vigour, while non-co-operation remains a broken weapon in the hands of those who once professed their readiness as well as their power to use it. If the truth be told, the mass of the Indian population, not confining the term to the illiterate, is tired of a political agitation which, with all its disturbing effects, appears to lead, not in the direction of moral and material betterment, but towards the vague region of continuous constitutional change. Not a few, indeed, fearful of the possible results of existing inter-communal hostility, wish to revert to the now discredited pre-reform system of government, while the majority are

not only prepared for, but desirous of, seeing a halt in the course of political advance until time has shown the real value of the somewhat fluid results so far attained. The trouble lies in the Legislatures. A recent message to *The Times* describes the present outlook in the Central Assembly "as more nebulous than at any time since the reformed Constitution was introduced;" and the conclusion is reached that "the next stage in the growth of Indian political thought cannot be foretold, but there are evidently strong factors which make against the demands . . . for the establishment in India forthwith of full parliamentary responsible self-government. . . ." Under such conditions the question, "Quo vadis?" presses with importunate insistence. A comparatively brief interval now separates us from the prescribed date for the statutory commission of inquiry into the working of the reform scheme. It would be well if within that interval those with whom the responsibility for India's welfare must continue to rest could reach some clearer apprehension than has at present been attained of the ultimate implications of an India federally self-governed on democratic lines, first for herself and secondly for the Empire as a whole; implications which, besides much else, comprise the final form of polity to be aimed at and the route by which it can be reached with the minimum of intermediate peril to India's political stability.

INDIA AND EMPIRE PARLIAMENTS: MY MISSION TO INDIA

By SIR HOWARD D'EGVILLE, K.B.E.

I HAVE been asked to write something for the ASIATIC REVIEW regarding the result of my recent mission to India, which I undertook for the purpose of conveying to members of the Indian Legislature an invitation to form a branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association in direct affiliation with the branch in the United Kingdom Parliament at Westminster.

As the Association aims at providing facilities for closer Parliamentary intercourse and understanding between members of the Parliaments of the British Commonwealth, it was felt that it would be limited in its powers for good if it did not include members of the Central Legislature of India. Therefore, some two years ago it was decided by the home branch of the Association that, pending the formal approval of amendments to the Constitution of the Association enabling India to form a branch, members of the Indian Legislature should be received unofficially at the Association's headquarters at Westminster and be accorded Parliamentary privileges and opportunities of meeting and exchanging views with members of the United Kingdom Parliament and visiting members of oversea Parliaments, both in committee and individually; and this courtesy was much appreciated by Indian visiting members of all parties.

During the Parliamentary visit to South Africa in 1924 (organized by the branch of the Association in the Union Parliament), discussions took place regarding the amendment of the Constitution in order to enable Legislatures which had not attained Dominion status to take part in the activities of the Association; and, with the approval

of the branches in the various Dominion Parliaments, new clauses were added to the Constitution. As a result of the amendment, affiliated branches were formed in the Parliaments of Southern Rhodesia and Malta.

Last year the Executive Committee and many visiting members from India felt that definite steps should be taken to associate members of the Central Legislature officially with the Association in order that members visiting England should receive privileges as of right, and not merely by the unofficial extension of courtesies. It was also considered that the formation of a branch in the Indian Legislature, and the consequent arrangements for travel facilities, reception, etc., for visiting members, in accordance with the scheme of the Association's activities, would encourage home members to visit India.

In January, therefore, I proceeded to Delhi, where I held consultations with the Presidents of the two Chambers and with leaders of the various parties. The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel (President of the Legislative Assembly) took a keen interest in the proposal, and his sympathetic influence and help largely contributed to the successful results of the mission.

After my opening address at a meeting of members of both Houses, held in the Legislative Assembly on February 1, a committee was appointed (including the Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. M. A. Jinnah) to examine the proposal carefully, and to consider the advantages, responsibilities, etc. Though assured that it was the intention of the home branch to extend a warm welcome to Indian members at Westminster and to receive them on exactly the same footing as Dominion members, the committee suggested the addition to the Constitution of words defining more clearly the exact status of an Indian member; subject to this, the committee recommended the formation of a branch in affiliation with the United Kingdom branch. They considered that with regard to relations and mutual interchange of courtesies with members

of the Dominion Parliaments the wisest course for the present was not to attempt the establishment of reciprocal arrangements. Subsequently the committee's report was approved unanimously at a meeting of both Houses.

Although no obligations will be undertaken at present by the Indian branch in relation to the Dominions and *vice versa*, Indian and Dominion members will meet at the centre of all the Parliaments in Westminster Hall, and thus obtain opportunities for exchanging views both at meetings and individual discussions.

By the inclusion of summaries of the proceedings of the Indian Legislature in the "Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire," and the distribution of the Journal to members of the Indian branch, the exchange of information between members of the Association in the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India will be facilitated. Home and oversea members will thus gain a better knowledge of all sections of Indian opinion on common problems; while Indian members will be able to follow the legislative proposals and the position of the various parties in the Parliaments of the British Commonwealth, and by means of other publications of the Association will obtain reliable information on world-problems.

The exchange of visits between representative members it is hoped will create goodwill, increase knowledge, and lessen misunderstanding.

Before I left Delhi, the Indian branch had started on its career. The President of the Council of State (Hon. Sir H. Moncrieff-Smith) and the President of the Legislative Assembly (Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel) were elected joint-Presidents, and a provisional committee was appointed. The mutual interchange of visits and information will be immediately inaugurated, and I am confident that the new branch will soon become one of the most active in the Empire.

It is hoped that an early opportunity may be afforded for a Parliamentary visit to India under the auspices of the

Association to enable representative members of the United Kingdom Parliament to study the problems of the country and exchange views with their colleagues in the Indian Legislature, and there is no doubt that members of the newly-formed branch will endeavour to make such a visit a success. It is also hoped that the Indian branch will take part in the gathering of members of the Empire Parliaments, which the home branch intends to organize in London in 1927 or 1928, when home and Dominion members will welcome the views of their Indian colleagues at the discussions on common problems. These conferences have been an important feature of the various successful delegations which have been organized by the Association since its inauguration at the Coronation of King George V. in 1911.

TOURIST SECTION

IN THE NEAR EAST: A LETTER FROM A TRAVELLER

BY DARIUS TALÄYARCARN

DEAR KEITH,

I am at present deep in the Mountains of the Lebanon, and am writing this to you whilst sitting up against the cool grey of a linden tree; it is like a slim rod of green and silver, shattered in places by the clusters of wind-blown leaves. Through a fretted frame of cyprus and cedar, one can dimly see the sea stretching itself like some monstrous chrysoprase thousands of feet below. In the orchards and vineyards, in quaint-shaped baskets of plaited straw, they are gathering lemons like pale golden globes, and olives and figs. You can see on the path below, winding like a silver ribbon, between its border of pine trees, a sable swathed figure, firmly clutching an oolah of water on her shoulder. The mystic secrets of life lurk in the dark pools of her eyes, and the scarlet thread of her lips trembles through the veil.

All the beauty of Orientalism lies here, with all its charm. . . . The traditions of centuries are accumulated, to form a frame for the subtle psychology of the people. Travelling as I am now, I gain all the poetry of life, and miss life's prose. Can anything be more ideal? I stay amongst the poorest people, who are certainly the most picturesque; live on nothing but fruits, cheese and bread; travel in the most primitive manner; and, above all, wear the long flowing robes that I have always loved. From the moment one enters the Persian Gulf, one lives in a dim phantasma of austrous colour. The country changes, the atmosphere changes, the people change and—you change.

It is perfectly fascinating to know that to-day you touch Arabia, and to-morrow you will be in Persia. Each little

sun-bathed port has its place in my memory. At Muscat I tasted the famous hulva, made out of the finest camel's milk, flavoured with jasmine water and studded with pistachios. At Koweit I bought a jibblah of purple silk with a girdle of wool linked with sandal-wood, and an abba of woven camel's hair with finely stitched palmates in gold and many coloured threads.

Busrah was extremely disappointing, it lacked atmosphere—fields packed with tiny service tents, rackety cars, great gloomy swamps, and masses of troops—red from the combined effects of heat and mosquitoes. I am not going to dwell over Busrah; it filled me with rage, pity and disgust. It typified that most dreadful of all things—a Europeanized Orientalism. It was only in the bazaars with their dim steaming alleys, in the fantastically painted coffee shops, and among the dense green groves along the Tigris, that one ceased to feel that vaguely pathetic atmosphere of half-caste. It is only a day's journey from Busrah to Babylon, and you can imagine the tremulous excitement I felt coming from one ancient city to another.

Babylon has always had an immense fascination for me, and I am longing to give you a long harangue of how it shares with Egypt the honour of representing Asia as the birthplace of art, literature and science. In the manufacture and weaving of wonderful textiles of silk and of wool, in the principles of electricity, in the knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics, in art and in culture, we had reached the highest degree of civilization whilst you used to run about in the skins of wild beasts, live in caves, and talk with signs.

Some time ago, when discussing the subject with a friend, he told me: "Don't tell me of what Asiatics have done, but what they are doing at present." He was rather annoyed when I told him that we were resting on our laurels, that the East had given and the West had received, and that now it was the turn of the West to repay, and the East to accept. Don't frown, my dear Keith, because it is perfectly true. After all, you are only giving us back small change for our big money. Babylon is about three miles from

Hilla, a tiny village built mostly with the bricks taken from the ruins. We drove to the ruins in an araba drawn by three oxen—a really quaint equipage whose panels were figured with clusters of gilded fruits and flowers. It takes two hours by this mode of travelling; but if you wish to rush through in ten minutes, you can do so in a Ford. We ambled along in a leisurely way, along the grass-covered mounds and beneath the spreading fragrance of sycamore and tamarind trees, mile after mile bathed in the pale saffron glow of the setting sun; then we saw, slowly rising from its silken sheath of green foliage, the vast stretches of broken walls and crumpled towers—the only things left as a monument to the glories of what once had been Babylon. One wall, on which are curious bas-reliefs, still remains standing, and towering up on high the great stone lion still crouches, as fiercely as thousands of years ago. Villages and towns have been built with the materials taken from Babylon, but still the pathetic mouldering ruins stretch out like some vast sea, bounded by groves of waving palm trees. It is hard to think that those great banks of earth and bricks once towered up to the heavens, laid out with wondrous blooms and rare trees; fountains of marble and of porphyry, by which the peacocks spread out their great star-studded tails, and dipped their gilded feet in the soft green grass, cooled with vervaine and rose water. The hanging gardens of Babylon—what a mockery! No! what a tragedy; yet one tragedy amongst many. The marble halls of Belshazzar with their thousand columns of granite stained with rich-hued pigments, the vast beasts in stone and marble with gleaming eyes of chrysoberyl, jacinth, and amethyst, round whose heads rose the fragrant clouds of frankincense, of myrrh, and of spikenard, from great urns of alabaster, and cedar, and bronze. Of all this magnificence nothing is left of the former splendour, only a twisted mass of earth and broken bricks, of which some still retain the different hues of their enamel. Burne-Jones could have stained it on quattrocento glass and given it to the world as "memories in stone."

I thought of the Temple of Love, with its seven

thousand virgins, of el-Marduc in which had been formed the lore of the heavens and of the earth; the great monstrous walls, in height three hundred feet, and of breadth eighty feet; the great gates of Imurger Bel fashioned out of bronze and of beaten brass, and which took six hundred Nubians to open; and the pleasure palaces of Semiramis. Then suddenly I thought of the rushing horde of the advancing Persian, thousand upon thousand, with their chariots of war, their great siege-towers, battering-rams, and catapults . . . and the great agonizing wail . . . Babylon is falling . . . Babylon, that mighty city, is falling . . . falling. . . .

Sitting high up in a portion of the temple of Astarte, I tried to visualize the past—it is a subtle mode of gratifying the senses, at least the sense of imagination. And it is true what my companion said at that moment: "The past is the only thing that never passes." After having spent two days in Babylon, I found myself in Baghdad. Yes! found myself in Baghdad. I have absolutely no recollection of the journey across; I was in too deep a reverie over Babylon.

Baghdad also conjures up before our minds the wonderful scenes of the past, the city of the Arabian Nights, the city of the Caliphs. The name of Baghdad would conjure up wonderful things before us, but unfortunately, even here, the octopus of your utilitarian civilization has fastened its hungry tentacles. It is horrible! maddening! Through all the time-whitened pathways of the East anarchy walks hand in hand with anachronism—a perpetual struggle between the artist and the artisan. Let me explain clearly what I mean. A few days after I had arrived in Baghdad I went to see the Mosque of the Golden Domes. The walls and the great gates were of inlaid mosaic . . . a background of the palest Persian blue, with curving threads of gold and of silver . . . arabesques, exquisitely wrought, connected by wreaths of roses, interwoven with pomegranates, lilies, and jasmine, like the multi-tinted passion of a flower garden. Like four blue flames the minarets shot upwards, supporting on their spiralled summits great bells of bronze, inlaid with crystal. Near the gates, in a coffee

house, with a trellis of vine, the Arabs had gathered, their long floating robes swaying in the wind. . . . Seated at tiny tables, telling their amber beads, they sipped fragrant coffee, or tea spiced with cinnamon and cloves, or dreamily smoking the bubbling silken tasselled narghile. Far away on the horizon the date palms furred like great black fans across the crimson anger of the sunset.

Then, out of a sort of perverted curiosity, I crossed the Euphrates, and went over into Eastern Baghdad . . . and there . . . with a raucous blare of horns the motors rushed by, rolling in clouds of smoke the antique oxen-drawn araba. Camels laden with the merchandise of caravans jostled with motor bicycles . . . down New Street, brilliantly lit yet cheap-looking cinemas threw their garish reflections on an old crumbling mosque. Hybrid hotels and cafés of corrugated iron, and whitewashed walls, displayed in their windows sponge-cake, plum-cake, and seed-cake, looking as stolid and unimaginative as their own proprietors. Looking at the lumps of flour and dough, I thought of the khameredin, made out of the dry juices of fruits, mixed with almonds, pistachios and sesame; of the confections of crystallized pineapple, and sliced cocoanut, perfumed and flavoured with rose water; of tiny golden slabs, baked with the finest flour, mingled with the yoke of eggs and sifted in cream. The zoude, to whose making had gone the purest camel's milk, mingled with pistachios and chestnuts, and covered with the crystallized petals of the jasmine bloom. I thought of all these—looked at my surroundings, and fled home in disgust.

Home was . . . a tumbled down old khan, tucked away in a grove of palm trees on the west banks of the tawny river. We spent there two weeks of passionate curious coloured happiness. For those who seek it is still quite possible to paint one's self with the palpitating glow of an artistic antiquity that still remains; especially so in the villages that lie along the banks of the Euphrates in the great Arabian and Syrian deserts. I shall never forget those eleven days across the desert—the vast sand-strewn silences stretched for miles to the horizon. I can quite

understand now what Pascal meant when he spoke of the silence of those infinite spaces being terrifying—"Le silence éternel de ces espaces infinis m'effraie." Yet even the desert teems with beautiful wild things. Strewn about the sands are tiny stones stained with time's coloured pigments ; a scarlet chequer of poppies sways against a great slab of gleaming mica ; fantastic green lizards, with horned heads, and bead-black eyes hungrily chase the thousands of grass, hoppers that swarm across the hot, steaming sands. Both my companion and myself wished to travel by caravan from Baghdad to Aleppo, but as one was unavailable at that time of the year we were forced to take a motor and get out and push it every half-hour when it became stuck in the sands. The villages by the oasis along the Euphrates retain all the beauty of their primitive simplicity, and they also, as is everywhere in the East, are fraught with wonderful tradition. At Fellujah was fought a great battle, in which Cyrus II. of Persia, with ninety thousand horse and as many chariots and infantry, scored a great victory. Herodotus had rested seven moons, within the sun-mellowed walls of Hit. In its oasis of date palms, by the bend of the ancient river, Annah had witnessed the rise and fall of prophets, and in the plains beyond were buried the bodies of the nephews of Muhammad. I saw them all . . . the crumpled yellow walls of clay . . . the flat terraced houses . . . the tall green rushes in the river . . . the eternal silence . . . the slim draped Bedouin girls, with their passion-flower mouths. There the Bible is no longer a book of printed words, a vague phantasma of the past, but a vivid passionate picture of the present as it always has been.

(*To be continued.*)

INDIAN PORTRAITS :

I

SAYYID HUSAYN BILGRAMI

BY SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G.

No formal biography could give us a better portrait of Sayyid Husayn Bilgrami than the volume* of collected writings which he has published. The outline is partly drawn in the biographical sketch contributed by his accomplished wife, who is able to give us details of his childhood, his education, his early manhood, and his career, and is completed by a very few passages, of which more would have been welcome, in which he gives us some idea of his early education and tastes in Western literature. The colours and the lights and shadows of the portrait are supplied by the rest of his work.

Of the manner of his writings, Professor Sayyid Abdul Latif says in the foreword that "he has a style which, in its polish and purity of diction, and its elegance and precision of expression, can be favourably compared with that of any writer of English that modern India has ever produced." He might have added that very many Englishmen, writing their mother-tongue, fail to attain to the distinction of Sayyid Husayn's prose. It is difficult, too, to remember, as we read his poems, that they are the work of one whose mother-tongue is not English. It is not only the command of language and of the forms and *technique* of English verse that surprises us, but the assimilation of the spirit and genius of English poetry. This is nowhere more apparent than in the poem "Butterfly and Moth," on

* "Addresses, Poems, and other Writings of Nawwab Imadul-Mulk Bahadur Sayyid Husayn Bilgrami, C.S.I.," with a foreword by Professor Sayyid Abdul Latif, B.A., PH.D. (Lond.), Hyderabad, Deccan. Printed at the Government Central Press, 1925.

a theme which has been worn threadbare by the poets of Persia and India, but which, in its English dress, is enriched and elaborated in a manner entirely new. It is not easy to imagine a Persian poem of equal length on this subject which would not be insufferably tedious, but one reaches the end of Sayyid Husayn's thirteen stanzas all too soon. Less than half of that number of couplets, treating the subject after the Persian manner, would be more than enough.

His two elegies, written in the metre and form which Tennyson has appropriated to the expression of grief, are full of tender feeling and fine thoughts happily expressed. Nearly all of his verse is distinguished by the love of nature and great descriptive power, nowhere more freely displayed than in "Uncertain Harmonies" and "April in Upper India." There are, in the twenty-four poems, not more than three or four lines which halt, and in these misprints may be suspected.

We are reminded more than once that the writer is not a politician, but a scholar and an educationist. He has, indeed, served his country, and served it well, as a legislator, but of his two published speeches in the Legislative Council, one treats almost entirely of education, embodying an eloquent and convincing appeal for more generous expenditure from the public funds, not on university education, which he rightly regards as a luxury, but for the purpose of dispelling the dense ignorance to which he attributes much of the poverty and a great deal of the oppression which the masses suffer. The acerbities of the political arena, the demagogue's caricatures of facts, the coarse arts which win the applause of the vulgar, have no attraction for the devotee of learning and of truth, but Sayyid Husayn's great attainments and mature wisdom have won for him, in spite of himself, so prominent a place among his countrymen that there have been occasions on which silence would have been treason to the cause of his community and his country, and on these occasions he has

not shrunk from raising his voice, "not as an active participant in the struggle," but "more as a detached onlooker, counsellor, and friend of the people." His political opinions and principles appear not only in these utterances, but in the advice which he gives to the youth of India, and especially to those of his own faith, for he believes, with the philosophers of Greece and all reasonable men, that education is a branch of politics. He has no sympathy with the pernicious practice of converting raw lads into political partisans. For the demagogue who attempts to swell his following by undermining authority and enticing callow youths, whose opinions can be of no importance to anybody, from their studies, he has nothing but contempt; for his victims, nothing but pity. "You cannot," he says, "expect sensible men to listen with patience to the frothy eloquence of half-educated and irresponsible schoolboys on measures that have been deliberated upon by expert masters of their craft."

His conception of education in relation to politics is that of a training which will produce patriots and loyal and intelligent citizens; but his definition of patriotism, which he refuses to confound with a vain hankering after political privileges for which his countrymen are not prepared, and which they would abuse if they had them, will unfortunately not be universally accepted by those to whom his advice is addressed. He was once described as a Tory by one to whom the old political nickname was a term of reproach, connoting an enemy of progress, but the description, in the sense in which it was intended, is unjust. He knows his country and his countrymen, and he knows that the destruction of authority is not progress, but retrogression. His Toryism, if he may be called a Tory, is the system which holds "the thinking away of what exists, and the thinking back in its place of what does not, to be the root of fallacies." All his counsels tend to ordered progress, the only true progress.

Of his services to education it is difficult to speak in terms

which will not appear hyperbolical to those who do not know him or have not followed his career. He was one of the most prominent lieutenants of Sir Sayyid Ahmad, the great pioneer of Muhammadan education in India, and is even better qualified than his leader, or, indeed, than any of his nation, to prescribe the lines which that education should follow, for in him "are harmoniously blended the knowledge and culture of the East and of the West." It is partly to the range of his learning that he owes the breadth of his outlook and his balance of mind, his freedom from such narrow bigotry as that of Macaulay, who could not understand or even conceive any culture but his own. His zeal for the ancients does not blind him to their defects, and he warns his youthful co-religionists against a complacent belief in the finality of the secular learning of their spiritual ancestors, reminding them not only that Western learning and science have advanced since Caliphs reigned at Baghdad and Cordova, but that even the Arabs failed to tap all the sources of Greek culture. Scholar and devotee of learning as he is, he is no unpractical visionary. "We are often told," he says, "that learning should be pursued for its own sake. It is an old and hackneyed advice. Falling from the lips of men of wisdom and high learning, it is an elevating sentiment that we are bound to receive with reverent attention. But in the mouths of men engaged in the work in which we are engaged it sounds more like a platitude, nay, very nearly like cant. I confess I have come to take a very bread-and-butter view of the learning we are called upon to impart. Our aim here is to make what we teach of practical use. We have no time to educate men for the philosopher's tub."

But while insisting on the necessity for equipping youth with the means of gaining an honest livelihood, he is never forgetful of higher aims. "Bread-getting is unfortunately a necessary pursuit, but manhood is not nourished on bread alone; the spirit also has to be provided with good, wholesome food. But not only is manhood not nourished by

bread alone; the spirit, you will find, is not nourished by books alone; it is neither books nor bread that keeps us alive. Books are tools of culture, and bread is needed for the body, but what is really healthful for the whole man is a training that will, as I have said before, lead us to clean living and high thinking. This is the essence of culture." This too, is the author's constant text—discipline. He laments the lack, in modern education in India, of training in good manners and consideration for others, the risk which youths of his own faith run of losing the heritage of good manners which has descended to them from their ancestors, and the tendency, which many must have noticed, to forget that good manners are an important element in self-respect.

He notices a yet more serious defect in State schools and colleges in India, while appreciating the difficulty of supplying it—the lack of religious training. The weakening of the sanctions provided by religion, he reminds his hearers, strikes at the very root of national life, and a loss of reverence is premonitory of national degeneration. For this a Government on which circumstances impose a policy of strict neutrality cannot be held responsible. Its concern, as a pioneer of higher education, must necessarily be confined to secular learning, and such moral textbooks as it might prescribe could never supply the place of religious teaching. That must be the concern of the communities requiring it, and each community must provide for its own needs, for it is obviously impossible that Hindu and Muhammadan lads should receive religious instruction side by side. It is on this ground that Sayyid Husayn defends, in no narrow or sectarian spirit, the establishment of a Muhammadan university. He desires for his own people something better than an examining body, a mere manufactory of graduates, something better even than a teaching and examining body, in which instruction is apt to degenerate into cramming, and no foundation is provided for the discipline which goes towards the formation of character. He advocates a university modelled on Oxford and Cam-

bridge, with their tutorial system and their collegiate discipline, where it would be possible to supply the defect inherent in State institutions in India, and to provide, as he explains in detailed proposals which we need not here analyze, for religious teaching.

It would be well if Sayyid Husayn's ideals were more fashionable than they are. He recognizes the uses of education which enables a man to earn a living, but he does not regard this as the sole end of education, and he denounces as shameful, and as destructive of all self-respect and all pride of manhood, the spirit of mendicancy which demands that which has not been earned, the cupidity excited by such vile cries as "Ninepence for fourpence." He believes in the efficacy of endeavour without reference to fruition, and reminds us that the mere gratification of the senses is a pleasure common to us and the brute creation. "The real pleasure of life, the pleasure that distinguishes us from the lower animals, is the spiritual pleasure of duty performed and something added by our own striving to the sum total of human striving and human happiness."

A great part of the contents of this book is addressed primarily to youth, but there are few of mature years who will not derive both pleasure and profit from it. It will be read with peculiar pleasure by those who are privileged to call the author friend, for to them it will be something more than a volume of sermons by an impersonal preacher. They will recognize in his writings the principles by which he has guided his life—public spirit, strenuous endeavour, loyalty, and self-sacrifice—and as they hear his voice speaking to them once more in its genial accents from the dignified and scholarly retreat so well earned by a lifetime of labour for the public good, they will pray that he may bear the burden of his years as lightly as he has borne the burden of his learning.

GWALIOR, THE CAPITAL OF THE SCINDIAS

(Its Origin, Events During the Mutiny, and Since)

BY COLONEL M. J. MEADE, C.I.E.

GWALIOR is little known to most Englishmen, but is an important Indian city, commercially and politically, and great events took place there during the mutinies in 1857 and 1858. It probably owes its origin and early importance to a very ancient fortress on the summit and sides of a remarkable rock, which is part of a picturesque ridge of ocherous sandstone running north and south. This rock, which is strongly fortified, stands clear of the rest of the range, and from its steepness and isolated position it must have been a favourite refuge for the inhabitants of the neighbourhood long before the dawn of history. Then when, before our era, the Aryans came into India, it was occupied by the early Hindu invaders, who made it their stronghold till the arrival of the followers of the Prophet, who, in turn, held it. The summit is covered with ancient memorials of successive races—Hindus and Buddhists, Jains and Muslims—temples and mosques, till we come to the ruins of stereotyped English barracks, once occupied by British Tommies, who, no doubt, spent miserable hours perspiring on its glowing surface.

After the Mutiny was quelled, we kept a small garrison on Fortress Gwalior, as we called it, till, after a time, it was at last restored to the Maharajah, who strongly objected to British sentries overlooking his palace and zenana, and was very glad when it was given back to him.

Gwalior is nearly in the centre of India, and is almost at the northern extremity of the fertile province of Malwa. It is really in the great plains which go by the name of Hindostan, and is situated in the open country between the Chambal and Jumna, and from the top of the rock one can almost see the great cities in the far distance. Agra is about sixty miles west, and the fine old Moghul fort there received the fugitives who managed to escape from the rising at many out-stations. It was a district of the Moghul Empire for many years till that Empire fell before the Hindu invasions from the south. Aurungzebe, the last of the great Moghuls, destroyed the Muhammadan

kingdoms which had kept back the tide, and their destruction brought about, in turn, the end of the power which had destroyed them. Constant, and indeed early, incursions of hordes of Mahrattas, at first only for plunder of the rich towns and fertile lands of Northern India, were followed by permanent settlements, and one of the most able captains of the Peshwars at Poona, named Scindia, made Gwalior his headquarters and established a powerful kingdom in Northern India. But for the destruction of the Mahratta armies by Ahmed Shah Abdali at Panniput, and the arrival of the British, the Scindias might possibly have established another Hindu empire, for the early Maharajahs of the name were able men who recognized the importance of discipline in their armies, and employed European adventurers to train and lead them.

A Savoyard, the Count de Boigne, whose statue, on a lofty pillar, is one of the chief sights of Chambéry, in Savoy, was Scindia's general, and made a large fortune from the revenues of the districts set aside for the upkeep of a large regular army. When, however, Scindia went to war with the British, de Boigne and the other Europeans in his service left him and took refuge with the English armies. Had the Mahrattas been led by their French leaders when they met us, the result might have been different, but, as it was, though they fought bravely, they were completely out-generalled and defeated, and the territories and power of the Scindias were greatly reduced by the treaties which ended the war in 1817-1818. The policy of that time was to establish contingents, as they were called, at positions near the capitals of the various Native States, to watch and overawe the State armies. Thus came into existence the military stations of Secunderabad and Bolarum near Hyderabad, Mhow near Indore, and Sehore near Bhopal. Similarly, a force called the Gwalior Contingent was formed and stationed at Morar, near Gwalior. It is with the fortunes of this that we are now chiefly interested, for, though it seems to have been at one time loyal, and to have fought well against the Gwalior army in 1843, it mutinied in 1857 and murdered many of its officers, their wives and families. In 1843 the troops of the Gwalior State had revolted against the Maharajah, then a minor, and were destroyed by the British armies, led by the Viceroy, Lord Ellenborough, in person, and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, at the battles of Maharajahpur and Pamiah, fought on the same day. The result was a considerable reduction in the

strength of the Gwalior Durbar forces and an increase in the Contingent, which had special advantages and attracted many of the best soldiers, European and native, in the Bengal army.

The headquarters of the Contingent were at Morar, a convenient site about five miles from the city of Gwalior, where the palace of the Maharajah was, and near which the British Resident lived. The cantonment was British territory, and the Resident had civil and criminal jurisdiction in it; but the military authority was vested in a Brigadier-General who, at the time of the Mutiny, was General Ramsay, a relation of the late Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie. It is not possible, within the limits of this article, to discuss the causes of the great revolt. Probably similar reasons have led to similar mutinies of mercenary troops against their foreign masters in other lands, in ancient as well as in modern times, but it is clear that many British officers in the native army did much to avert it, and had not only great influence over their men and were much beloved, but had themselves an unbounded affection for their sepoy, and belief in their loyalty. I have seen in a recent article, by a well-known General, that it was afterwards noticed that many officers who were most popular with their men were the first to fall, and it is supposed that this was deliberately done by the more determined rebels because they knew that while certain British officers lived the mass of the sepoys would not go against them, and, if they did mutiny, would return to their loyalty at the call of the officers whom they knew and loved. This is probably correct, but, as will be seen hereafter, many officers also owed their lives to the loyal devotion of men who risked their own lives to save them. My father, then Captain R. J. Meade, was Brigade-Major of the Contingent, and his house, the official residence of the Brigade-Major, was close to the Brigadier-General's and also, fortunately, close to the boundary of the cantonment. After the Meerut rising on May 10, 1857, followed by the taking of Delhi by the mutineers, it was evident that the spirit of revolt was general all over the Bengal army. One garrison after another revolted, and English officers, their wives and children, were murdered under circumstances of great barbarity by the mutineers. Wherever there was a sprinkling of Europeans some resistance was made, but our European force just then was woefully under its usual strength, and, on the other hand, the native army was stronger than it had been, so for a time the revolt spread unchecked, and it

is not surprising that ignorant people imagined that the Raj of the English was over, and that the dead bodies of officers and their wives and young children, exposed on the highways and treated with every indignity, marked the end of our rule. In the face of this it is impossible to honour too highly the loyal attitude of the Gwalior Durbar, led by the young Maharajah, and his able minister, Dinker Rao (afterwards Raja Sir Dinker Rao). This and the devotion of certain brave soldiers, particularly a havildar in command of the guard at the entrance to the grounds of the Brigade-Major's house, enabled Captain Meade to get away from the cantonment, with his family, on the night of June 14, 1857, and afterwards to reach Agra in safety. During the period between the rising at Meerut and that at Morar the position of the English at the latter place was very trying. Constant rumours of intended mutiny were flying about, but the resolute attitude of the Brigadier and the other British officers, many of whom actually moved their beds to the lines of the sepoy and slept there unconcerned, and the splendid behaviour of the ladies, who, after having been moved to the Residency for greater security, returned, of their own accord, to the cantonment, did much to create confidence in the minds of the sepoys. Rumours that a British regiment would suddenly attack them unprepared were circulated by vile plotters, and no doubt fear had a large share in influencing the timid and waverers, who could not decide what to do. Men who had no wish to be false to their oaths were involved in crimes which shut them off from pardon, and then, being desperate, they gradually sunk still lower. At first, however, it seemed as if the confidence of General Ramsay and his officers in their men would be justified, and, on the strength of this, no arrangements seem unfortunately to have been made for assembling the English officers, their wives and families, as well as the large number of subordinates, Europeans and Eurasians, at some given spot. When the rising took place everyone did the best he could, and whilst some escaped, many perished. There are several accounts of the Morar mutiny, official and private, which I have read, and I have also carefully studied the Life of my father, prepared by Dr. T. H. Thornton, I.C.S., C.I.S., a former Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. This admirable account of Gwalior affairs is founded, I believe, partly on Malleson's account of the Gwalior rising, on chapter xxiii. of a memoir of Major Macpherson, the Resident, published by his brother in 1865, on a book called "A Lady's Escape

from Gwalior," a most graphic account of what she experienced, written by Mrs. Coopland, widow of the Church of England chaplain, who was murdered before her eyes, and also on a private letter written by my aunt, Mrs. (afterwards Lady) Murray, who, with her husband and child, was with the Meades and escaped with them. Of the party who actually escaped to Agra I believe my brother, now Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. B. Meade, and myself are the sole survivors. Nearly seventy years have passed since June, 1857, and of course my recollections of what was going on are very vague, and probably rest on what I heard from my parents and from what I have read.

It appears that, as generally happened at other places, the mutiny at Morar was not general, and some regiments were certainly much worse than others.

The Contingent was composed of troops stationed at Morar, as head quarters, with detachments at Nimach, Agar, and Satilpur, in Malwa. At the head quarters were two regiments of cavalry, three of infantry, and two batteries of artillery, the whole commanded by a Brigadier-General, who had the usual staff. The bungalows of the European officers were some distance from the lines (as they were called) of the sepoys, and there were also a great number of subordinates, clerks, etc., who lived in smaller houses away from the lines. They were Europeans and Eurasians, many of whom perished when the troops mutinied.

As I have written, there were many rumours of an intended rising, and after the news of the mutiny at Meerut, and the massacre of the English there and elsewhere, the attitude of the sepoys became more and more threatening. Jhansi is an important place about seventy-five miles S.S.E. of Gwalior and when the native troops there mutinied, the Europeans appealed to the British authorities at Gwalior for help. The 4th Infantry of the Contingent volunteered to go, and were sent off under Captain—afterwards General Sir John—Murray, a brother-in-law of Captain Meade, but at Deborah, thirty miles from Jhansi, they heard that all the Europeans there had been brutally murdered, and they returned to Gwalior. This 4th Regiment appears to have at first behaved fairly well, and it was to the loyal conduct of some of its men, who were on guard at his house, that Captain Meade and his party owed their lives. June 14 was a Sunday, and the usual service was held, and the Communion was administered by the chaplain, who, with so many of his flock, did not live to see another day. In the afternoon the officers' messhouse and another bungalow

near it were burnt down; but it was fondly hoped that this was the work of only a few isolated incendiaries, and the officers returned, after helping to extinguish the flames, to their homes, believing that nothing further would occur that night. About 8 p.m., however, it was reported that the gunners had loaded their guns without orders, and when questioned, they admitted having done so, as they were told a European regiment was about to attack them. Their officers reassured them, and then again went home, believing that the worst was over.

When, however, the 9 o'clock gun was fired, the lines of all the regiments broke into tumult. Shots were fired, the officers' bungalows blazed, and the occupants were shot down when attempting to escape. As soon as it was clear that the troops were out of hand, Captain Meade took his family out of the house to a small circular guard-house, where there was a havildar (native sergeant) with ten men. This man, and those under him, rendered incalculable service to the fugitives, hid them on the top of the circular guard-house, when parties of rebels came looking for them, and eventually escorted them over the Morar River, which formed the boundary of the cantonment.

There was, and is still, a fine bridge over this river, but it was strongly guarded by the mutineers, who had also posted guards higher up. The place where the refugees got over used to be a dead sheet of bunded water, but the previous year the bund had burst, and had not been repaired. The annual rains had not yet commenced, so the stream was fordable, though very muddy, and Mrs. Meade lost a shoe and sprained her foot, which greatly hampered her throughout the rest of the toilsome journey. It may be mentioned here that both the ladies afterwards received the thanks of the Government of India for their conduct before the outbreak, and it was only their pluck and determination which enabled them to carry off their children, all infants in arms, to a place of safety. I have in after years more than once inspected the scene of this wonderful escape from a terrible death, and have felt very grateful to those whose chief thought was for the safety of their children. The faithful havildar was afterwards traced by my father, who found him a prisoner in a jail in Oude. The man had no doubt been a rebel, but Captain Meade got him pardoned on account of his great services to himself and his family, and afterwards he was suitably rewarded. I may mention that my father told me that he believed he had been able to capture and punish everyone who had murdered or assisted

in the murder of English people in Morar, and that, on the other hand, he had rewarded all who had been, as the Indian saying is, "true to their salt."

After vainly trying to get back to Morar, the fugitives decided to go to Gwalior and claim the protection of the Maharajah, and at one o'clock on the morning of June 15 they reached Scindia's country house, called the Phul-bagh Palace, and met Brigadier-General Ramsay, who had also escaped, and who informed them, to their great joy, that the Maharajah was willing and able to protect them.

They found him in a small turret, seated on the ground with several of his Sirdars, and were soon joined by the Resident, Major Macpherson, and his sister. There is no doubt that, but for the powerful protection the fugitives received from the Maharajah in person, they would all have been massacred. But he felt he could not hope to control the fanatical mob by which he was surrounded for more than a short time, and he urged Major Macpherson to push on to Agra without delay. It was felt it was impossible to remain, and so the whole party left at once in conveyances provided by the Maharajah, and eventually reached Agra after a very dangerous and trying journey. It is clear, from the opinions of the Government of India on the events at Gwalior, that the Resident and Brigadier were both very able officers, who did all that was possible to stave off the disaster. Major Macpherson seems to have been a man of particularly noble character, who had devoted the best years of his life to reclaiming wild aboriginal tribes, and he used his influence with the Gwalior Durbar to the utmost to induce His Highness and his minister to retain the Contingent and his own troops at Gwalior as long as he could. This they certainly did right well, and it was some months before the Contingent left to join the Nana at Cawnpore, while it was nearly a year before Scindia's own troops revolted and forced him to join his English friends at Agra. During this period Captain Meade and his brother-in-law, Captain Murray, had raised cavalry regiments, which were called respectively Meade's and Murray's Horse, and did excellent work in the final suppression of the mutiny. As we have said, the Contingent went off to join the Nana at Cawnpore, but Scindia's own army, about 10,000 strong, remained at Gwalior, and were kept in hand till May, 1858, when Kalpi was captured by Sir Hugh Rose in the course of his brilliant Central India campaign. The defeated rebels from Kalpi fled towards Gwalior, where they knew Scindia's

troops, which were recruited from races more or less in sympathy with themselves, would welcome them.

On May 31 Scindia moved out to meet them at Bahadurpur, a place about eight miles from Gwalior. He had with him about 8,000 men and twenty-four guns, but, after a brief show of fighting, on June 10 these joined the Jhansi rebels, and the Maharajah and his Minister fled, as previously mentioned, to Agra.

Sir Hugh Rose, who was about to go to England invalided, offered to cancel his leave and take command of the force which was to pursue the Jhansi rebels when he heard that Scindia's army had joined them, and that they were, in consequence, increased in numbers, and provided with abundance of money and warlike stores. Scindia was received with great honour and sympathy at Agra, and when Sir Hugh Rose arrived at Morar he joined him, escorted by two squadrons of Meade's Horse, commanded by Captain Meade, who was placed on the General's staff. His local knowledge was of great use to Sir Hugh in his arrangements for the battle of June 19, which finally drove the rebels out of Gwalior and restored the Maharajah to his State.

It was at the conclusion of the action that Captain Meade was enabled to save Scindia's palace from being taken by assault, which would have meant its destruction. He rode up to the palace alone, and, at much personal danger to himself, induced the defenders to surrender. For this act the Maharajah was always grateful, and he remained a warm friend of my father to the end of his life.

Soon after the suppression of the mutiny, Captain (then Major) Meade was appointed to succeed Major Macpherson as Resident of Gwalior. He had won a high reputation during the disturbances, and had been fortunate enough to capture the Nana Sahib's lieutenant, the notorious Tantia Topee, whom he hanged after a full trial, which clearly showed his connection with the murders of our people at the ghats on the river Ganges at Cawnpore, and the subsequent terrible slaughter of the women and children. Perhaps no incidents in our long island story excited such horror and strong feelings of indignation as the dreadful massacres which took place during the Great Mutiny, and it is greatly to the credit of our national character that, when the rising had been finally suppressed, a general amnesty was declared, and the bitter feelings which had been aroused were, as far as possible, forgotten. Out of the mutiny arose the Indian Empire, and the writer well

remembers that the first to acclaim Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, as Empress of India was Maharajah Ali Jah Jaya Ji Rao Scindia of Gwalior, who, at the termination of the Viceroy's speech, declaring Her Majesty Empress of India, rushed forward and called out, as far as the writer can remember, "Jye, Jye, Queen Victoria, Maharani Bahadur, Kaisar-i-Hind."

His Highness and his son, who died recently in Paris, like all other Indian Princes, have been devoted subjects of the King-Emperor, and they often pointed out that when there were troubles in British India their territories were generally free of sedition and loyal to the Government of India.

Maharajah Jyaji Rao Scindia and his Minister Rajah Sir Dinker Rao were members of the commission which investigated certain charges against Mulhar Rao, the Maharajah of Baroda, in the early seventies, and he was also present, as has been noticed, at the great Delhi assemblage on January 1, 1877, when the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India. On both these occasions he met his old friend, then Sir Richard Meade, and renewed their memories of the stirring days nearly twenty years before at Gwalior.

After the mutiny it was considered advisable to keep a large force at Gwalior, and Morar was made the headquarters of a division, one of the largest in India. The writer accompanied Sir Lepel Griffin to Gwalior in 1882, when General Denham Massy, known as Redan Massy, in memory of his gallantry in the Crimea, was the General commanding the district. Morar was then beautifully kept up, and the force, consisting of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, was in splendid training. It was the close of the Afghan War, and Lord Roberts had done much to improve the condition of the army, which the lessons of the South African War afterwards made still more perfect, so that, when the Great War commenced in 1914, the army we put in the field, though few in numbers, was quite first-rate in quality. As previously stated, the Maharajah objected strongly to our retaining the fortress, and also to our having such a large force at Morar, and he never ceased pressing for its removal.

At last it was considered unnecessary to retain the place as a military centre, and Morar and Fortress Gwalior were handed over to the Maharajah in exchange for certain districts at or near Jhansi. This arrangement was greatly to the satisfaction of His Highness Maharajah Jye-a-ji Rao, who died not long after, and was succeeded by a son, then about ten years of age, who has also recently died at an

early age, leaving a son, named George after His Majesty the King-Emperor. There have, therefore, been three generations of the house of Scindia ruling at Gwalior during the last eighty years.

My father naturally looked back to the mutiny as the foundation of his public career. He was appointed Resident at Gwalior soon after the close of the disturbances, and afterwards held several other high appointments at various native States, retiring eventually, when about sixty, from Hyderabad, the premier State of India. After he left the East for good he lived many years in England, and among his numerous activities the start of the East India Association was one that, perhaps, interested him most. He was always in favour of a better knowledge of each other by the English and Indians in England, and he always thought that an Association where both would be on an equal footing, and could discuss their views, could not fail to do good. He was one of the original members of the Association.

It is hoped that this connection will make this account of the Gwalior episode of the Great Mutiny of 1857, and Sir Richard Meade's work there, when a comparatively young man, interesting to readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE

BY EDWIN HAWARD

IN venturing to take up the time of the members of this audience with a paper on the Indian Legislature of to-day I do not wish to give expression to any pronounced political view. The gathering here contains many who are well able to form their own opinions on the development of the political situation in India, and on the exact relation of that development to what to my mind is far more important, the general progress of the country as a whole. So I shall make no attempt to assess the permanent value of the present Indian Legislature and, therefore, of the experimental scheme of which it is the chief material offshoot. At the same time I am not one of those who consider that the work of the new Legislature has been negligible. We can plainly see the weakness of a semi-self-governing institution which experience has shown to be so unrepresentative that little is heard of the voice of the agriculturist forming about 80 per cent. of the total population. Yet by the passage of the Racial Distinctions Removal Act the Indian Legislature has been able, with almost general approval, to solve a political problem of over forty years' standing; it has, in spite of hesitations and unnecessary diffidence, assisted in restoring financial equilibrium by means of greatly increased taxation; and it has created a high standard of parliamentary tradition—to mention only three features of its activities during the last five years. Such a body cannot be fairly stigmatized as a failure. Probably some will be prepared to join issue with me there. I do not shirk it, yet I do not

wish to run to meet it. I prefer to endeavour to give an impressionist sketch of the personalities whom I have seen on the stage at Delhi and Simla playing, according to their lights, the rôles prescribed for them by the distinguished authors of the Reforms scheme which, with all its defects, has been supported by the three great political parties in this country.

Before proceeding, however, to deal with the Legislature itself it is perhaps desirable that I should touch on the electorate which it is supposed to represent. As you know, the idea that the Montford scheme has given the Indian people the franchise is really fallacious—although I observed the other day that a distinguished ex-Indian civilian who had a good deal to do with the initiation of the scheme permitted himself to give currency to it in the columns of a Sunday paper. The fact is that the total electorate of the Assembly is 991,000, and of the Provincial Councils 5,811,000 (excluding Burma); in the last elections 41·9 and from 36 to 57 per cent. respectively went to the polls. It cannot be urged that in a country of which the population is something like 250 million this representation is more than a random experiment in democratization on a very limited scale. And it should be pointed out that the mere election of members to the Legislature has not been accompanied by any real education of the Electorate. Unlike some commentators I hold the view that except for the very imperfect representation of the agricultural and commercial communities—an important exception be it granted—the Legislature has been able to attract a number of men who on the whole need not fear comparison with any in their own country who have by choice or lack of opportunity had to remain outside. But the fact remains that party organization as understood in the West has not sprung up in India. The first Assembly saw the creation within the chamber of groups taking the name of parties—National Party (moderates) Democratic Party (progressives) the Rural Party and the like. But they had no following outside, they exerted little discipline, and when

it came to selecting leaders they showed unmistakable signs of disruption. They began at the wrong end and, to take the Democratic Party as typical, their weakness was shown when one of the four party "leaders"—or was it six?—realizing the necessity for a single leadership and bidding for it himself, was promptly relegated into the background on the significance of his intention being made clear. The advent of the Swarajists and Independents made a difference. The Swarajists certainly represented an outside organization and they brought to the House a party discipline and organization which the Government themselves had to imitate. But even they could hardly claim that they were the products of an educated electorate. They profited by the undoubted success of the anti-Government agitation initiated by Mr. Gandhi, formerly one of their leaders. They did not even attempt to use the enhanced Salt Tax as a plank of major importance in their platform. Their organization was sufficient to ensure that in many constituencies a Swarajist candidate, being anti-Government, was bound to get in. And as the success of the Swarajists did not mean that the Government would be turned out of office and give way to Khaddar Members of the Executive Council, their triumph had that unreality which is so much a feature of all Indian political diversions of to-day. Two amusing election incidents will show this. One prominent member of the First Assembly, fearing for his seat, pledged himself to the Swarajist creed, fought the election and was duly returned. Safe in the Second Assembly he promptly repudiated—or perhaps it were more polite to say explained away—Swarajism, and has generally opposed the Swarajists ever since. Another man who, although far less prominent, could never be accused of extremist views, stood in a "jungly" constituency as a Swarajist. He ingenuously explained his action as the outcome of a realization that he had no chance of being returned under any other label. As his constituents never asked him for his programme or worried about his doings at

Delhi his judgment was sound. It is easy to wax superior over the working of the Reforms in such circumstances. But it may be fairly asked whether, *mutatis mutandis*, the same weaknesses have not been apparent in the early development of the parliamentary system in other countries. At the same time it does not satisfactorily dispose of the inquiry whether such a system is best suited to India.

The difference between the present Indian Legislature and the old Imperial Legislative Council is well known, but perhaps I may briefly indicate its salient points. The old Council was one in which the Government possessed a permanent official majority. The new Legislature has two Chambers—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly—in which the elected non-officials predominate. The Council of State is a non-hereditary House of Lords the elected members of which sit for a term of five years. The Assembly, often called the “popular” House, sits for three years and consists of 103 elected members of whom only eight are Europeans, of twenty-five officially nominated members and of fourteen nominated non-officials of whom only one is a European. Realizing that of the twenty-five official members a good number are Indians, you will at once observe that not only are the officials very much in a minority, but the Indians are also very largely in a majority. The same, in a more restricted sense, applies to the Council of State, which by reason of its special franchise is expected to act as a revising Chamber—a function performed by it fearlessly on several occasions.

Briefly the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly together with the Governor-General represent the Indian Legislature. One Chamber can reject or modify the Bills passed by the other, and no bill has the force of law until it has been passed by the two Houses and assented to by the Governor-General. That is the normal state of things, but to give the Government which is irremovable, although in a minority, the power exercised by Mr. Baldwin with his

majority, the Reforms scheme arms the Governor-General with certain discretionary rights to secure the passage of legislation against the will of a hostile Legislature. Thus a bill “recommended” by the Governor-General and rejected by the Assembly may be passed by the Council of State and, receiving the Viceroy’s certification and assent, becomes law subject to certain parliamentary and royal supervision. Examples of this are to be found in the Princes’ Protection Act, the Finance Act of 1924, and the Bengal Supplementary Ordinance Act. Certification is exercised by the Governor-General; the power of restoring grants—another “special” power—vests in the Governor-General in Council. This is not always understood.

Except that it contains no hereditary members, the Council of State in other respects stands in relation to the Assembly much as the House of Lords does to the Commons, noticeably in the circumstance that it does not vote supplies. The Central Legislature has little connection with the Provincial Councils. Legislation proposed in the latter has frequently to receive the preliminary sanction of the Governor-General in so far as it may be taken to affect what are known as Central subjects. This is a highly technical aspect of the system and it is not necessary here to dilate upon it. But, generally, the Central Legislature is not concerned with the doings of the Provincial Councils except when it is called upon, as in the case of the Bengal Ordinance Act and the Gurdwara Act, to pass supplementary Bills completely arming the Provincial Government with the powers deemed to be necessary.

This parenthetical comment is made because I discovered the other day that a not unintelligent student of the Reforms was under the impression that there was a definite link between the Central and Provincial Legislatures and that, by some mysterious means, Bills went from one to the other. It should also be observed that the Presidents in the two Houses carefully exclude from discussion at Delhi or Simla subjects which properly belong to the Provincial arena.

The line, however, is sometimes not easy to draw, as nearly every question time shows.

The Members of the Council of State have found it more difficult than their colleagues in the "other place" to define their position. They have acutely felt the absence of that interest with which the performances of the Assembly have been followed. The political limelight is usually on the Assembly. The Government themselves recognized this early in the day by transferring the seat of the senior member of the Executive Council from the Council to the Assembly. An explanation is necessary here; while an Executive Councillor can sit and speak in both Houses he can be a member only of one for voting purposes. To-day Sir Alexander Muddiman the Home Member, Sir Charles Innes the Railway and Commerce Member, Sir Basil Blackett the Finance Member, Sir Bhupendranath Mitra the Industries Member belong to the Assembly; Sir William Birdwood the Army Member, Sir Naramsimha Sarma (now retiring) the Law Member, Sir Mahomed Habibullah the Education Member belong to the Council of State. So the "cases" of the Home, Finance and Industries Departments in the Council and of the Army, Law and Education Departments in the Assembly are actually in charge of the respective Secretaries of those departments, although, when a very important debate is on, a Member will go to the other House perhaps to speak in support of his Secretary. On a famous occasion in the Council of State the Member startled everyone by delivering a flank attack on the Secretary in charge. The speeches that day were electric, as Lord Winterton, who happened to be sitting over the clock in the Council Chamber, subsequently recalled in a Chamber not very far distant from here. It is interesting to note that this arrangement has given rise to the creation of an office hitherto not known to Indian politics, and from this may come in the distant future a further development in consonance with democratic usage. In the old Imperial Council the "leader of the House"—if

known by such a title—was actually the senior Executive Councillor in charge, whether Home, Law or Finance Member. Sir William Vincent as Home and Senior Member was the first leader of the Council of State with Mr. (afterwards Sir Malcolm) Hailey as Finance Member leader of the Assembly. But, in the very first session, the Home Member was found to have so much to do with the political problems of the day that it was awkward for Sir William to have constantly to speak in a House where he had no vote and, incidentally, under the rules, no right of reply. And it was naturally in the Assembly, that political issues were more keenly debated. So in the second session Sir William Vincent moved into the Assembly, leaving Mr. (now Sir Mahomed) Shafi to lead the Council of State—an office which Sir Mahomed on retirement handed over to Sir Naramsimha Sarma. When Sir Malcolm Hailey succeeded Sir William Vincent as Home and Senior Member and Leader of the Assembly there still seemed to be no great departure from the old practice; but, on Sir Malcolm's elevation to the Governorship of the Punjab, the Home Membership went to Sir Alexander Muddiman, who, although a newcomer, and therefore, junior in the "Cabinet" was expressly designated as Leader of the House. Thus we have arrived at the point at which the Home Member of the day—since the Viceroy cannot sit in the Assembly—is, within those walls, exercising to all intents and purposes the function of Prime Minister. With the way in which these three distinguished civilians have led the infant Chamber I will try to deal later. Meanwhile it will be gathered from the foregoing observations that the Council of State has some ground for the feeling that the Government have relegated it to a secondary position. This, of course, is not strictly true, although successive Presidents of the Council, including especially and ironically enough, Sir Alexander Muddiman himself, have arraigned the Government spokesmen on the charge of treating the Council in too offhand a manner by producing Bills for discussion at short notice and

by other sins of commission or omission; for example, by failing to consult it on the Protectionist issue. The truth is that a revising Chamber must necessarily find life dull. Its big debates are often echoes of what has been said, perhaps less briefly and less sensibly, in the "other place." When it has to exercise its power of revision—as over the Princes' Protection Bill, the Budget, and the Bengal Ordinance Bill—it lays itself open to the charge of being in conflict with the "popular" will. Fortunately the Council has been enabled by the dictates of its own common sense to perform its functions without appearing to be provocative, and indeed on more than one occasion, it has found its action welcome to the other House. It is specially careful not to countenance patronizing or uncomplimentary criticism of the Assembly, and it is a matter for regret that that attitude has not always found reflection in the larger Chamber. It was notable that, whereas Sir Montague Butler, amid cheers, remarked, in the course of debate in the Council, that he would certainly check any disrespectful reference to the "other place," comments neither polite nor relevant on the intelligence and wisdom of the Council were allowed to go unrebuked in the Assembly—possibly through inadvertence. At all events, this paper will not fail to give the Council the pride of place which is its due, and for a little space of time I propose first of all to attempt to sketch for you the scene in that Chamber.

In Delhi, pending transfer to the "Trinity Palace" at Raisina, it sits in Metcalfe House in a circular building, which from the outside appears to be either a kinema or a tomato house, specially prepared in the winter of 1921-22, when it was discovered that the Old Council Chamber there was too cramped for the new body. In Simla the Council meets in the Viceregal Council Chamber—or supper-room, whichever you like to call it by reason of its associations for you. For some reason or other the Council with division

lobbies, and divisions are taken by the mere ringing of bells and recorded by the clerk at the table calling out each member's name in turn to receive the reply "Aye," "No," or "Not voting." So, if the watchers in the gallery are careful, there is never any excitement, as in the "other place," regarding the outcome of a close division. The only amusement which the onlooker can derive is from a study of the countenance of the official members, especially those of the back-benchers who seldom or never are called upon to speak. For them attendance in the Council is drab monotony and, as they give their stereotyped "Aye" or "No," you feel that, struggling in their breasts at times is the vehement desire to electrify the House by voting against the Government. That, perhaps, explains the august lapse to which reference has been made.

Decorous, expeditious and, frankly, dull are most of the Council's sittings. Yet its personalities have an interest transcending this absence of what the "other place" would call life. To begin with, although there are speakers in the Council who, notwithstanding a steady or furtive eye on the clock, never succeed in mastering a satisfying brevity, the average member speaks well, rarely rants, and usually brings some fresh thought to the debate. There is, for instance, Mr. G. S. Khaparde, his morning coat set off by a mountainous red and gold puggaree which he impishly puts in competition with the immaculately tied north-country head-dress of the soldierly dandy, Sir Umar Hayat Khan. When the debate has reached a point at which there seems to be an acute divergence of opinion Mr. Khaparde will rise—he speaks less vigorously than of old—and will whimsically clothe his opinion in the trappings of some homely illustration or anecdote and not illogically prove that both parties mean the same thing. Mr. J. P. Thompson, one of the outstanding Government orators of the House, second only to Mr. J. Crerar, once described Mr. Khaparde's interventions as comparable with the burst of sunshine after a wet and drear early morning.

Sir Umar Hayat Khan is another deft exponent of the art of applying folklore to politics. He has also a wicked sense of humour, and his declaration in favour of Swaraj—for a period of one month—so that he and his friend the Khan of Hoti, both poor yet deserving soldiers, might acquire wealth at the expense of their mild compatriots of the south, is memorable, especially when the responsive wink and chuckle of the burly Khan is recalled. Sir Umar Hayat, like Mr. Khaparde, is generally brief. Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy brings the art of the set speaker into the Council; he is polished, courtly in his vehement condemnation of empiricism; his morning coat and deliberate style suggest in him the type of conservative member in every senate of the world. More ponderous, less conservative and, be it whispered, more long-winded is Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, who, as a former member of the Assembly where he longs again to be, constitutes himself the protector of that body against possible aspersions on its wisdom. His unruly, close-cropped grey hair, crowning his portly figure, tight-buttoned in the Bengalee gentleman's black frock-coat, gives the hint of schoolboy humour which endears him to the Council even when he is in his most depressed mood. Bombay gives the Council two firebrands. One is Mr. Sethna, who speaks with swift fluency and so loudly that his attacks on the Government are flung back by the echoing walls like machine-gun salvos. He is no mere utterer of diatribes. He puts the Bombay view with force, and his case is invariably prepared with care and not a little knowledge. As a business man he naturally delights in taking the Government to task on financial matters, and army expenditure finds in him a severe critic. Like Sir Devaprasad, he does not disdain to flirt with the small Swarajist element, which is chiefly represented by Mr. Karandikhar, a very likeable extremist, and recently by Mr. J. R. Pantulu. Mr. Karandikhar is a good speaker, but his husky, rather plaintive, voice tends to obscure his debating ability until the Council has settled

down to listen to him, and he is usually worth listening to. He does not wear the drab khaddar of the pundits, but claret homespun serge not too well cut. I have mentioned two firebrands from Bombay, but I have named only one, Mr. Sethna. The other is the veteran among veterans—Sir Dinshaw Wacha. His vigour is remarkable. He will attack the Government and the extremists with beautiful impartiality, and his attacks are attacks. In the memory lives a long speech which he delivered on military expenditure when the late Lord Rawlinson was in the Council. Sir Dinshaw took His Excellency back to mid-Victorian days and, with fire and vehemence, urged the reversion to the methods of the pre-amalgamation era as a means of reducing military expenditure. Useless it was for Lord Rawlinson to argue on the basis of modern conditions. Sir Dinshaw firmly clung to the wisdom of the Englishmen who under Queen Victoria condemned the amalgamation of the John Company and Queen's troops, and as Sir Dinshaw was in politics when Lord Rawlinson was in his cradle the moral was obvious. Not less scathing is Sir Dinshaw when he tears to pieces the pretensions of the Swarajists, whom again he addresses as one speaking with the authority of age and experience undimmed by years and hallowed by untiring energy. Nor does he forget, as he stands in his place, his shining black Parsee head-dress tilted on the back of his head, his two hands thrown out in front of him in rapid gesticulations, that, outside the House, others have their own views on his oratory. One day, in the midst of a specially tumultuous oration, he drew sympathetic and amused cheers by apologetically remarking that his daughter had told him not to speak too long or he would get a heart attack. Nervous energy of another kind is discernible in Mr. Natesan, who speaks as if he were in imminent danger of breaking down by reason of excess emotion. He is practically an extremist of the Besant school, but he wins attention by his evident sincerity and his readiness to believe that his opponents may be sincere

too. Of the rest of the Indians who have figured on the Council stage mention must be made of Mr. Sastri, if only for the reason that he singularly failed to add to his great reputation. His few speeches were marred by that touch of gall which has been characteristic of his outlook since he returned from his Dominion tour. He has now retired, but it was curious to see how ineffective were his undoubted oratorical gifts in what the Assembly considers is the rarefied air of the "other place." The non-official Europeans have been well represented in the Council by Sir Arthur Froom and his colleagues. Sir Arthur has been a member since the beginning and his colleagues have from time to time changed. Sir Alexander Murray was the great figure in the early days; now Mr. J. W. A. Bell stands in his place and puts the Calcutta view with force and shrewdness. Meanwhile Sir Arthur has steadily held the fort and his speeches have been instinct with common sense garnished with unfailing tact. His work in Committee and in conjunction with his colleagues in the Assembly has been specially valuable. This does not pretend to be an exhaustive sketch of the personalities in the Council, but perhaps it is sufficient to show what is the manner of the body which occasionally has to curb the eagerness of the Assembly to which we will now go.

The visitor to the Legislative Assembly soon senses in that Chamber the clash of political strife. Before the clock reaches the hour of eleven the semicircular benches begin to buzz with activity. On the Government side to the right of the chair scarlet-coated chapprassis bring in files to stack beside the seats or on the desks of their respective Councillor-sahib or Secretary-sahib. Non-official members, too, filter in. Sir Darcy Lindsay, the doyen of the European group, strolls to his place deep in converse with the Swarajist-Communist Mr. Chaman Lal, who is doubtless receiving readily good advice which may or may not be taken. Under his arm Sir Darcy may carry a modest envelope representing correspondence just considered by

the nine European non-official members at their daily "conference"—a recent institution created under the guidance of Sir Campbell Rhodes and Mr. Willson. Then appears a short, thick-set, pugnacious figure with large tomes under his arm-pits. He places his pile on the front bench facing the Chair and then looks round for someone to talk to. That is Sir Harisingh Gour, a legal luminary with a thundering style. He used to speak a good deal when he found in the first Assembly that he might become leader of the Opposition. Later he discovered that leaders in the Assembly flourish like those in the country of the wonder-working days of old. Then other members will troop in, including the black-coated Government men, central and provincial, the former heavy-burdened, the latter care-free as men who are on a holiday. The Home Member and leader of the House probably appears close on the opening hour; his entrance is the signal for some of the whips of the various groups to get hold of him for a brief word. By one minute to eleven the buzz is really loud. The clock strikes, the door is thrown open and Captain Suraj Singh the Marshal, in full uniform, shouts out, "Gentlemen, the Honourable the President." Silence rules, members rise in their places, and, in the old days, a claret-silk-robed clean-shaven figure swept into the Chair; now a black-gowned bearded veteran, wearing like his predecessor, however, the horsehair of the impartial mien, fills the wooden dais. Question time begins, and the rest follows the traditions of the House of Commons with suitable adaptations. The most striking difference between the two Houses is in the mildness to be found at Delhi. The visitor to the House of Commons is, I think, struck by the forcible way in which that body readily expresses itself at any given moment. Swiftly tension will come, and the angry snarl of the Opposition, the answering cheers of the Government men breed an atmosphere in which the observer detects what the schoolroom would call a nasty temper, or at least a desire for a rough-and-tumble. There

is seldom anything approaching that in the Assembly. Indeed, one is tempted to believe that most members would rather go without their food than say an angry word. The Chair has called on a member to withdraw the expression "indecent" as applied to the advocacy of certain speakers of a policy which he considered was specially favourable to their own interests. No, the manners of the Assembly are almost too perfect. On occasions there have been graceful and honourable apologies, as for example when one European non-official inadvertently used as an argument an *obiter dictum* delivered to him in the lobby by a Swarajist colleague. In the heat of one of the few hectic scenes a Swarajist member defiantly shouted his approval of a "Red" pamphlet brandished dramatically by the Home Member, later discovered that the pamphlet made disgraceful charges against Englishmen, and so, with the Chair's permission, when quiet had been restored, frankly apologized, admitting that he had been thinking of another and less fiery leaflet purporting to come from the same source. I am not suggesting that those apologies were unnecessary—they were not; but I am merely trying to show that, as Members of Parliament who have visited Delhi have confessed to me, the Assembly is pathetically polished, humdrum, and in the observance of parliamentary form remarkably competent. This is no surprise to you who have seen the working of Municipal Committee Meetings and the old Councils, but I am told it has occasioned comment—possibly disappointment—outside India among those who expected to hear that the terrible pundits had attempted to take the Government benches by assault, or that Sir Frederick Whyte's stalwart Marshal might have to show his military prowess on the floor of the House. Perhaps the fact that the members are seated by Provinces tends to damp the ardour of would-be fire-eaters. At all events it produces weird effects, as for example when Sir Gordon Fraser is being mildly shocked by the youthful but forceful onslaughts of Mr. S. Chetty just behind him, or worried Mr. Willson in the

forefront of Bengal is expecting every minute to be swept off his seat by the vigorously gesticulating Mr. Pal or blown up by the sinister threats of the Demosthenian Mr. Goswami. Quaint it is that the men who loomed large in the first Assembly have been nearly all swamped since the invasion by the khaddar-clad crowd. Pundit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Jinnah brought with them not merely their own ability in debate, but also a band of orators and hecklers of varying degrees of skill. Then, too, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. B. C. Pal represented additions to the loquacity of the House completely overshadowing the stolid Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, the once voluble Dr. Gour, the pawky Mr. Rangachariar, even the waspish Mr. Neogy, all of whom were hailed in 1921 as the stars of the firmament. Mr. Rangachariar's eclipse is perhaps not so great as it seems. He lost the Presidentship by two votes, but his best work has been and is being done in Committees, for as a speaker he is uninspiring and, like his colleague and opponent, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, difficult to hear. Mr. Neogy is so young that although by common consent he filled the Chair better than any of Sir Frederick Whyte's deputies it was felt that he could not be supported for the permanent job. He is a Bengalee, prepares his case well, and only occasionally spoils his effects by mingling with his stinging phrases an undefinable suggestion of bad taste. Mr. Neogy's firmness in the Chair is not a common quality. Once in Sir Frederick's absence very inconsistent rulings came from the Chair not tenanted by Mr. Neogy. The persistent and plausible Pundit Malaviya, after much display of wrath and subtlety, managed thereby to do what was strictly forbidden to the Labour champion Mr. Joshi, and the resemblance of the House to a bear-garden became not too remote. On one joyous occasion three members from Burma shouted at each other from distant parts of the House—Swarajist versus Independent, with the cheery Mr. Fleming vigorously defending the latter. There is much good-humoured chaff, which has been more apparent since the Swarajists settled

down. The delight with which the House greeted the President's firm insistence on a speech from Mr. Hans Raj, a genial Swarajist from the Punjab with Roman features, enhanced by a toga-like khaddar robe, showed the Assembly in its playful mood. Mr. Hans Raj had confined his activities to an assiduous attendance at all debates and had eschewed speech-making—an abstention on which he plumed himself. Sitting cheek by jowl with Mr. H. Calvert, the Punjab official member, he was seen often to indulge in what must have been thrilling *sotto voce* conversations with the representative of the class on which his party affects to wage war. One day in last Delhi session he inadvertently rose from his seat with a careless eye on the Chair. He was caught. Amid roars of laughter the solemn voice of Sir Frederick Whyte reiterated "Lala Hans Raj," and a scutcheon unstained by oratory was at last besmirched. More obvious humour comes from Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed, who is the joy of the second as of the first Assembly. He is one of the few members who fought the 1923 election as out-and-out opponents of the Swarajists. His massive figure, invariably clothed in morning coat, trousers, and spats reminiscent of the days when he studied at the English bar, is topped by a round, bald-headed and bespectacled face, and his remarks are punctuated by gasps for breath. His speeches are few and far between, and coherence is not their outstanding characteristic. It is in question time that he shines, and by his interjections during the speeches of Swarajist and Independent members. It was he who convulsed the House by a furious attack on Colonel Waghorn, the then President of the Railway Board, because the heartless soldier refused personally to go down to Malda and discover whether truth lay in Mr. Ahmed's allegation that tigers came out of the jungle and with remarkable discrimination ate up third-class passengers. The supplementary question is Mr. Ahmed's pet weapon, and often the difficulty is for the Chair to discover where the question begins and ends and what it is. So after various passages, while the House

rocks with laughter, the Chair intimates that the next question must be taken. Mr. Ahmed, who has been jumping up with much energy, gives a despairing glance, jerks up his coat-tails, and subsides into his seat with a snort. His constituency, as he once told the House, extends from the Himalayas to the sea—it is the Rajshahi Division of Bengal. Another famous supplementary questioner is Mr. Gaya Prasad Sinha from Bihar. He extracts revelations from the local newspapers, which are usually delightfully negligent of the probabilities, and then he bombards the Government with questions about the matter. His wrath at the refusal of the Government to admit that it has read the papers in question or ever heard of them is comically fierce. For him and others the Railway Board is believed to have invented the ruthless reply, "Government have no information, and do not propose to enquire, as the matter is one for the agent to settle." That reply, barked out by Mr. Sim, the Financial Commissioner of the Railways, has been heard in question time, not once, but many times, and even the Swarajists cannot withhold a smile when it takes the air. Mr. Sim, by the way, is the most combative of the official speakers. When he is in his element, rebutting the fantastic charges of Mr. Rama Ayengar, a Swarajist member from Madras, portly and given to devastating studies of mathematics as presented in Blue Books and transmogrified by the help of much midnight oil, the scrapping is very pretty.

But, as in the House of Commons, question time is the opportunity of the back-benchers. The big guns rarely take part, except, perhaps, when a private notice question has been given. When the House devotes itself to debate whether a Bill or a resolution, the doings of the more prominent men may be discerned. Animation is most marked during the discussion of such measures as may affect the social or religious habits of the people. There one sees the Assembly at its best. Pundit Motilal Nehru, the Swarajist leader, probably takes a rest, but in the

Independent party Mr. Jinnah will earnestly plead for progressive ideals, while Mr. Rangachariar, a democrat in politics, shows himself an unbending Tory in his defence of old customs. Bengal will be riven as between the orthodox rigidity of Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, the practical acceptance of modernity by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, and the idealism of Dr. Dutta—a nominated member who rarely votes with the Government, but is a practised orator. When political issues are foremost, the ranks against the Government close. Pundit Motilal Nehru directs the tactics, speaks not very well, but carries power by reason of the line of attack which his speech denotes. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, although a party by himself, may be trusted to speak at length on the iniquities of 150 years of British rule—poor old 1775. He is a shadow of his old Council days. He bores the Assembly, and although when he rises he evokes bristling attention, as perhaps only Sir Malcolm Hailey could, he ceases to hold the House after the first fifteen minutes of his characteristically stream-like oratory. His one success has been in his remarkable ability to extract from the Chair indulgence of a most lavish kind. Whether he will continue to score there under Mr. Patel may be doubted. Mr. Jinnah, groomed to a fault, is always worth hearing, if only for the skill of his attack. Be the Government case a strong one, Mr. Jinnah is not perturbed. Quietly, suavely he rises to acknowledge the force of the Home Member's argument. He plays round his opponent with pretty fencing skill, then suddenly he darts. His favourite opening then is to tell the House that the Government have argued well on a certain basis, but he will say, "That is not the case—the case is . . ." and you can be quite sure that the case is not necessarily the case at all, but just the one which suits Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, for humour, thunder, and logic, is an outstanding figure, too, and an independent who, more openly than other people, says to the Swarajists and the Government alike, "A plague

on ye both." Still, except for his oratory, which calls to mind his College Square days, he carries little weight in a House where the crack of the whip is all powerful. It should be added that he has the supreme art of announcing a determination to sit on the fence with all the gusto attaching to a courageous decision to come down emphatically on one side. The European non-officials—a little group of nine—have exercised much influence in the Chamber and in the lobby. Their readiness to co-operate with their Indian colleagues has been one of the factors in the smooth working of the Assembly. Sir Frank Carter, Sir Campbell Rhodes, Mr. R. A. Spence, Sir Darcy Lindsay, Mr. W. S. J. Willson, and Sir Henry Stanyon, to name only a few, have been representatives who have not hesitated to act in advance of their followers, and have earned the respect of the House. Close touch with the European Association is now secured by the presence of Colonel Crawford as a member from Bengal. He is the first, and so far the only European politician to enter the House. An excellent speaker, with an attractive personality, his career in Indian politics will be an interesting one to watch. He has presence, vision, and tact—an unusual combination, but invaluable to him, his constituents, and the Assembly. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report laid on the European non-official community the duty of identifying itself with the interests of India and "to take part in political life." That responsibility has been fully and efficiently discharged by the representatives of European constituencies in the Central Legislation.

Of the younger Indians, like Mr. Chaman Lal, Mr. Goswami—fire-eaters, but able speakers, if lacking at present in solid argument—Mr. Devaprasad Sinha, thinvoiced and an implacable foe of the capitalist, and of the older men like Captain Hira Singh, a doughty champion of the soldier and the maintenance of law and order, and Dr. Hyder, an able economist, there is little time to speak. For before closing this paper reference must be made to

what is really one of the most remarkable features of the working of the Legislature. That the Indians could produce orators everyone knew. That the ranks of the "bureaucrats" could show men so readily adaptable to the requirements of the political arena was not so certain. Be it remembered that the official speakers carry a double burden. They are permanent officials and politicians at the same time. Yet they have already given the Legislature in Sir Malcolm Hailey a speaker and debater who, it is generally admitted, would have made his mark in any Parliament. In Sir William Vincent, Sir Malcolm and Sir Alexander Muddiman they have had leaders whose tact, good-humour, common sense, and ability have been invaluable assets to the Reforms scheme. Then there have been outstanding speeches for which official spokesmen will be remembered — Sir Charles Innes' fluent handling of the fiscal issue, Sir Basil Blackett's easy elucidation of currency intricacies, Mr. J. W. Bhore's conciliatory exposition of overseas problems, and above all, the late Lord Rawlinson's remarkable and outspoken speeches on military matters. That great soldier's success in the Legislature was one of the many striking proofs of his amazing versatility vouchsafed during his career in India. When the time comes to weigh up the events of the last few years, more attention will perhaps be paid to the part which he played in getting Indian opinion into the right focus. His last speech to the Assembly may well become historic. Of the provincial officials who come, go, and yet make their mark, mention should be made of Mr. Clayton, who contributed to the first Assembly a weighty speech on Self-government; of Mr. Moir, whose speech on the Indianization of the Army is memorable; and of Mr. Hamilton Townsend, who notably voiced the feeling of the Punjab agriculturist on the question of Protection. I hope I have not taken up too much of your time. As I hinted at the opening, I do not want to attach undue importance to the aspects of the Legislature here dimly outlined. Whether the

Reforms scheme is profoundly modified or not, I think none will deny that the personalities of the men who have taken part in its working are of more than passing interest. And I venture to assert that, whatever form the Constitution of India eventually takes, it will be found that to these men with all their imperfections and shadowy claim to a representative status India owes a deep debt of gratitude. Some may say that they have achieved little. I do not agree. For they certainly have created a common understanding of a great purpose, however diverse may be the means of its achievement, and in so doing they have secured a common appreciation of the difficulties which must be removed to clear the way for smooth development. If they have done only that they have done something; it is not a small thing.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, January 18, 1926, when a paper was read by Mr. Edwin Haward (Editor Designate of the *Pioneer*) entitled "The Indian Legislature." Sir Joseph Nunan, K.C., was in the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present:

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., Sir Campbell Ward Rhodes, C.B.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. F. W. Woods, C.I.E., Mr. A. M. Macmillan, C.I.E., Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Lieut.-Colonel A. J. O'Brien, C.B.E., and Mrs. O'Brien, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Captain and Mrs. P. S. Cannon, Mr. O. Lloyd Evans, Mr. J. E. Ferrard, Mr. S. D. Pears, Mr. J. F. Sale, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mrs. Martley, Mrs. Herron and friend, Mr. and Mrs. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. K. M. Panikkar, Sirdar Harbans Singh, Mr. D. C. Wadhwa, Miss M. Sorabji and friends, Mr. Tejan Sirker, Mr. Madan Mohan, Mr. R. Mehta, Mr. N. C. Ghose, Dr. Nariman, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, the Rev. O. Younghusband, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Miss Gravatt, Mr. A. Claude Brown, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. J. A. Barbour-James, Mr. Weir-Johnston, the Rev. R. Burges, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. R. Martin, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Cassels, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Mr. S. J. Hilton, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with great pleasure that I have accepted the invitation to take the chair at this meeting for the purpose of introducing my friend Mr. Haward. I had the pleasure of meeting him in Delhi and Simla in 1924. He is, I understand, not taking any political line in his paper on the Indian Parliament, and as this is a non-political Association, I shall follow his lead by not introducing any controversial subject. Mr. Haward, when I first knew him, was already the author of a very interesting brochure on Indian defence. He is shortly to give a lecture on that subject before a sister society, which will be attended by experts on Indian military questions. He has had to do with the English *Times* and also the *Pioneer*, and I am glad to say that this paper will be, one may say, the inauguration of his new duties as the editor of the *Pioneer*, which, as you all know, is one of the three or four leading papers in India. (Hear, hear.)

There is no better place from which to observe personalities than from the Press Gallery of a Legislature, and it was in that Press Gallery, as representative of *The Times* in India, that Mr. Haward got the impressions he is going to relate to you to-day. The Press Gallery gave to European literature men like Charles Dickens and the Right Hon. T. P. O'Connor. Mr. Haward has something of the same kind of appreciation of human and other qualities. Whether we think it was premature of the British

Government to put forward the Reform Scheme, or whether we think that not sufficient appeal was made therein to the Indian imagination, there is only a very small part of the British people who would think of going back to the conditions of 1919, however much one may regret certain incidents connected with the establishment of that institution. Sir Frederick Whyte has conducted the affairs of the Legislative Assembly in India with great tact and skill, and was largely instrumental in introducing into it the spirit which governs the Mother of Parliaments—in fact, the spirit of good humour and dignity with which those proceedings have been conducted from the very beginning, and the way in which the affairs of the Indian Legislature are still being conducted by Sir Frederick Whyte's successor, would be a credit to any Parliament in the world.

It was my duty to follow very closely the work of that Legislature at Delhi in the session of February and March, 1924, and the special sitting at Simla in May, and I was very much impressed by the fact that, when any humorous incident occurred or humorous remark was uttered, the reaction was as quick as it would have been at Westminster, and I believe much quicker than it would have been in Dublin or Belfast, although I have a racial prejudice in favour of those institutions.

If a sufficient appeal has not yet been made to Indian imagination, and if a further attempt is to be made in course of time, there are a number of difficulties that will have to be faced. The first is the electorate. The basis is exceedingly narrow; only one person in two hundred and fifty has a vote for the central Parliament, which is a far worse condition than ever existed in England, Ireland or Scotland. That means that, if we are to rely upon the present electoral basis, the responsibility of the Imperial Parliament and Imperial Government in India for the two hundred and forty-nine will have to be thrown upon the remaining one of the two hundred and fifty.

Connected with that is the very controversial subject of Indian education. Some Indian patriots are calling out for universal education. If any universal system of education, such as is to be found in England and the United States, were introduced into India, the finances of India would probably break down under the strain. The difficulties in other respects are enormous. I have myself seen small boys of the untouchable class listening outside a school in the Madras Presidency to try and pick up some of the crumbs of learning that were being distributed inside to those of the caste class. Until the fifty millions of untouchables can be dealt with on comprehensive lines with the sympathy of the entire Indian people, the progress of the Indian Parliament is bound to be slow.

There is also the question of defence. The difficulties are enormous, both as regards the defence from outside and from inside, in view of the fact that probably not more than fifty millions of the three hundred and fifty millions of people belong to races which can be styled as military, and, even if you take the line of establishing separate Indian regiments with Indian messes, the time is probably some distance off when the Sikh, the Punjabi-Mohammadan, the Pathan, the Dogra or Hill Rajput, the Mahratta, the Ghurka, the Rajput, the Parsee, the Bengalee, and the

Madrasee will sit down in comfort at the same mess. These practical difficulties will have to be faced and are being faced to some extent now.

As regards the religious difficulties, the present proposals of the Commonwealth of India Bill, promoted by Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Sastri, Sapru, and Gour, which through the good offices of a Labour member has had its first reading in the House of Commons, are that they shall have a common electorate under the scheme for ten years, and that they shall deal then with the matter if they require it on the lines of communal representation. There are many here who can form an opinion on this much better than I can, and I do not intend to express any opinion. There is a realization by the persons who are promoting the Bill of the difficulties as regards representation, and they propose to base this upon the reviving Panchayat system—*i.e.*, the ancient elected or accepted representation by some five members of a village or caste. There was recently a very interesting lecture on that subject given by Mr. Silberrad, which is in your Journal for January, and is very timely. With regard to the questions of education, electoral representation, the difficulties caused by radical differences between Hindus and Mohammadans, both religious and racial (especially in connection with conversions), also the question of defence and the question of the untouchables, Mr. Haward will, I think, pass over them somewhat lightly, and will deal with the Assembly as it now is.

I now have great pleasure in calling on Mr. Haward to read his paper.

(The lecturer then read his paper.)

Sir CAMPBELL W. RHODES, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer, said that, although he was a member of the Indian Legislature, Mr. Haward had, from the Press Gallery, no doubt seen more of the game. He had been the first pressman to realize the meaning of the Reform Scheme, and, by means of his frequent presence in the Lobby, was in touch with every party in the House, all of whom had been thankful to him for the suggestions and information which he had given them. He had developed the real Lobby spirit, such as existed at Westminster. It was thought by some people that the position in the Indian Assembly was intolerable because from some of the speeches there seemed to be so much racial hatred and antagonism, but people did not realize that after a speech attacking a member of the Government, for instance, the speaker would be seen in company with him smoking a cigarette. The lecturer had made clear to them what was the atmosphere of the Assembly, the wonderful courtesy that existed between all parties, the friendship and appreciation of a good speech from whichever part it had come. As in England, a member was always ready to withdraw any remark which had caused the slightest offence.

Mr. K. M. PANIKKAR said he had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks, the more so as he had worked with the lecturer in the Press Gallery of the Assembly. The lecturer had always been very successful in catching the atmosphere of the Assembly, and in his paper he had managed to convey the spirit and temper of that institution in a very sympathetic manner. A strange thing in connection with the Assembly was its extreme dulness in comparison with the provincial assemblies. It

rose to a very high level in the matter of debates, though one sometimes felt that the supplementary questions were not to the point. Interpellatory right could be made much more effective if members were more on the alert and knew the subjects on which they interpellated. He thought the Assembly was an admirable legislative body, after having seen both the Parliaments of England and Portugal. In the Portuguese Parliament, when a member was speaking, the other members crowded round him smoking cigarettes. The Indian Assembly was more like a schoolroom, where men were afraid to open their mouths, and he had never observed any real friction between members.

With regard to the increased representation of the people, there were several difficulties, one being the question of the untouchables, to which the previous speaker had referred. In the matters of social reform, such as the raising of the age of consent, the Government had felt it safer to support the *status quo*, but the Assembly had done good work in spite of this. Although he was a non-co-operator, he thought the Assembly would be of great advantage to India in the future and in the direction of progress which the British Parliament would consider desirable. (Applause.)

Mr. TEJAN SIRKER said: Forty-one per cent. of the electors had gone to the poll at the last election because (i.) the non-co-operation movement was prevalent at that time; (ii.) the voters know that these legislative bodies are mere debating societies without any responsibility. But in the case of the Calcutta Corporation election, nearly 86 per cent. of the voters (in some constituencies more than that) came to the polling booth to record their votes because the electors knew that "councillors" are vested with power and responsibility. As such the late Mr. C. R. Das did not accept the ministry offered to him and his party, but did so in the case of the Calcutta Corporation. With regard to the parties, there are two in India at present. One is constitutional and the other is separatist. The Swarajists are also constitutional (*vide* the speech of the late Mr. C. R. Das delivered at Faridpur). The Separatists aim at independence, and they consider it beneath their national dignity to belong to the "British Empire." Now the Separatists are gaining ground owing to the apathy of the Government. In closing he wished to point out that Mr. K. C. Neogy came not from the Rajshahi Division, as stated by the lecturer, but from the Dacca Division constituency.

Mr. J. NISSIM said they would all be indebted to the lecturer for reassuring them as to the working of the Reform Scheme, the central feature of which was the working of the Indian Legislature. It was very reassuring to hear that the reforms were working successfully, and that they need have no great anxiety about the Central Legislative Assembly. In spite of the great power which the non-official section of the Indian Legislature possessed, they were using that power to co-operate with the Government in the administration of India. The non-official and elected Indian majority in the Assembly was *par excellence* a fulfilment of the policy enunciated by Mr. Montagu. A most desirable feature was the increasing association of Indians with every branch of the Indian administration, not excluding the army and the railways. The words of this part

of the policy announced in 1917 had been suggested by him to a distinguished member of the India Council, who had taken it up, and at the present time it had been enunciated in the preamble to the Act of 1919, as part of the twofold policy of His Majesty's Government. In giving effect to this policy as a whole, Parliament had shown great courage, and the thanks of all were due both to the official and non-official members for the admirable manner in which they had discharged their responsible duties. (Applause.)

Mr. R. K. SORABJI expressed his gratification at Mr. Haward's appointment as editor of the *Pioneer*, which was a most admirable daily paper. He had been strongly in favour of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly from the moment they had been opened by the Duke of Connaught in his memorable speech. The Swarajist agitation had gained ground because there had not been sufficient publicity given to the Government case and it had not been properly understood among the people. They had learned the advantage of publicity during the war. The manner in which the non-official Europeans had helped to work out the reforms was most commendable. They had thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the work of carrying out the reforms, and that on the side of the Indians, often suppressing their own feelings; in fact, they conducted the debates as if they were Indians. He wished to pay a high tribute to the late Lord Rawlinson, who had converted a number of Indians in the Legislature of India to a proper view of the Indian military policy by arranging tours and showing them what the British Army was doing. A very important question which needed thought was how the electorate was to be enlarged. In conclusion, he desired to congratulate Allahabad on having the lecturer as editor of the *Pioneer*, which was a paper which had become very sympathetic to the Indian point of view.

The LECTURER having thanked the meeting for the vote of thanks, the proceedings terminated.

THE POSITION OF INDIAN STATES

By K. M. PANIKKAR

IT is impossible within the limits of an essay like this to discuss in detail or analyze satisfactorily the unique system of relationship that binds the internal States of India with the Central Government. That polity has developed into its present form partly as a result of policy and partly as a result of historical accident. The Indian States and the position in which they stand in relation to the Government of India afford no parallel or analogy to any institution known to history. The political system they represent is neither feudal nor to any decisive extent federal, though in some respects it shows similarities to both, which have misguided alike the statesman and the political thinker. It is hardly an international system, though the main States in India are bound to the British Government by solemn treaties, and are spoken of in official documents as allies. Nor would it be correct to consider it as a political confederacy, in which the major partner has assumed special rights, because it is admitted by all parties that the constituent States have no rights of secession.

The political law of India is constantly changing and to a large extent inchoate. The practices and precedents with regard to each State differ greatly, and unless one has had experience in the most responsible positions of the political secretariat of the Government of India, it is impossible to understand the exact position in which any individual State or group of States stands in relation to the paramount power. In the case of each State individually, there is, of course, no secrecy about the actual treaty, as originally negotiated, or the main agreements that supplement it. But notoriously the political law of India is not governed

solely by treaties or by agreements, but by a complex code which is the accumulation of practice in the political department. Indeed, the political usages and customs which govern the relations of the States with the Government form a kind of semi-international law, which is too delicate to codify and too complex to be analyzed. Strictly speaking, they do not form a system of constitutional law in the Austinian sense of being "a compound of positive morality and positive law which fixes the structure of a government." Neither can they be described as being a part of international law. No Indian State can quote the principles of international law or precedents in its relations with the British Government. Though for purposes of persuasion and elucidation it is often done, however conclusive in its application, it is not considered binding on either party. Sir Charles Tupper indeed holds that the practice of the political department is positive law, as it can be enforced by the paramount power. But that does not establish a legal sanction, and the major part of the principles by which the relations of the States and the Government are governed are no more positive law than are the customs and agreements which exist between independent political communities. With regard to certain fundamental and basic conceptions this would not, however, be wholly true. There are certain constitutional facts which are acknowledged alike by the princes and by the Government which no ruler can question or deny, such as the prohibition of private war, the limitation of armaments, etc., a breach of which would give the paramount power the *right* to enforce legal sanctions. But this principle has to some extent been recognized even in international law, especially in the covenant of the League of Nations, which lays down the principle of international action in the case of a breach of obligation. On these specific matters something like a positive public law is traceable, but the great majority of questions that arise in the daily relation of Indian States with the Government have nothing to do with these basic principles.

At the outset there are two fundamental facts that have to be kept in view. First, there is the vagueness of term, Indian States, which brings under one category a fully-powered treaty State like Hyderabad or Gwalior, and a chief holding a fief under a grant from the paramount power and the lord of a petty estate in Kathiawar. The attempt to classify all the States under one heading has been the cause of much confusion. It is impossible to find anything like common ground between the chief of Ichalkaranji or the Nawab of Banganapalle, and the Nizam of Hyderabad or the Gaekwar of Baroda. Yet in the popular mind, and till recently to a large extent in the practice of the political department, they were really members of the same class, who stood in very nearly the same relation to the Government of India. They were all alike classed as feudatories and their territories as "Native States." A classification more closely approximating to facts is the first necessity in the study of the relations between the Government of India and the States. But this is not so easy as it looks. A century of political practice has altered the original character of many States, and a classification based on rights is possible only on a close examination of the secret archives of the political department of the Government of India. In fact, when the fully-powered princes made an attempt to establish such a differentiation as a preliminary to the constitution of the Princes' Chamber, Lord Chelmsford pointed out that the course suggested would be impossible, and that the salute list, imperfect as it was, was the only available method of classification. Whatever be the basis, the first thing necessary to keep in mind in the study of problems relating to Indian States is that the relationship of no one State with the Government is like that of another, though a broad differentiation based on similarity of historical circumstances may be traced, by which it will be found that the princes and chiefs fall into three distinct classifications—those whose treaties entitle them to full and absolute sovereignty within the State; those

who, though treaty States, enjoy criminal and civil jurisdiction and legislative powers only under supervision; and those whose rights are based on grants and sanads. This broad line of distinction is the main fact that has to be kept in mind in studying the question of Indian States.

Secondly, it should also be remembered that the Government of India is not only the successor of the East India Company, which made treaties on the basis of equality with Indian princes, but also the trustee and representative of the wider interests of the country. The fact that it is the *British* Government should not make us forget that it is the Government of *India*, while the States are only fragments historically and politically marked off on the map.

It is this fact that has been very clumsily and objectionably described when it was claimed that the British Government not only represented the Company, but was, so to say, the testamentary successor of the Moghul Empire. Whatever be the way it is expressed, there can be no denying the fact that on the Government of India falls the duty of seeing that the rights which the Indian States have are not used against, and in their effects do not become detrimental to, the general welfare of India. Of course, the obvious interests of the whole of India cannot fail to be of interest to the States also in an equal degree, and hence this consideration in the interpretation of treaties is, from the long-period point of view, not an encroachment on their rights, but a safeguarding of their own position. Thus has arisen a vast body of agreements beyond the scope of the treaties which govern the relations of the States with the Government. But all the same, the most important basis of the complicated polity that has arisen is the treaty which binds each State to the Government. The word treaty, in legal as well as in common language, is used only for the most solemn agreement between independent nations. A treaty is presumed to be a voluntary act on both sides, and a breach of it can be punished

only by the use of force and not by an appeal to a court of law. All treaties are above the jurisdiction of ordinary law, and failure to observe a condition can be visited only by the penalties prescribed in the treaty itself. A repudiation of the treaty can only be met with the sanctions that uphold the agreement. Even in the case of the Sultan of Johore, in *Mighell v. the Sultan of Johore* (a sovereign whose position is similar to that of the Indian princes), it was held that the treaty which bound him not to enter into any engagement with any foreign State was "not an abnegation of his right to enter into such treaties, but only a condition upon which the protection stipulated for is to be given. If the Sultan disregards it, the consequences may be the loss of that protection or possibly other difficulties with this country."* It may be sufficient cause for hostile action on the side of the other contracting party which may lead to the annexation of the country and the deprivation of the ruler's right. But the essence of a treaty is that its breach cannot be punished by law, as its sanction does not rest on the municipal law of the country. Thus the failure to respect the obligations of the treaty led to hostilities in the case of Coorg, and of forcible intervention in the recent case of Nabha, where the Maharajah violated the sovereignty of Patiala, and in other ways ignored treaty obligations.

* But all the same the relationship, as we pointed out, is not entirely based on treaty. Considerations of all Indian interest, conventions regarding sovereign authority, agreements in connection with customs, etc., such as the inter-portal convention with Travancore and Cochin, and other rights either surrendered by the Indian States or accepted tacitly by rulers, supplement the original restrictions contained in the treaty. Resulting from this there is an implied or clearly understood legal bond. There is no right of secession because the States are internal States, and their right by treaty is clearly limited by the wider

* J. B. Scott, "Cases of International Law," p. 284.

consideration of the interests of India. When they have no right of secession, clearly they have no right to declare war, and obligations of this nature effectively restricting the operation of treaty rights constitute an important factor in the relations of Indian States.

THE RELATION NOT FEUDAL

It must, however, be understood that these relations are altogether extra-constitutional, and the bond that unites is no way the claim of the paramount power to a feudal sovereignty. Sir Charles Tupper gave expression to the feudal view, and sought to maintain it in his well-known book on "The Indian Protectorate." He saw in the relation between the paramount power and the States all the important elements of feudalism. Said he, "If the fiefs were isolated, so are the native States. If the holders of the fiefs enjoyed immunity from the laws of any external power, so in general do the chiefs exercising various degrees of internal sovereignty. Even in the methods by which the system of protectorate had been gradually formed we see likeness to the process of feudalization.* Whatever other interpretation the relationship between the British Government and the Indian States may bear, it certainly is not feudal, nor could the historical circumstances by which the Nizams of Hyderabad, the Rajahs of Travancore, the rulers of Bhopal, and the Scindias of Gwalior came to be allied for the purposes of defence be described as processes of feudalization. The word feudatory, which was loosely used in earlier times, was probably responsible for so untenable a theory, which, however, finds no advocates in any quarter now. The Indian rulers have consistently repudiated that theory which was sought to be foisted on them. A large number of the States of Kathiawar, Bundelkand, and the Simla hills are undoubtedly feudatory, as their relations with the sovereign from whom their allegiance was transferred were of that kind. Thus

* Tupper, "Our Indian Protectorate," p. 239; London, 1893.

the chiefs of the Mahikanta Agency were petty tributaries of the Gaekwar, and the southern Maharatta Jagirdars were only the officials of the Peishwa. But the feudal tie is certainly not binding on States with independent treaty rights, and the attempt of the political department to interpret the relationship in the terms of the feudal king and his lords has neither history nor fact to justify it. The assumption of the imperial title and the system of Durbars which followed it were in part the outcome and in part the cause of this feudal misconception which the princes have never accepted. The feudal tie is personal, while in India the rights of Indian princes are in relation to the Government of India and only indirectly to the King-Emperor.

FEDERALISM IN INDIAN POLITY

The most obvious fact in the complex system of the relations between Indian States and the Government is that they form one definitive Indian polity—the Indian Empire. Internationally, British India together with the States forms one unity. Even as regards the British Empire, India, both British as well as Indian, is a single entity. The disabilities which Indian subjects suffer in the Colonies extend to the subjects of the princes. The rights which Indian subjects possess elsewhere are enjoyed by the subjects of the princes. The States form part of the political system. There are evident, both in the system and in the relationship which is the basis of it, important elements of a federal tie. The whole theory of federalism is that while the constituents remain sovereign and independent, the claims of the Central Government are recognized in a definite surrender of certain important rights. That undoubtedly is the essence of the Indian system so far as it relates to the major States. The joint political entity of the States and British India is recognized, and the Government of India as the Central Government exercises certain rights which the States have surrendered. The tie is thus

in essence federal, and is based on a division of sovereignty. The federalism of Indian polity is of course very limited, inasmuch as the Central Government has in theory practically no legislative, executive, or fiscal authority over the principal States. It is true that the jurisdiction of European and American residents is reserved for it, and the Central Government through its own executive officers controls the telegraph and postal systems which operate even within the limits of the States. But that can be considered only as a part of the action taken for defence. The Central Government, as vested in the Governor-General in Council, has no powers of legislation which would without the express enactment of the rulers affect the subjects of States. This and other restrictions only show that the federalism that has developed in the imperial polity of India is of a weak and to some extent inchoate character; but that fundamentally it is federal no one who has examined the system can deny. The federal system of Germany, though it preserves the independence of the States, and preserved the sovereignty of the rulers, gave to the Empire authority for legislation, fiscal policy, judicial administration, besides full authority for the control of foreign policy, involving the right of declaring war and concluding peace. The federal tie was so strengthened that advocates of the unitary State like Treitschke declared that the empire, though federal in form, was unitary in fact. In India, while the federal principle has been recognized in the right of the Government to the sole control of policy and the sole discretion as to the questions of defence and the acceptance by the rulers of the right of the Government to build telegraph lines and maintain a postal system within the territories of the States and worked by imperial officers, the independence of the princes has remained unchallenged. Those rights which were obviously against the fundamental conception of the federal principle, as the right to denounce the treaty and to secede, have vanished, while in their place the princes have obtained the privilege of discussing

in the Princes' Chamber affairs common to their territories and to British India. The federal idea, while it has necessarily restricted their independence in those matters conflicting with the supreme authority of the Central Government in questions connected with defence, has thus given those princes possessing sovereign rights the duties of the constituent States of a federal body.

This became clear with the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, which in some respects introduced almost revolutionary changes in the relations with Indian States. The establishment of the Princes' Chamber is in itself a departure. A community of interest alone can be the basis of a political organization, and the Government of India in convoking a permanent body constituted of the ruling princes tacitly accepted the right of each one of them to be interested in the welfare of the whole, and to work for the interests of the entire body.

The idea underlying this change was thus defined by the authors of the Reform Report. "We wish to call into existence a permanent consultative body. There are questions which affect the States generally or other questions which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole or to British India and the States in common, upon which we conceive the opinion of such a body would be of the utmost value. . . . Any member of the Council or the Council as a whole might request the Viceroy to include in its agenda any subject on which discussion is desired. . . . The direct transaction of business between the Government and any State would of course not be affected by the institution of the Council."

The King's proclamation of 1921 at its inauguration again defined its limits: "My Viceroy will take its counsel freely in matters relating to the territories of Indian States generally and in matters that affect these territories jointly with British India or with the rest of my Empire. It will have no concern with the internal affairs of individual States or their rulers, or with the relations of individual

States with my Government, while the existing rights of these States and their freedom of action will in no way be prejudiced or impaired."

The purpose of the Princes' Chamber as well as its limited scope is defined here. It is a consultative body, which can deliberate jointly in affairs relating to princes, a great advance in their relation with the Central Government. By belonging to it no State loses its independence or right of direct negotiation, and the internal affairs of no State can be discussed unless the ruler himself wants it. Apart from this the princes of India as a body gain the right of discussing affairs which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole or to British India and the States in common. But the value of the Chamber and its influence on the relation of the Government of India are seen more in the modification of the methods so far pursued by the political department in relation to the States.

The very first question that attracted the attention of the princes was the codification of political practice. Speaking at the first session of the Chamber Lord Chelmsford said: "The next recommendation is that with the consent of the rulers of States their relations with the Government of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardize, and codify existing practice for the future. In his journal, written more than a hundred years ago, Lord Hastings referred 'to the formidable mischief which has arisen from our not having defined to ourselves or made clear to the native princes the quality of the relations which we have established with them.' In the memorandum prepared in January last by a committee of your Highnesses this sentence is quoted with approval. I realize that the memorandum must not be taken as conveying the considered opinion of those who did not share in its preparation, and I believe that with regard to this proposal also some concern has been felt by some among your number lest standardization should involve a diminution of treaty rights. . . .

"On the other hand, although direct agreement naturally constitutes the most important source of obligations existing between the British Government and the States, yet it does not supply the full basis, and the study of long established custom and practice is essential to a proper comprehension of the true character of the bond. The Government of India are anxious that the matter should be most fully ventilated, because the suggestion has been made that custom and practice have in the past tended to encroach in certain respects on treaty rights. . . . I shall welcome any general observations which any of your Highnesses may desire to make during the conference, either on the subject of infringement of treaty rights or in regard to the possibility of revising treaties or simplifying or standardizing custom and practice. There is an obvious risk that any over-rigid standardization might fail to take due account of the peculiar circumstances of particular States, and of the special obligations which we owe to them by treaty. But the advantages of a cautious codification are also clear, and the tendency of all progress is towards greater definition. Of recent years we have endeavoured to review our practice under various heads. It is possible that many of your Highnesses may consider that if the recommendations made in the remaining items of the agenda are eventually adopted, and especially the recommendation in regard to placing the important States in direct political relations with the Government of India, the desired unification of practice and development of constitutional doctrines will follow."*

In fact, on such questions as minority administration and succession procedure much has already been done in the nature of establishing well-defined practice. This has brought out and re-established the fact that the rights of Indian States are inherent, and not dependent on the "grace" of the Central Government, as Lord Curzon and others had tried to assert. The Princes' Chamber does not

* Lord Chelmsford's Speeches, p. 159 *et seq.*

in any way interfere with the internal independence of the State on the one hand, and of its right to direct relations with the Government of India on the other. What it does is in fact to maintain the claim that the rights, jurisdictions, and authorities of the sovereign princes of India are based on treaties and political practice arising out of mutual agreement, to alter which the consent of both the parties is required.

The establishment of the Princes' Chamber has also helped to emphasize the difference which the political department had conveniently tried to forget—as the Montford Report itself admits—between the sovereign and non-sovereign States of India. So far as the first class is concerned, their rights are guaranteed to them by treaty, and the Government of India cannot but withdraw from the false position it has taken up in identifying them with the minor chiefs. Their position is clear, and would only be strengthened by the establishment of an institution like the Princes' Chamber.

It is only with regard to the second class of princes that serious difficulty arises. In their case generally there is expressly reserved a right of intervention in internal affairs, supervision of criminal jurisdiction, and in some cases limitation of judicial authority and restriction of the right of legislation, and thirdly, as in the case of Kolhapur, the reservation of residuary rights for the British Government. Evidently the case of these States is different. These are sovereign only in a more limited way than the others.

The Princes' Chamber has also helped the States to maintain the undoubted residuary rights they possess in matters not mentioned in the treaty. Thus, for example, the question of wireless and aerial transport which ten years ago had been considered to belong entirely to the province of the Central Government is now a subject of common discussion in the Chamber. Though in some cases the Central Government has reserved for itself the residuary rights not mentioned in the agreement, it is clear

enough that in most of the treaties with Indian States the rulers have surrendered only those rights which are mentioned in the treaty itself. The benefit of any omissions must go to them, as they are presumed to have been in full sovereign authority at the time of the treaty. Of course, this does not affect the minor chiefs like the southern Maharatta Jaghirdars, or the chiefs of Kathiawar. But it is an obvious fact with regard to the sovereign States. Though the Government itself has never denied this fact or challenged the rights of princes developing in new directions in internal affairs, yet on what they considered questions affecting imperial policy the Government claimed the benefit of a constructive interpretation, and sometimes actually put forward claims in virtue of its sovereign position—an attempt, in fact, to claim residuary authority in certain matters.

Even so far as British India is concerned, the Indian princes have gained the right of discussing its major problems of policy, such as defence, legislation that may affect them in matters like tariff, without correspondingly the Indian legislature getting any right in their affairs. It is also known that their collective opinion with regard to political reforms in India carries great weight with the authorities. Thus, while preserving their absolute internal independence, and in fact strengthening it by a revision of treaties and agreements and the codification of political practice, the princes have gained a new position as Indian and imperial personalities, who have collectively a right to be consulted on matters affecting policy, and whose voice naturally carries great weight.

At the present time no elaborate plea for the existence of Indian States, or even a justification of their existence, is necessary. They are political facts which, whether we like them or not, stare us in the face, and to a large extent govern the course of Indian political evolution. From the point of view of the British Government their importance has long been recognized. Sir John Malcolm, one of the

most talented of Anglo-Indian statesmen, one whose knowledge of Indian States was unique in many respects, declared so long ago as 1825: "I am decidedly of opinion that the tranquillity, not to say the security, of our vast Oriental possessions is involved in the preservation of native principalities which are dependent on us for protection. These are also so obviously at our mercy, so entirely within our grasp, that besides other and great benefits we derive from their alliances, their co-existence with our rule is of itself a source of political strength, the value of which will never be known till it is lost." The political value from the standpoint of the Government has been well recognized since the Mutiny. The active services, political and military, of the princes during the Great War have emphasized the wisdom of that policy, and the Government have lost no opportunity to make it clear that they realize in full the value of maintaining the princes in their dignity, and guaranteeing them in full measure their rights and their powers. But in the mind of the Indian people as a whole there has been a suspicion, altogether unjust, that the States are maintained by the Government as instruments against the just rights of the country. Being, as Sir John Malcolm said, so utterly at the mercy of the Government, and dependent entirely on the guarantee of the paramount power for their continued enjoyment of authority and rights, the interests of the rulers of Indian States have been so far to support the Government in any action it took. But from the Indian point of view the justification of the existence of Indian States lies not in the attitude the princes take up on questions of immediate political interest, but in two other directions. First of all, until recently the internal States provided opportunities for Indians in demonstrating their capacity in political and administrative matters. They provided a school for Indian statesmanship. While Indians were practically confined to subordinate appointments in British India, and the argument was frequently heard that they lacked both capacity and character for

higher work, the Indian States alone offered fields for men of capacity. The career and achievements of statesmen and administrators like Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir Salar Jung, Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir Seshadri Aiyar, and Sankunni Menon amply justify, if nothing else does, the existence of these States. That even now the States afford opportunities denied in British India is clear at least on one point—a military career for Indians. Most of the larger Indian States maintain armies which are officered entirely by Indians, who receive their training under European military advisers. In Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Bikanir, Patiala, Kashmir, and other States there are local military establishments maintained in high state of efficiency, which are commanded and controlled by Indians. The military spirit that has almost died out among the peoples of British India is being kept alive in these States, where men of birth and family may still enter the profession of arms, and earn distinction, as Maharajah Sir Pertab Singh and the late Maharajah of Gwalior did in the defence of their motherland. Even in the purely political career the States even now afford opportunities for initiative and talent seldom available in British India, and not a few of the men who have made their mark in British India, as Sir P. Rajagopalachari and Sir M. Visweswarayya, have had their training in the affairs of Indian States. The opportunity for talents which the States afford, which has produced even in the present day men like Sir A. R. Banerji, Sir Manubhai Mehta, Nawab Hyder Nawaz Jung, and Colonel Haksar, and among the rulers themselves men of the capacity of the late Maharajahs of Gwalior and Travancore, and the reigning Maharajahs of Mysore, Baroda, and Bikanir, should not be merely brushed aside as being unimportant. The demand for self-government has had no greater argument in its support than the general success of the rule of the princes in their own States, and the happiness of the people living under their care, though there have been notorious cases of misrule,

tyranny, and oppression, which have marred the effect and obscured the impression of the high level of success attained in many States.

Besides this, there is also the argument, which should not be forgotten, that the States and their rulers have been custodians of our cultural and artistic tradition in a degree that we cannot appreciate now. The very conservatism of the rulers has been of value in this connection. In the midst of a changing and disintegrating society, these States have in many cases preserved a solidarity of social structure and kept intact the imperceptible bonds that unite classes and castes into one community. That is the explanation of the almost total absence of communal feeling, except that which is directly encouraged or imported from British India. The Maharajahs of Kashmir have been orthodox Hindus ruling over a Muslim population. The population in the Nizam's dominions is predominantly Hindu; and though of recent times there has been occasional riots, the relations between the communities have been on the whole extraordinarily good. Village life is vigorous, and there is almost undisturbed social harmony. This obviously is not due either to efficient administration—for in many States such a thing is unknown—or as a result of a purposive policy, for the rulers in many cases unfortunately have only their pleasures and their sport at heart. A more fundamental cause has to be sought, and that to my mind is found in the fact that society has continued practically undisturbed in these areas, while in British India new currents of life and new and changing political and social conditions have tended to disorganize and render ineffective the unseen forces behind the structure of the community. This is certainly not all to our advantage, for progress can come only through purposive evolution, and a static society must tend to weigh down both individuality and activity through the leaden weight of encrusted custom. But all the same, a conservative tradition has much in its favour, especially in the midst of a society which is changing fast

through the compact of dissimilar cultures. Moreover, to a large extent the States have served the cause of India's civilization by acting as a refuge of certain valuable spheres of intellectual activity, which, through one circumstance or another, could not find adequate support in British India. Especially in the development of vernaculars, through which alone, let it be remembered, can the mass mind of India ever get educated, the States and their Government have rendered yeoman service. The Nizam's Government has founded a university in which the course of instruction is entirely in Urdu. The encouragement given by the Mysore University to Canarese and by Travancore to Malayalam has gone a great way in modernizing those languages. Indian music and architecture survive now mostly in the States, and find their patrons mainly among the more old-fashioned rulers and noblemen. It is true that in a few cases like Kapurthala and Cooch Bihar the Maharajahs may seem to have taken to ultra-modern things, but they are the exceptions, which help more to emphasize the conservatism of the other rulers than to obscure it.

If there are undoubted advantages of this kind, there are also considerable disadvantages, which we should not forget. An occasional incident causes to be thrown on the court life of Indian princes a glare of light which exposes it to the gaze of the world. But it is unnecessary for our purpose here to go into it. The British Government now supports the ruler as long as he is loyal to his agreement, and does not too openly violate civilized conventions.

The development of better relations between the Indian people and the rulers of the States will follow on the realization by the States of their political position as important parts of India. There can be no doubt that the development of Indian imperial polity can only be on this basis. A united India can no more ignore the princes than the princes can ignore India territorially marked off as

British. British India surrounds them at every turn, and the reaction of Indian movements on the States has been especially marked. The only future that we can visualize for India is as a congeries of internally autonomous States united together under a strong Central Government, strong in its connection with the British Commonwealth and in the political freedom it guarantees to the people of India. As His Highness the Maharajah of Alwar declared: "My goal is the united States of India, where every province and every State, working its own destiny in accordance with its own environment, its tradition, history, and religion, will combine together for higher and imperial purposes, each subscribing its little quota of knowledge and experience in a labour of love, freely given for a noble and higher cause."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, February 15, 1926, when a paper was read by K. M. Panikkar, Esq., entitled "The Position of Indian States," Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hugh Murray, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Lady Dane, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Colonel A. D. Bannerman, C.I.E., Mrs. Thomson, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Mr. J. J. Nolan, Miss Partridge, Mr. MacMichael, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, M.A., Mr. F. J. Richards, Mr. M. Mehta, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Colonel T. F. Dowden, Miss V. Dowden, Mr. W. Sloane, Lieut.-Colonel G. V. Holmes, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Miss Bourne, Mrs. Herron, Mr. H. Harcourt, Sirdar Harbans Singh, Dr. Shah, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Colonel Warliker, Mr. A. Fish, Mr. V. K. John, Mr. L. B. Joshi, Mr. Francis George, Mrs. Mallik, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Miss Bowe, Miss Vaughan, Mr. Y. A. Irfanis, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

Mr. STANLEY RICE: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before the paper is read this afternoon, I want to explain to you that the object is to put before you in as impersonal a manner as possible the relations of the Native States in India, because the present problems are probably unique in the world. There is no sort of desire to deal with any individual State or any particular ruler, and I hope that the whole question will be dealt with in the discussion as a matter of what I may call political science or constitutional history. I shall be very glad if the discussion can be confined to that aspect of the matter, and I have no doubt that the Chairman will keep it more or less on those lines.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have heard from our Secretary that the lecture to-day is on the position of Indian States. The lecturer whom we have been fortunate enough to secure is an Indian of the Travancore State, Mr. Panikkar. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he obtained first class honours in Modern History. He is editor of the *Daily Swaraj* of Madras, and he founded and edited the *Hindustan Times*. He has also written a volume on Mediæval Indian History, one on Education, and other works on Indian subjects; so that I think we may be sure that he will be able to deal from a critical point of view with the very complex and complicated questions affecting the Indian Empire as a whole, and more particularly the Native States which are included in that Empire. The Secretary has also told you how he hopes the discussion will proceed. I need not further delay you, but I will call on Mr. Panikkar to read his paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before opening the discussion on this very interesting paper that has been read, I ought perhaps to point out to you that Mr. Pannikar is not the first publicist to embark upon this very difficult field of research. Sir Charles Tupper published a very long and detailed work on our Indian Protectorates in 1893. Sir Edward Lee Warner published a work more recently on the Native States, and now Mr. Pannikar, I believe, has a work which is shortly to be published on the same subject. Of course, in a short lecture like this it was impossible for him or anybody else, as it would be equally impossible for us now, thoroughly to discuss all the minute questions involved in the present policy in India. He could only make very brief allusions, and no doubt we shall have, in his book, very full and detailed reasons for the faith which he holds. I have no doubt his book will excite great interest when it appears and will be fully discussed. His views in the lecture are, of course, his own, and this Association is in no way committed to them.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER, having congratulated the lecturer on the very frank and lucid way in which he had discussed the subject, said, although they might not find themselves in complete agreement with his main thesis, they would all recognize that there was a good deal to be said for many of the views he had so ably put forward. He was in agreement with much of what had been said by the lecturer, especially as to the necessity of a scrupulous adherence to treaties and engagements. He had had experience of Native States from within and without, firstly, as a servant of Native States lent by the British Government, and, secondly, for many years, as Political Officer in charge of the relations between the Native States and the British Government. He agreed with the lecturer that the existence of the Native States in India was a thing of which they should be proud and which they should do all in their power to maintain as preserving much of what was most picturesque and characteristic in India. He himself as the Governor of the Punjab realized the great and loyal help received from the Punjab States in the war and in times of crisis. Some people were apt to look upon the Native States generally as being of immemorial antiquity, but, with the exception of the Rajput States in the Punjab Hills, Rajputana and Central India, and a few, like Travancore, in Southern India, all the other Native States were of comparatively recent growth; in fact they were more recent than the British rule in India, having been built up on the ruins of the Mogul Empire. This was a fact of considerable importance in connection with the relations between the paramount power and the States. In cases where the States were rooted in antiquity and where the mass of the people were of the same religion and race as the ruler, their position was stronger and more unchallengeable, and it should be the policy of the British Government, while maintaining its engagements to all, to interfere with those as little as possible. About 80 per cent. of the seventy-eight millions under State rule were living in States which were of comparatively recent origin, having arisen out of the ruins of the Moghul Empire, and must be considered to be as much of modern growth as the British power in India. The rulers of those States were very often as foreign to the people whom they ruled as the British Government was

accused of being in India, and in them the British Government, as paramount power, had a special responsibility to prevent gross maladministration. The lecturer had said that the British Government had succeeded the East India Company, but there was another historical fact to be taken into consideration—namely, that the British Government also succeeded to the position of the Mogul Emperors. The relations between the British Government as successor to the East India Company and the Indian States was not a feudal one; but the relation between the Mogul Empire and the Native States that then existed was, to a very large extent, feudal. The King-Emperor's position as suzerain of the Native States was derived largely from the fact that he was looked upon as the successor of the Mogul Emperors, and the rulers of Native States generally regarded the personal link with the Throne as even more important than the Constitutional States. He agreed with the Lecturer that there was less unrest and friction in Native States than in British India. There were good reasons for that. The rulers had very summary methods for dealing with agitation. The lecturer had stated that where friction was found it had been very largely imported from British India; but he (the speaker) wished to point out that a great deal of the agitation with which they had had to deal in recent years in British India had been imported from the Native States, some of the most notable agitators—Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers, for instance—being subjects of Native States, but they found more scope for their activities in British India than their own rulers would allow them. In the course of his duties, sometimes acting on behalf of the States and sometimes on behalf of the British Government, he had had in various parts of India to try and effect territorial transfers for mutual convenience between the Native States and the British Government, and his experience invariably had been that Indians of British India were unwilling to go into an adjoining Native State. He had found no strong objections in State villages to come under the British Raj. One explanation of this attitude was that the taxation in the Native States was as a rule double that of British India. (Applause.) He was able to speak with some authority on that point, as it had fallen to his task to fix the land revenue and other forms of taxation in many Native States as well as in many districts of British India.

Mr. MEHTA said, having come from an Indian Native State and having had a little experience of Indian administration, he was interested and anxious to obtain some further enlightenment with regard to the "revolutionary changes" introduced by the Montagu reforms in the position of Indian States, as pointed out by the speaker in his paper. He disagreed with Sir Michael O'Dwyer that in the matter of transfer of territory the natives of Indian States were always eager to go to British India. It was true that the taxation in Native States was generally higher, but the method of collection of taxation differed materially; it was much less oppressive in the many Indian States than it was in many parts of British India; the relations of subject and ruler are less remote than in British India. He had nowhere found any desire on the part of villages in the States to be transferred to British India, in spite of the fact that the taxation was

higher in those States. It would be difficult to support Sir Michael O'Dwyer's theory that the British Government in its relations with the Native States was the successor of the great Mogul Emperors, for the reason that some of them—the Mahratta States, for example—did not exist when the Mogul Empire was in power; indeed, they could claim to be the successors of the Mogul Empire, which position it would be difficult to challenge. They could not compare these with States like Jaipur and Jodhpur, which were feudatory to the Mogul Empire. There was one State in Rajputana which had never submitted to the Mogul Empire in the same sense that the other States had done. Its relations with the Mogul Emperors were those of absolute friendship. After a great deal of fighting a treaty had been concluded on certain conditions, one among which was that the prince of the State (that is, the heir-apparent) would pay a visit to the Mogul Emperor, and would be received by the Emperor on equal terms; but the ruler himself had not paid the visit or made any money contribution to the Emperor.

Mr. SORABJI, referring to the lecturer's statement that the Government of India had forcibly intervened in Nabha, said it was misleading even to hint that any force had been used. The Maharajah had violated the sovereignty of Patiala and broken treaty obligations, and the Government, according to treaty rights, intervened, but without using any force whatever.

With reference to the lecturer's statement that "the rights of Indian princes are in relation to the Government of India, and only indirectly to the King-Emperor," the speaker reminded the audience that one of the most marvellous things in India was the personal devotion of the Ruling Princes to the King-Emperor. People might argue as to whether the British Crown succeeded the Mogul Emperors or only carried on the work of the East India Company. The princes of India cared nothing about these academic distinctions; their loyalty was in fact directly to the King-Emperor and to the Viceroy as his representative. It was for the King-Emperor that they used their men and money in the Great War.

He also disagreed with the lecturer's statement that *many* of the princes cared more for sport and pleasure than for their principalities. To be sportsmen helped them to be good rulers. Finally, he said, the lecturer had taken no account of the tremendous goodwill existing between British Residents and the princes. Most of these officers of the Political Department were the great friends and advisers of the princes, who often sought their counsel.

Mr. HARCOURT said he wished to know whether, when the lecturer foreshadowed something in the way of a federation, he meant a federation in which the central power devolved a certain amount of its power on the subordinate powers, or one in which the subordinate powers each gave up some of its rights to the central power. The Central Government exercised a great deal of control and supervision over the Indian States, but he thought the control was much stronger than the supervision. There was a suspicion at present in the minds of many Indians that there was in the relations of the Government of India with the Native States what might be called the application of the twelfth commandment, which was: "You

shall not be disloyal to the British Government, and as long as you are not, it does not matter what else you are." The loyalty of the Native States was beyond question. (Applause.)

The LECTURER, replying to certain criticisms of his paper, said that his omission to refer to the loyalty of the Indian princes was because it was not one of the constitutional facts with which he was concerned in his paper. Some criticism was made about his statement that a revolutionary change had been introduced by the reforms. Before the reforms came into existence no consultation between the princes on any common topic was recognized by the Government of India; they only dealt with the princes individually, and had a separate political procedure for each State. They had strongly disapproved of any kind of deliberation between the States, except in the case of certain States like the Phulkian group, which, by family tradition and association, have a certain amount of relation between themselves. With this exception the Government of India had always stoutly opposed any idea of the princes having anything in common. At the present time that was not the position, and it was a very great advance. Now that the princes were enabled to discuss their problems jointly the whole position with regard to the Government of India had altered; it was a revolutionary change in so far as from being individual units they have come to be recognized as a class or an order with common interests and common aims.

With regard to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's observations, it was perfectly true that the duty of the Government, whether British or Indian, was to look after the interests of India. The feudal theory developed only after the establishment of Crown Government, and it certainly could not have been on the basis of succession to the Mogul Empire, as the Crown in accepting the responsibility for direct rule took not the pretensions of the Moguls, but the obligations of the Company. Many of the Indian States had developed at the same time as the British Government. The same circumstances which had led to the development of the British Empire had also led to the establishment of the Native States. The majority of the States had been established during the last century and a half, and no one who looked at the matter from a constitutional point of view could say that their status was feudal.

With regard to the question of transfer of territory to Indian States and the opposition of the local people to it, which had been referred to by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, there was a feeling that the transfer into a Native State from territory that was being administered by the British Government was not welcomed. The reason was not because one part was British and the other part was not, but because of the system of government which existed. The British Government was responsible for both systems.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER pointed out that the British Government was debarred by treaty from interfering with the Government of Native States.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—This has been a most interesting discussion as I ventured to foretell it would be, although I thought it might have been a little more exciting than it has been. There is no

question which has been more debated than the position of the Native States of India. First of all, I should like to thank Mr. Sorabji for his eloquent tribute to the Political Department. (Applause.) I was once a humble member of that Department, and I can assure the lecturer that he is quite mistaken if he supposes that the Political Department has any desire whatever to impair the authority or dignity of the Indian States in any way. There are no stronger upholders of the Indian States than the officers of the Political Department. If he ever obtains access to the archives of the Department, he will find that my statement is fully borne out. It is a great mistake to suppose, at any rate within the last century, that the British Government has ever desired to weaken or impair the position of the Indian States. One of the most convincing proofs of that is the case of Mysore, one of the richest tracts of the country. The Indian dynasty had been dispossessed by Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan. After very severe fighting the King's troops were victorious, and it would have been perfectly reasonable, fair and right that they should there and then have incorporated Mysore into their Dominions; but, even in those early days, they did not want to do that. They hunted up the descendants of the old Mysore family and they reconstituted, on somewhat different lines, the Mysore State. Things went from bad to worse; constant petitions of misrule were being presented, and the Government had to intervene in 1831, and the government of the Mysore State was taken over on behalf of the Indian Government and the Rajah set aside. For fifty years the State remained under British administration, practically under the British laws; but in 1881 the Mysore State was restored to the native dynasty, after fifty years of British administration. There were certain conditions imposed with regard to the future government of the State. If anybody wants proof as to the principles which have governed the Government of India in their dealings with the Native States, they cannot do better than read carefully the great State Paper, the instrument of transfer of the administration of the Mysore State to its original dynasty. That is an excellent text from which any officer of the Political Department can preach. Sir Michael O'Dwyer and myself do not altogether agree on this matter of the rehabilitation or transfers to Native States. I am very strongly of opinion that we should do all we possibly can to rehabilitate the Native States where they have got weaker. I believe the existence of the Native States is one of the greatest sources of our stability in India, and that at any time in the future the existence of those States may be of the greatest importance to the British Empire and the Government. There is a recent instance of the reconstitution of an Indian State. You have probably heard of the impeachment of Warren Hastings in connection, among other charges, with his dealings with Benares, which resulted in the virtual extinction of that Native State. In Lord Minto's time the question cropped up and, animated by that desire which nearly every Viceroy has, to do something to benefit the Native States, it was decided to approach the United Provinces Government to see whether there would be any serious objection to the reconstitution of the Benares State. That was in 1906. There was a good deal of preliminary dis-

cussion, and there was a certain amount of preliminary objection on the part of the United Provinces Government to the transfer of persons who had enjoyed the advantage of British rule for more than a century to an Indian State Government. Sir Verney Lovett once questioned this, and I am glad of this opportunity of explaining that I was speaking of the preliminary inquiry in 1906-07, and he referred to the period when the matter was taken up by the United Provinces Government. Eventually they agreed that the thing might be tried safely, notwithstanding the immediate vicinity of the great city of Benares, and in the course of four or five years the rendition of power to the Maharajah of Benares was carried out, I think in 1910. I am very glad to have the testimony of the United Provinces Government that the transfer of these British subjects to Indian rule has not been attended with any of the disastrous results which were at one time contemplated. The people are thoroughly satisfied and so is the Maharajah. As regards the position of the present Indian States, with the exception of Travancore and some of the Rajput States, all of the existing governing bodies in India more or less came into existence at about the same time. There was a general collapse of authority owing to the decadence of the Mogul Empire, very much like that which followed the absolute confusion which existed throughout the world when the Roman Empire collapsed. Everybody who could tried to start a State of his own. The East India Company, starting at the beginning of the seventeenth century with struggling posts and factories round the coast, existing on the sufferance of neighbouring Indian chiefs, had gradually been bringing themselves up to the position of a governing body, until finally, in 1761, they stood forth as the Diwan of Bengal, Orissa and Behar. That is just about the time when everybody else was trying to do the same thing. Then as practical rulers of a great province they were compelled to defend their interests in the place of applications for grants of factories. Treaties were made, no doubt, on equal terms with other provincial rulers for mutual protection, mainly against the Mahrattas, who, though defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali at Panipat in January, 1761, were still dominating the Mogul Emperor at Delhi and most of the continent. Those treaties were not always kept by the other side, and as a penalty subsidiary alliances were imposed. The power of the Mahrattas was broken in repeated conflicts, and they were brought under the system of subsidiary alliances. Other States were granted protective treaties on suitable terms. So the East India Company rose from humble beginnings to be the most powerful and dominant power in India. The nineteenth century brought still further changes in the ever-growing British power, until finally, in 1850, the cataclysm of the Mutiny left all Northern India an open field on which some solid system of rule had to be planted. The Government of India was brought directly under the British Crown.

Lord Canning's despatch of April 30, 1860, lays down in no uncertain terms what had happened. The Crown of England now stands forth as the unquestioned ruler and paramount power in all India, and is for the first time brought face to face with its feudatories. There is a reality in the suzerainty of the Sovereign of England which has never existed before,

which is not only felt but eagerly acknowledged by the chiefs. The last vestiges of the Royal House of Delhi, from which for our own convenience we had long been content to accept a vicarious authority, have now been swept away and the last pretender to the representation of the Peshwa has disappeared.

The British Empire in India so far as the States are concerned is a real Empire, and the fact was appropriately recognized by the assumption by Queen Victoria of the title of *Kaisar-i-Hind* on January 1, 1877. It is not a static but a dynamic rule, ever modifying itself to meet the changes of ideas and circumstances that time must bring, but it is, and must remain, an imperial power, or chaos will again spread over India.

You cannot call the arrangement which exists in India a federal system; it is analogous with a federal system, but it was never constituted a federal system. It has also been regarded as feudal, and the chiefs in India, in great State Papers, on which they practically found the title of their existence, such as Lord Canning's despatches dealing with the adoption sanads of 1862, have been actually described as feudatories. That has given rise to the idea that there was a feudal system. There are many incidents in the polity of the Native States of India which are closely akin to those of the feudal system, such as the right of the Government to intervene in the event of the death of a ruler without an heir; the right of the Government to intervene in the case of a minority to prevent waste, and to ensure the well-being of the State and the untrammelled succession and proper upbringing of the heir; the necessity of formal recognition and installation by a successor and his investiture with powers when he is held to be fit to exercise them. Those things exist also in a federal system. Human nature is very much alike all the world over, and when you have a system of government being substituted for chaos, as happened in the Indian Empire during the eighteenth century, the same conditions will undoubtedly be found as those which existed in other systems, whether you call them federal or feudal, that have sprung up in other parts of the world in somewhat similar or analogous circumstances. I quite agree with the lecturer that every attention must be paid to the treaties, enactments and sanads which have been given to the States, but as expressly stated in the adoption sanads, these will be observed only so long as the chief remains loyal to the Crown and carries out effectively and efficiently all his obligations to the British Government. The really important thing in India is loyalty, and active loyalty, to the Crown. In the East India Company's time it was totally different; but, after the great Mutiny of 1858, just as the Company had stood forth as the Diwan of Bengal, Orissa and Behar, so, in 1858, the Crown, in the person of Queen Victoria, stood forth as the undoubted Sovereign and Ruler of all India, and that is the position at present, and I only hope it will remain on the same lines as those which have been in force since 1858, which have resulted in such great development. (Applause.)

Treaties must be observed; chiefs are fully supported, and needless interference for petty defects is steadily discountenanced. But there does remain inherent in the British Government, as the paramount State or

power in India, the right to intervene in the case of wilful and protracted misgovernment or grave personal misconduct. (Hear, hear.) One of the speakers said that the general idea is that, as long as the chief is loyal to the British Government, they do not care what happens to the people. Nothing could be further from the truth. If there is active disloyalty, if they do not render service in time of war or internal unrest, which the British Government, as the paramount power, has the right to expect and demand, undoubtedly the British Government can intervene, as they did in a portion of the Punjab during the Sikh wars. Leaving this question of open disloyalty out of the question, the thing which compels and induces the intervention of the British Government is wilful misrule and misconduct on the part of the chief. There is a great trust imposed upon the Government of India to see that the Native States are properly governed. You have heard from the lecturer that behind a chief there is the whole armed might of the British Empire, and it is hopeless for his subjects to try the old time methods of insurrection and rebellion. That makes it all the more necessary that there should be this power on the part of the British Indian Government, whatever the treaties and enactments may be, to interfere to ensure that the people of the States are properly governed and reasonably treated. That is a practical basic proposition which governs the existing position of affairs in India. This is a subject upon which there are a great many views, but I believe in that particular I am absolutely sound. As regards the revolutionary change said to have been introduced by the reforms which have been referred to in the formation of the Princes' Chamber, I am afraid I am out of date. These things happened after my time, and I can only go by the Viceroy's speech at the inception of the Chamber, and that was this: They did not give the Chamber any right whatever to interfere with the affairs of any particular State or between a State and the Government of India. I understand that they are a consultative body, who can deal with matters affecting the Indian States and British India, and bring matters forward for the notice of the Viceroy. In all these matters the Viceroy deals with the chiefs as representing the Crown. Even with the Chamber of Princes I do not believe that any Government of India would be so foolish as seriously to effect revolutionary changes in those great principles which have made India of the Native States what it is—so prosperous, so strong, and so contented. The States include one-third of the total area of India and one-fifth of the population. They are a most important part of India, and I only hope that they will become even greater, more powerful, and more important than they have ever been in the past. (Loud applause.)

On the motion of Sir EDWARD BARROW, seconded by Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE, a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the Chairman and the lecturer.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

SOME VIEWS OF AN INDIAN RULER ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF AN INDIAN STATE

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL C. ECKFORD LUARD, C.I.E.

Ghar ki murghi dāl barābar.

I was asked originally to give a paper on the administration of an Indian state, but it seemed to me that the general levelling up of the administration in the important states and its assimilation to our own system would render such an account rather colourless, at any rate, without my becoming more particular than was perhaps desirable. It is nowadays rather in the customs which still obtain than in the actual administrative machinery that marked differences are to be found in states of importance.

On this account I thought that it might be of interest to examine the views of a ruler who was throughout his life devoted to his state and its administration. I refer to His Highness the late Maharaja of Gwalior. Much material for this is available in his speeches, his reviews on the State Administration Reports, and his "Policy." Incidentally the views of another ruler will be alluded to.

A momentary digression may perhaps be allowable. In Central India, which I know best, having served there almost continuously from 1897 to 1924, three distinct types of state have existed—the Rajput, Maratha, and Mussalman—and they still show to some extent, in spite of modern influences, traces of their origin.

The Rajputs of Malwa, members mostly of the great houses of Rajputana, entered upon their possessions under the ægis of the Mughal Emperor with a deed in their pockets conferring certain lands upon them and their heirs. They came as leaders of sections of a clan, of bands formed of their own kinsmen, brothers, cousins, and connections by marriage. The Rajput state, therefore, was more or less

of a family coterie, composed of a number of estates, held principally by the ruler's relatives, over whom he exercised the limited control of a clan chieftain. The state was thus closely knit together by family ties and clan sentiment, the sardars being under an obligation to serve their ruler in the field, pay him due homage, and contribute to the common finances; otherwise the estate holders were practically autonomous within their own lands. The Maratha invasion and time's changes have greatly modified conditions, but the sardars of a Rajput state still look upon themselves not as mere vassals, but as joint occupiers and coparceners with their ruler of the family fief.

A Maratha state in Central India was founded on a very different footing. At the outset it was a military occupation and no more. The founders of these states, as generals of the Peshwa at Poona, were under instructions to levy toll in Malwa for the upkeep of their troops. With the leader in chief command came many subordinate leaders in command of quotas of horse, who were for the time being under the orders of whoever was in chief control, but bound to him by no ties of clan sentiment or family connection. The accidents of superior military ability and good fortune had placed Sindhia, Holkar, and the Ponwars at the head of the armies. Originally, moreover, these men had no intention of settling in Malwa; the Dekhan was their home. Even when the tide of events turned and left them behind in Central India they continued to look on the Dekhan as their home, and indeed do so still. Illustrations of this are the refusal of Daulat Rao Sindhia on his death-bed to adopt an heir for Gwalior, on the grounds that these lands were merely comprised in his *saranjami jagir*, his real status being that of a *pātil* in the Dekhan. His late Highness of Gwalior, also, speaking as President of the Poona "Pātils Conference" in 1922, rejoiced at the honour thus done him by his "brother *pātils*," and recalled how Mahadji Sindhia always preferred to be styled "Pātil-buwa," never Maharaja.

Moreover, when these states were finally fashioned there was no reason, save the fortuitous concurrence of events, why Sindhia, Holkar, or the Ponwars should have become the rulers rather than any member of the other great Maratha families which served in the Peshwa's armies. A Maratha ruler, therefore, controlled his state primarily as a military commander, and the bonds uniting members of this community were looser, more official in character, and rested on prescriptive right and not on sentiment.

The Mussalman ruler was a conqueror and ruled as such, at least in theory.

Of course, all these three forms have become less diversified than they were, and will no doubt in time rise to much the same level.

British influence notwithstanding, the administration of all states in India is still largely autocratic and personal.

And in spite of the obvious drawbacks, personal rule is still the form of control best understood and genuinely favoured by the people of the country. His Highness always held that a country which is not governed on the basis of its own traditions can but go from bad to worse, and to imitate Europe will only lead India into trouble.

At the head of this paper is a very common proverb which His Highness constantly took as the text for homilies on the administration of an Indian state: "*Ghar ki murghi dāl barābar*"—"The domestic fowl is like (a handful of) lentils (you can mould it to your will)."

The Government of India, he used to say, was so overwhelmingly powerful that the rulers of states were mere clay in its hands, like the domestic fowl; and yet they seemed seldom to recollect this fact. The first and most important duty of the Government, he held, was to maintain the *izzat* of the states in the eyes of India and the world generally. Yet its decisions and acts so often diminished or destroyed this *izzat*. It was doubtless done unconsciously, often due to lack of full knowledge. Such loss of *izzat* was not merely a loss to the state but to the

Government of India, on whom the loss recoiled. One, and the chief cause of such mistakes was the personal view almost invariably taken; the case became personal to the ruler of the day, who was a mere ephemera, and instead of considering the effect of a decision on the state, the really permanent entity, whose *izzat* it was essential to maintain, and whose rights and privileges should never be diminished, orders were passed really against the ruler. Such decisions often affected a state adversely for years, sometimes for ever. His Highness would refer to the (enforced) abdication of Maharaja Shivaji Rao Holkar as a case in point. That he was a curious character, and far from being a model ruler was clear, but his abdication was looked on by all as a very severe blow to the *izzat* of the Indian states. That Indians in British India took a similar view was, he said, shown by the numbers who used to collect to greet him wherever a train in which he travelled stopped. In his review on the Administration Report for 1916-17 His Highness says: "Supposing that the ruler or rulers for the time being are not satisfactory individuals, the people . . . should lead them on the right course by counsel. . . . Repeated depositions and interregnums are shown by history to be occasions for intrigue. . . . Wherefore, I say, no matter due to what reasons, whether hereditary or congenital defects, evil counsel, or fondness for despotic power, if a ruler goes wrong, still keep him there in all his dignity. . . . It is not denied that faults, and serious ones too, may, and often do, lie with the heads of Governments. Be it so, but they all admit of correction without resort to extreme measures."

In the Nabha case no judicial commission ought, in His Highness's opinion, to have been granted.

Such cases, in his view, ought to have been discussed with the Ruling Princes, who should have been asked officially to advise, even if not requested to adjudicate. Sentiments, difficult for Europeans to fully understand, and

very dear to Indians, were apt to be disregarded from ignorance.

In his opinion, while constant verbal assurances are given of the trust reposed in the body of Ruling Princes, actual practice went against these assurances.

Such were his views on the trend of the general policy followed in important matters. Many pin-pricks had been administered, however, in trivial concerns, such as the call for endless "returns," which rose from nineteen in 1886 to fifty-two in 1909. The submission of an "Administrative Report" for criticism by the political authorities was much resented, and in 1910 the Darbar declined to send it, save informally, and this was agreed to.

On the questions of minority administrations and the education of the young ruler, matters which concerned the Government of India closely, His Highness held strong views, most of which he embodied in a memorandum to the Viceroy. The principal points were: adherence to the expressed wishes of the late ruler; strict maintenance of all existing customs, honours, and privileges intact; the introduction of no sweeping reforms, or any which ran counter to custom. He held that the system hitherto followed was for the political authorities to seize the occasion of a minority to make the administration as similar to that in British India as was possible in the time; to expend huge sums on roads and costly buildings, incidentally emptying the state treasury. The proper policy was to remedy real abuses and serious defects, without British-Indianizing the administration. Money should be saved and invested, and the young ruler, as he grew older, brought up to see the advantages of a well-constituted scheme of administration, the improvements he should strive for being clearly explained to him. This gave the young ruler a goal to make for, and, if he was worth anything, interested him in his state. If, on the other hand, everything was done for him before he got his power, and the state was improved out of all recognition, it killed

initiative, and caused much heartburning, in that so much had been expended that little was left for him to do, while there was no cash in the treasury for him to utilize.

Other points were: that there must be no exchange of territory; no alteration of relations obtaining between the state and feudatories (the "guaranteed estates" case was of course an acute instance in Gwalior); no palaces erected, as they never suited the ruler; and all reforms must grow up gradually in complete harmony with local traditions.

As to the young ruler's education, the first essential was that he should be educated *at his own home*, so as to be fully conversant with all local and family custom and tradition, and while learning to associate with Europeans, never to forget that it was his first duty to know how to live among his own people. He disapproved strongly of the Chief's colleges as at present constituted, and would not agree to his son being sent to one. His reasons were: first that the rulers whose sons were to go there had no real control, and that their views were never considered; that the standard was low; that there was too much "Etonizing," and far too little attention was paid to Indian sentiment and Indian ideals; games were too prominent (he always held that Indians, unlike Englishmen, could not excel at once both at games and work, and rulers had first to learn to work).

It is interesting to note that the late Maharaja of Kolhapur (who in most things held diametrically opposite views to Sindhia) agreed as regards Chief's colleges. He had himself been three years at one, so had some personal experience, which the Maharaja Sindhia had not. He similarly objects to the method of control, writing: "The education of the sons of rulers should be entirely in their own hands; there should be no interference, direct or indirect, from outside. If the rulers are considered fit to administer their states they should be trusted to look after the education of their sons. Any interference against the wishes of the Ruler

does more harm than good" (Latthe, "Life of Sri Shahu Chhatrapati," etc., ii., 534). It only led to a tussle between the rulers and the authorities, in which the boys suffered.

There were, however, certain matters in which His Highness believed the Government of India might well intervene more. He was always much concerned with anything which tended to lower caste, and noticing a tendency to laxity in the marriages arranged by his sardars, especially the Maratha sardars, he issued strict orders on the subject. Similarly, he considered that Government ought to scrutinize marriages made by rulers, and insist on purity of blood in all successors to a *gaddi*; in disputes between two states, even on family matters, intervention was called for, as owing to the high position of the persons concerned, these disputes soon ceased to be private, and reflected adversely on the body of rulers.

Generally his view was that there was too much interference in matters of individual importance, and too little in matters affecting the whole body of Indian states, a disastrous policy, which lowered the *izzat* of the states and also of the Government of India.

On one occasion His Highness, after reading a banquet speech of a high official, turned to me and said: "*We* all know how things really are in this state, but not the public in British India. Now a speech full of praise like that makes bad rulers grin, and disheartens all of us who try to do our best. Can't it be stopped by order? It does far more harm than you think."

This section has taken up much space, but the relations obtaining between the states and the Government of India are of the utmost importance and form, as His Highness once said to me, their "life's blood."

On the question of state finances the first essential rule to be observed in all states was the absolute separation of the Privy Purse from the Darbar's expenditure. This separation is by no means general in states. His Highness fixed the percentage of the Privy Purse at 2 per cent. of the state revenue.

The next important point was economy. Every effort should be made in states to save one-fourth or at least one-sixth of the yearly revenue. These savings should then be invested in funds for special purposes. This was regularly done in Gwalior. The principal funds so formed were: famine fund of 200 lakhs; agricultural, 100 lakhs; railways, 200 lakhs; commerce, 50 lakhs; and so on. As a rule, only the interest was to be used, but in the case of productive works the principal could be invested. It was thus possible to make extra grants, above the ordinary Budget allotments, to many branches of the administration.

In a wealthy state like Gwalior this was feasible, for it still has resources capable of expansion and a considerable surplus revenue. In spite of this His Highness constantly referred to the yearly increase in the cost of administration. In the case of small states it is becoming a very serious matter. Discussing this point with His Highness, I asked him what was to happen in states which could never hope to expand their revenue beyond its present limit. He considered that Government would have to step in and combine several small states in a group and take over education and protection (police courts, etc.) from them, putting in an officer to control a joint scheme, the states contributing; this would relieve them of much unproductive expenditure. Otherwise they would, sooner or later, not be able to maintain even the present standard and become administrative danger spots. In this connection he used often to refer to the increasing demand made on the purses of princes for subscriptions to schemes for the public weal, such as Lansdowne hospitals for women, baby-welfare, etc. These were all excellent and necessary objects of altruism, but the states usually had to bear a double share, subscribe to the British India scheme and then find money to run the same scheme in their own states. Even he, a rich man, felt the effects of these demands. The introduction of industries into states was one of his hobbies. Unfortunately, the Gwalior endeavours in this direction were not success-

ful, much of this ill-success being due to the failure of the Alliance Bank and of the Gwalior Development Trust, largely controlled by managers of the same institution.

The Customs administration in Gwalior was of the kind usual in most states : almost everything was taxed and the rates were excessive. Indeed, until 1910, customs dues were even levied as between villages inside the state, and on this subject His Highness's views were adamant—he could not see the evil effect of heavy duties. The land revenue system was similar to that in India generally. The average demand made amounted to sixty-five per cent. of the gross revenue including cesses. It is not possible to go deeply into this question of revenue here, but it may be noted that His Highness advocated the restoration of the restricted poppy cultivation in Malwa ; indeed, he goes further and says that not only should the reduction be made good, but it should be gradually extended ! Poppy land has always paid the highest rates. His Highness favoured the ryotwari system of assessment, and this was gradually being introduced as fresh settlements took place. Irrigation, roads, and railways were, he held, the mainstays of the agriculturists' prosperity, and large sums were spent on all three ; most states, he considered, spent far too little on roads. But he considered that better results were obtained if the heads of the irrigation and engineering departments were civilians and not technical officers.

A final word on state officials, the personnel. His Highness was a firm believer in caste and birth, and it was laid down that as many persons of good family as possible should be employed. He writes : "The tendency of this present age is that even a man of low birth is considered entitled to a place in society because he has acquired a certain honourable profession, as, for example, a goldsmith by birth, holding a degree of medicine. . . . This is what is called moving with the times !" In another place he says : "The tendency of uniting all castes and setting aside all distinctions between high and low classes . . . is an

egregious mistake so far as Indian sentiment is concerned. The ruler must, therefore, give his particular attention to this question and see that the caste distinctions obtaining in India from time immemorial are not disturbed."

He laid down certain proportions for his own state—Marathas, one-sixth ; Muslims, one-third ; others, one-half (Brahmans of all classes, one-sixth ; Rajputs, Vaishyas, Kayasths, and Parsis, one-twelfth each). These proportions did not apply to heads of departments or to men appointed for special purposes.

All this is in strong contrast to the views of His late Highness of Kolhapur, who fought the Brahmans throughout his life, allotting 50 per cent. of his state appointments to untouchables, while holding that the abolition of the whole caste system could alone save India. It is certain that these views are not generally held.

The trend of British Indian politics in the direction of democracy did not of course escape His Highness. He was at times considerably concerned about it. He was convinced that personal rule was best suited to India, though he believed in associating the people with the Ruler as closely as might be without destroying this principle, and he started two assemblies in his own state, one legislative and one general.

What the states were to do as the new democratic system developed in British India was, he felt, a difficult question. A confederacy of states (often suggested) seemed to him impracticable. The Chamber of Princes, in which for the first time all the Ruling Princes had been officially brought together, showed but too clearly what class cleavage there was. But even this class cleavage was only temporary, and internal jealousies, and even ancient family feuds, made any real mutual trust between individual rulers inconceivable. The states would, therefore, have to rely still more on the Government of India, which would be obliged to take very special measures to maintain their integrity and support their *izzat* even more strictly than in the past.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, March 8, 1926, at which a paper was read by Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Luard, C.I.E., entitled "Some Views of an Indian Ruler on the Administration of an Indian State." Sir Robert E. Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Foster, C.I.E., and Lady Foster, Lady Holland, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. S. D. Pears, Mr. G. D. Luard, Mr. F. G. Butler, Mr. F. S. Tabor, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. K. M. Panikkar, Sardar Harbans Singh, Dr. Shah, Mr. F. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. H. Beamish, Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Sale, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mrs. Carroll, Colonel T. F. Dowden and Miss Dowden, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. S. H. Roberts, Miss Sadler, Miss Partridge, Colonel A. Battye, Mrs. Dreydel, Mrs. Lowes, Mrs. Hudson, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. G. V. Holmes, Miss Arnott, Mr. F. Grubb, Mrs. Martley, Mrs. Herron, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. T. Todd, Rev. Richard Burges, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Secretary has a few announcements to make before we get to business.

The SECRETARY: Ladies and Gentlemen,—You may perhaps be rather surprised that this month we have another paper on the Native States; but it was done really of set purpose. It was thought that it would be better that we should have both aspects of the same question while the first was still fresh in our memory. I want to appeal to you, as I did on a previous occasion, to treat the subject purely as a scientific and impersonal one. Colonel Luard is giving us the views of an Indian ruler on the administration of an Indian State, and, as you will hear, he deals largely with Sindhia of Gwalior and with Kolhapur; but that does not mean that in the discussion that follows we need be at all personal. I want, as before, to keep the discussion as impersonal as possible, and that we should remember that we are giving you these papers merely in order to put before you the position of the Native States in relation to the Government of India without any *arrière pensée* whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—A Political Officer in India is apt to be rather a fussy and hard-worked person. The Government of India include among their instructions to him a reminder that the best part of his work is often the part that he leaves undone, but in spite of that direct incitement to idleness, Political Officers who have served in India will tell you, with considerable truth, that they hardly have an idle moment.

They have not even usually leisure for improving their minds or for research, which perhaps some other departments in the Government service may have; but Colonel Luard, who is going to read his lecture to us this afternoon, was one of those remarkable persons who always seemed to be able to find leisure for something in addition to his work.

When I first went to Indore about twenty-two years ago Colonel Luard was employed, I think, on something in connection with the Census or the Imperial Gazetteer, and he was a mine of information, especially to the newly-arrived ignorant young officer, upon every conceivable subject. If any abstruse question arose upon which special information was desired, I was always told by my chief, "Go and ask Luard," and I never undertook the journey without fruitful result.

Colonel Luard, after having done a great deal of research work in the direction of the Imperial Gazetteer, was, I believe, appointed private secretary to the Maharajah of Indore, and that must have been a post which enabled him to collect a vast quantity of most useful and interesting information. After that he was employed in his beloved Central India practically, I think, for the rest of his service, and there is very little about Central India that he does not know. He was in specially intimate relations with his late Highness the Maharajah of Gwalior, and therefore he is better qualified almost than anybody in India to tell us about the inner thoughts of His Highness.

I will now ask Colonel Luard to read his lecture.

Colonel LUARD: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before I begin I wish it to be distinctly understood that the opinions expressed in this paper are not mine in any sense whatsoever; they are those of His Highness the late Maharajah Sindhia of Gwalior.

Colonel Luard proceeded to read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The paper that we have heard bristles with contentious points, and I trust that there will be no lack of speakers.

Sir LOUIS DANE said that he had known Maharajah Sindhia for practically all his service and had no hesitation in saying that he was certainly one of the most remarkable and efficient rulers we have ever had in India. He played energetically and wholeheartedly, but at the same time absolutely devoted himself to his State, and India suffered a great loss when he died. Some of his views might be held to be behind the times, but with regard to the question of education of young Indian rulers, perhaps the most difficult question with which the Government had to deal in connection with Native States, he was not far wrong. Sindhia himself was extraordinarily fortunate. A cousin of the speaker, Mr. James Johnson, was appointed tutor to Maharajah Sindhia, and the connection so formed lasted throughout the lives of the Maharajah and Mr. Johnson, and was for the greatest possible good of both. Mr. Johnson afterwards became Director of Public Instruction of Gwalior, and was the confidential adviser of the Maharajah upon many matters both personal and State. His death occurred within ten days of that of the Maharajah, which he felt very deeply.

On the subject of the education of Indian rulers he held the view of the Maharajah, that they should not be sent to England except in very special circumstances. For important Princes a good tutor and travel were perhaps the best solution, but for ordinary Chiefs the chief colleges were the only possible alternative at present.

The SECRETARY mentioned that Colonel Luard in the last paragraph of his paper had said: "What the States were to do as the new democratic system developed in British India was, he felt, a difficult question. A confederacy of States seemed to him impracticable," and he suggested that the discussion should be developed along those lines. The subject was a very difficult one, as was evidenced by the fact that States in the position of Gwalior and Kolhapur were being run on widely different lines.

Mr. W. COLDSTREAM, as one of the oldest Indian servants in the room, expressed his appreciation of the great change for the better which had come over the Native States in India in the matter of the education and character of the Chiefs. One could not help contrasting the picture presented by the lecturer of the high education and intellectual and practical ability shown by so many of the Indian Princes of the present day with the frequent cases of backwardness and inefficiency among their predecessors a generation or two ago. A striking article in the *Allahabad Pioneer* of January 15, 1883, lamented the hereditary impulse to self-indulgence, and the gross and material surroundings of the court of the Indian Prince, as influences hostile to the growth of the virtues of chastity, truth, and self-sacrifice. "In the struggle between pleasure and duty, pleasure triumphs without a struggle. The young Prince, surrounded by fiddlers, parasites, and courtesans, cannot hear the voice of duty for the rhythmical music of the bangles of the women, and the fantastic jingle of the Indian lute calling him to love and wine. Is there one," the article continues, "who reads this paper who does not know, or who has not seen, the end? The melancholy shores of the Indian administration are strewn with the rotting hulks of our educational failures." He would like to pay a tribute to the work of Mr. James Johnson, which had been of great benefit not only to the State to which he was attached, but as an outstanding example to all in similar positions in Indian States.

Mr. R. K. SORABJI pointed out that in his opinion the motto at the head of the paper—"The domestic fowl is like a handful of lentils, you can mould it to your will"—was full of suggestion for the handling of India and the Empire in general. If the peoples of the Empire were made to feel that they were of it and belonged to it, they could be moulded to its aims. He went on to say that the *izzat* on which the late Maharajah of Gwalior, according to the paper, laid stress was a difficult thing for the Westerner to understand. His *izzat* was very dear to every Indian, whether prince or peasant. It was incumbent on everyone to try and understand it and respect it.

He supported Sir Louis Dane's view that the best way to educate a young Indian Prince was to give him a tutor of personality, whose personal influence would gradually mould the boy and prepare him for his high calling. We did not sufficiently recognize the need for, and the

power of, this personal element in the education of the many Indian youths who come to England for education.

Mr. F. PRATT remarked that no indication was given in the paper as to the date on which the Maharajah recorded his opinions, whether before or after the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which had not been even mentioned in the lecture.

Those Reforms had introduced many important changes in respect of many of the subjects dealt with by the Maharajah, and in particular in respect of some of the grievances and abuses of which he complained—for instance, the method and system of minority administration in Native States, the control over the ruler by the Government of India, and the procedure under which that control should be exercised.

The lecture was intended to convey the views of, perhaps, rather a conservative Indian ruler, but it might, perhaps, interest the audience to look at the question from the other side, and to hear the views of the Indian ryots in Native States. The theory was sometimes advanced in India that a certain amount of misrule in Native States was not altogether a bad thing, since it served as a foil for the blessings of British rule outside the Native States, and would make those blessings more highly appreciated. In fact, however, the subjects of Native States, suffering from oppression and misrule, were apt to look upon the Government of India as directly responsible. In pre-British times the subjects had their remedy: they could either depose their ruler by their own efforts, or by calling in outside assistance. The Pax Britannica deprived them of both these remedies, and since the introduction of the Reformed Scheme of Government there had been, if anything, greater insistence on the policy of non-intervention in Native States.

Mr. H. HARCOURT asked if the lecturer could state what proportion of Native States followed the Gwalior type, and what proportion followed the Kolhapur type.

Colonel LUARD: I know of no State except Kolhapur which follows the Kolhapur type. I do not know whether the same process is being carried on there now that His Highness is dead, but it was most revolutionary. His Life has just appeared, and it is very interesting, because the line he took has never been taken by any Ruling Chief before; perhaps it will not be taken by any Ruling Chief in future: I do not know.

Mr. K. M. PANIKKAR wished to enter a protest against the use of the word "Chief" in regard to the rulers of Indian Native States. He thought the word "Prince" was far more suitable and desirable. He thought that in certain cases joint departments for contiguous States, as the postal department in Travancore and Cochin, would be of great advantage.

Colonel LUARD: I just want to say with regard to the combining of departments in the States that we have had one example in Central India. Not only did they share departments, but they shared half and half the same capital town. That, perhaps, made for more friction than there would otherwise have been; but it was found practically impossible to run the two States on any system of joint departments, with the result that very soon the two administrations had to be entirely separated.

Mr. HARCOURT asked if the lecturer would give a definite impression of his own preference in the matter of the education of rulers. Did he prefer a system of private tuition to that of training at a college?

The CHAIRMAN: I will try and deal with the point when I sum up.

Mr. H. H. BEAMISH thought that Indian rulers should be called Princes rather than Chiefs. He had come from Central Africa, and there the use of the word "Chief" was quite acceptable; but different considerations applied to India. He thought it a mistake, as a rule, to send Indians for education to this country, and certainly with regard to Africans. He did not know of a single case where this had been of advantage to an African Chief or his subjects.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE supported what the lecturer and Sir Louis Dane had said with regard to the advantage of young rulers being educated at home, "so as to be fully conversant with all local and family custom and tradition, and never to forget that it was their first duty to know how to live amongst their own people," as the late Maharajah of Gwalior had said.

On the question of minority administration, he agreed that the proper policy was "to remedy real abuses and serious defects without British-Indianizing the administration." It was essential, he considered, that "all existing customs, honours, and privileges should be maintained intact, and that no sweeping reforms or any which ran counter to custom should be introduced" if Native States were to be preserved in their pristine integrity.

Personal rule he agreed was "still a form of control best understood and genuinely favoured by the people of the country"; and he entirely supported the opinion that His Highness was said to have held, that "to imitate Europe would only lead India into trouble."

He sympathized with His Highness's reference to the increasing demand made on Ruling Chiefs for subscriptions for all sorts of purposes. These subscriptions were generally called for for the benefit of people in British India; and yet everybody looked to the Ruling Chiefs to head the subscription lists instead of to the rich bankers, traders, and lawyers in British India, who made their money under the settled government of the British Raj. He trusted that the Ruling Chiefs might be exempted from these calls in future.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—This question of the education of the Indian sons of the Princes has aroused a considerable amount of interest, so I will just briefly deal with it first of all. I should like to tell you rather an interesting thing at the outset with reference to what Colonel Luard said, and that is that in the will of his late Highness, which I was reading just lately, I saw the rather surprising sentence, "The young Maharajah should be educated mostly at home, but may go to a State school or college for eighteen months"; so that shows that Colonel Luard's exhortations produced some effect. Whether, if His Highness had lived, he would have extended that period or not, or whether he meant that his heir might go to one of the Chiefs' colleges, it is impossible to say; but he clearly altered his mind on a very important point, and it is particularly

significant, because he had been such a hot opponent of the Chiefs' colleges. The fact that he came round shows that, after mature consideration, he understood that a certain amount of schooling is an essential ingredient in the education of a boy. If a boy is educated altogether by means of a tutor he is apt to fall under very bad influences, in spite of everything that the tutor can do; and he particularly cannot escape from those sycophants who surround him always, and who remind him that he is going to be ruler. That is the great advantage he gets by going to one of these colleges, but even there he is followed by it to some extent; but at all events he does become a boy, and is treated as a boy.

As regards sending boys to England, I think that depends entirely on the boy. There are some boys who get a great deal of good from coming, there are others who get a great deal of harm, and who never ought to come at all; and in any case, any boy who does come ought to be treated exactly like any English boy at a public school.

I hoped, when I heard of Colonel Luard's paper, that he was going to employ his great experience and great knowledge of the States in giving us a picture of the administration of an Indian State; that he was going to create before our mental vision a sort of miniature of the State machinery; that he would show us Sindhia's functionaries at work, collecting revenue, dealing out justice, making laws and fostering trade and industry, and all that sort of thing; that he would explain the system of administration and trace the hierarchy of officials from the palace to the village banyan-tree, and indicate to us the primeval origin of the machinery, so that we might get some idea how some parts of this machinery are based upon very old institutions and organizations, and then we might understand what fresh portions were grafted on to it by the Maratha conquest, and then how the whole thing was altered by the British Government coming in as the paramount power, and what changes and stresses were set up in the body politic of the State in consequence of that. He has dealt with it from another point of view, however, and has shown us in his very interesting lecture some glimpse of the inner working of the mind of that very remarkable man, Maharajah Sindhia. We see that the Maharajah in the first place considered that he controlled his State as a military commander. That is natural enough, seeing what the history of his family was, but that alone would not have carried any dynasty very far down the centuries; but, in addition to that, His Highness did realize that a country which is not governed on the basis of its own traditions may go from bad to worse. This is a very pregnant sentence, and it was, I am sure, the basis of the Maharajah's success as a ruler. If we had time, it would be a very fascinating study to trace the evolution of Hindu political theory with a view to finding the permanent elements of the administrative system, those which have grown up through the centuries, and which have sunk into the soul of the people, and which really give Maharajahs a warrant for the exercise of their power.

But we must leave this and pass to the Maharajah's third conviction—namely, that the first and most important duty of the paramount power is to maintain the *izzat* of the State and of the ruler. I confess when I heard

Colonel Luard that I experienced very great astonishment, because it seemed to me that his late Highness had put the cart before the horse. As Sir Louis Dane said, what the Government has always tried to do is to maintain the *izzat* of the State quite apart from the *izzat* of the individual ruler, because that is sometimes deliberately sacrificed by the ruler himself. That is in accordance with Indian sentiment, because the Indian does not believe that the ruler has any divine right to govern, although he does acknowledge to the full the authority and the sovereignty of his ruler. In the old times the ruler was deposed frequently by the people. There are plenty of instances of that in Indian history, and it might sometimes take place again to-day but for us. It is we who, as the paramount power, have shifted the whole centre of gravity of the State, and have rendered it impossible for the people to resort to the only remedy which they had in the old times against actual misrule on the part of the Prince. Also we have removed another safeguard, in that we have prevented interstatal wars, so that we have deprived the ruler of one of the anchors which kept him steady in the performance of his duty. Now it stands to reason that we must put something in the place of that which we have taken away. If Maharajah Sindhia had thought it out he would have seen that the British Government can never tolerate tyranny under its shelter—that would be unthinkable; and also it would be very prejudicial to the order of Princes if there were to be no penalty whatever for continuous misrule. Sindhia, of course, was a very remarkable ruler, and if you read his policy, to which Colonel Luard referred, or his official will, as it is called, you will see what marvellous industry he had, and what statecraft and wisdom and conscientiousness as a ruler. It was incredible to him that any ruler could really be so lost to a sense of decency as to fail continuously in his duty. He said, if a ruler goes wrong, the British Government ought to support him and keep him on the throne perpetually, and what would pull him back into the right course would be the advice of his people. It is not very likely that a really bad ruler would take the advice of the people. In the old days, of course, he had to, because if he did not the people would have deposed him in the last resort. But supposing he does not take the advice of the people, then the Maharajah says that the Government ought to consult the Princes. How should they consult the Princes—through the Chamber of Princes? His Highness adverts upon class clearance, etc., in the Chamber of Princes—but, as a matter of fact, the Chamber of Princes could not be of any use at all in this matter, because it is precluded from discussing the affairs of any individual State. Then he said the Government ought to call upon one or more Princes to adjudicate. That is exactly what the Government does under their new resolution: they ask certain individual Princes to sit upon a Commission to investigate and advise the Government what is to be done in any case where there is a question of depriving the ruler of powers. But the basis of His Highness's position is that he does not acknowledge that the Government have any right of deposition. As I said just now, I think that His Highness's attitude was partly due to the fact that he was really such an extraordinarily good ruler himself. Another

explanation is, however, to be found in his intense loyalty to the British Government. He was so loyal that he could not imagine himself or any member of his house deliberately disobeying the British Government. In his will there is a very interesting statement of the duty of loyalty. He says: "I particularly direct that our attitude and behaviour towards the Government of India should always be characterized by loyalty"; and in his policy, if I remember rightly, he dilated on that in a very remarkable manner. I think he felt himself that loyal fulfilment of duty should always safeguard the ruler from any deposition. I was surprised that Colonel Luard deliberately refrained from making any comment at all upon Sindhia's erroneous theory.

I do not want to detain you, Ladies and Gentlemen, further, but there was one point mentioned which I should like to say a little about, and that is the question of the views of subjects of Indian States. What are the views of the other side? Recently there was a very interesting meeting of subjects of Indian States, and they voiced their views in what I thought was a very temperate way in regard to the reforms that they considered desirable. So far as I could understand those views, it seemed to me that there are movements, firstly, for the purification of the machinery of government; that is what the subjects want more than anything else. Secondly, they want that there should be local talent employed; that there should not be people imported from outside, seizing all the best billets in the State. That is natural enough; but, on the other hand, in many States, of course, it is inevitable that rulers should employ outsiders, because there are not sufficient properly educated and trained people in the State. Thirdly, they desire some limitation of the ruler's privy purse. Sindhia has led the way in that, and several other rulers have also done it, but it is a most important thing. Fourthly, they want that there should be some form of popular assembly in each State. Sindhia took that into account, and there is a growing movement in the States for responsible people to be consulted in some way or another much more than they used to be. Lastly, there is the freedom of speech and the Press. That is a very important thing, and I think that is being granted more and more. Sindhia was fully aware of those demands, and he was quite prepared to gratify them; in fact, most of them are in his programme for the evolution and improving of the administration and the betterment of his subjects' condition; but he also realized very keenly another thing which we need to keep constantly in view in British India, and that is that improvement in the political condition of the State must go hand in hand with social reform; and if it outstrips social reform there is very grave danger of a revolution ahead.

There is a great deal more that I should like to say, but I am afraid it is very close upon the hour at which I understand we have arranged to close, but I should like just to say one more thing, and that is that it would be quite impossible for the Government ever to regulate the marriages of the princes, as was suggested by the Maharajah Sindhia. That is one thing with which they never have interfered, because it is quite outside their sphere and because they would make the most colossal blunders.

Another thing is that the Government could never interfere to combine

States in groups, because they are pledged by their solemn treaties and engagements that they will maintain the continuity of each particular little State. If the States like to take the initiative themselves, Government is always ready to help, but it would be utterly impossible for the Government to initiate anything which would mean practically the extinction of whatever portion of sovereignty is possessed by any individual State, however small.

Sir LOUIS DANE proposed a vote of thanks to Colonel Luard for his most interesting lecture and also to Sir Robert Holland for presiding; this was received with applause.

Colonel Luard has since contributed in substance the following note:

The Chairman has shown to the meeting the British interpretation of *izzat*, but that is not the Indian view. The Indian view is that the ruler of a State is the embodiment of its *izzat*, and that anything that derogates from his position adversely affects the State's *izzat* when such action comes from outside the State.

The reason why His Highness the Maharajah of Gwalior was induced to send his boy for eighteen months to a college was probably because the constitution of the college had been altered and the Maharajah had been elected as Vice-President, and perhaps also that His Highness had been finally induced to see the importance of providing boy companionship for his son up to a certain age.

FIVE *UTA* OF OLD JAPAN

BY J. CALDWELL-JOHNSTON

I.

Wavering in the wind,
The supple tresses,
Of the sighing willows—
In the breath of my sad heart
Sighs, and is born, my *uta*!

II.

Rise like columns the pines,
Branchless, one hundred feet
Of beaten silver—
In the black mass of the roof,
The mother wood-dove's plaining.

III.

High-perched, the old grey shrine.
Far beneath, o'er the plains,
Rain clouds sweep like waves.
On the crumbling fence I lean,
Warm in the blazing sunshine.

IV.

The old gods are old, old, old;
The new lack savour.
What shall we Wise do?
On the bright wings of the wind
Rides still our Golden Dragon!

V.

Maple leaves on the stream—
 How garishly,
 Like blood, they flaunt their colours!
Benten, on thy shrine I lay
 One withered leaf—till springtime!

NOTE.

Uta.—A conventional verse-form of five lines and thirty-one syllables, in which much of Japanese poetry is written.

Benten.—The Goddess of Beauty.

CORRESPONDENCE

"ORIENT ET OCCIDENT"

To the Editor of THE ASIATIC REVIEW

SIR,

In his stimulating review of "Orient et Occident" Mr. Stanley Rice has made some observations that are likely to evoke a few remarks by way of amplification and reply.

It is long since the educated Hindu was confronted with the puzzling question of reconciling his nationalistic inclinations with his traditional philosophical inheritance of the spirit of renunciation, pointing to the world beyond. The Hindu, as Mr. Rice has very correctly observed, is taught that this world is *Maya*, which means that it is relatively unimportant. This teaching, emphasizing, as it does, the negative aspect, gradually underwent such a transformation that every other implication, but this negative emphasis, was lost sight of. Worldly prosperity naturally became a taboo to the Hindu. Now, as a matter of fact, *relatively unimportant* has its logical counterpart in the *relatively important*. This forgotten other-half of the truth of the *Maya* doctrine was brought into utmost prominence by the late Mr. Tilak, who, in his monumental commentary on the Bhagawad-Gita, has conclusively shown the "path of Action" (*Karma-marga*) to be the real quintessence of the teachings of the Gita. This is, however, not to suggest that Tilak preached a spirit of materialism. Far from it. A perusal of his *Magnum Opus*—which, by the bye has been already translated into almost all Indian vernaculars and whose English translation is soon expected—leaves one with an indelible impression that here was a man who with a perfect balance has very truly expounded the principles of Hindu philosophy in general.

The universal belief is that Hinduism teaches absorption through contemplation. This is telling the truth; but not the whole of it. Besides the path of Knowledge, which is "absorption through contemplation," there are the paths of Action and Devotion. All these mutually overlap. The predominant tendency was to place the path of Knowledge (*Jnan-marga*) uppermost in the trio; *i.e.* it was held to be superior both to the *Karma-marga* and the *Bhakti-marga*. Mr. Tilak has, however, successfully played the philosophical revolutionary, and to-day the superiority of the path of Action, in virtue of the teachings of Gita itself, has been widely acknowledged. Even a *jnani*, *i.e.* the Knower of Reality, in spite of his having attained the utmost spiritual height, has to be "active" in the interest of the world, if not for himself. Mr. Tilak's greatest emphasis was on the doctrine of "*Loka-sangraha*," *i.e.* social service, and the valuable precedent set by King Janak, who was himself an emancipated soul, has been rightly instanced by Tilak in support of his formidable interpretation of the Gita. With his tremendous influence on the public mind, he has achieved a phenomenal success in effecting a radical change in the Hindu mentality of old.

Mr. Rice seems to doubt seriously whether "India, which is gradually choosing the path of materialism, will be able to call a halt at the proper time." There is a good deal of confusion here. The "path of materialism" that India seems to tread to-day will never throw her into a spiritual disaster. For every step that India seems to take towards "materialism" is inevitably controlled by her spiritual outlook, which has been, as it were,

a *sine qua non* of anything Indian. Her cultural foundations are laid quite deep, and in this we find abundant guarantee against any approach towards "materialism" that has been a veritable nightmare to the Westerners.

It will be nearer the truth to say that India has of late been re-awakened to the path of intelligent and social spirituality, so that the spiritual mind concentrated on spirituality would not be apt to become self-centred *unless the self is known to comprehend the whole Universe.*

M. S. MODAK.

THE INDIAN RYOT

DEAR SIR,

I follow with much interest the various papers read at the meetings of the East India Association, but especially those dealing with the improvement of the status of the ryot, but I have never seen any reference to the *real reason* why the ryot gets only about 50 per cent. return from his land. If he were to return to his fields the cake from the oilseed or cottonseed he grows, the bones of his cattle that die, and the manure from his livestock, he would more than double his present output and could compete with any farmer in the world.

The Indian Agricultural Department have done and are doing really good sound work, and with beneficial results. A Royal Commission may or may not be of some benefit, but unless the fundamental principle of all agriculture is observed in returning to the land the manure nature has provided, the Indian ryot will never be much better off. The Agricultural Department prescribes "artificial manures," but of the millions of ryots in India how many have the means to pay for these manures! The export of the bones of the animals as bone-meal, and the loss of the cake from the oilseed, any sound agriculturist would say is criminal, especially to India, whose welfare depends on its agriculture. Anyone who has been in India must have observed that the cow dung is used as fuel. I allow the export question is an economic one. A substitute for cow-dung fuel would have to be found.

I resided in North Bihar from 1876 till 1919, and for the majority of the time was in daily contact with innumerable ryots, and have had practical experience of the extraordinary results in yield from crops of various kinds when treated with bone-meal, oilcake, or farmyard manure, as against the unmanured plot. I hope you will excuse my troubling you with this letter, but my interest in my old ryots in North Bihar is the reason. Believe me,

Yours truly,

T. R. FILGATE.

"SUMERIANS" AS PHŒNICIANS AND "CANAAN-ITES"

DEAR SIR,

In addition to the proofs that the Phœnicians were "Sumerians," cited in my article in the October issue of THE REVIEW (pp. 676 f.), in the absolute agreement in the names, titles, and achievements of the great Sumerian dynasty founded by Uruash-the-Khād (or "Ur-Nina") about 4100 B.C., with the Aryan First Dynasty of the *Panch* (or "Phœnicians") founded by Haryashwa-the-Khattiya of the Indian Epic king-lists of the Early Aryans, there now appears to be further evidence derivable from the name read "*Sumer*" of Assyriologists, and applied by them to designate that people, namely the word *Kīngi* or *Kan-in-gin*. For this word is now seen to be apparently the source of the cuneiform *Kinakhi* or *Kīnahni* name for Phœnicia, and the "*Kanān*" or "Canaan" of the later Phœnicians and Hebrews

The name "Sumer," or properly "Shumer," is a Semitic or Chaldean word, and paradoxically has never been found to have been used at all by the great ancient people to whom it has been applied by Assyriologists, namely the so-called "Sumer-ians," a people who are universally admitted to be non-Semites, and who, as we have found, were Aryans in race and language. The arbitrariness of the application of this title to these people is evident from the fact that this label was formerly attached by Assyriologists to the supposedly diametrically different race, now called by them "Akkads or Western Semites," who were previously called by them "Sumers." But latterly these labels were arbitrarily reversed, with the result of adding still more to the confusion, as "Akkad" is a Semitic synonym for the Sumerian word *Ari** or "Aryan," which also has the Semitic equivalent of *Amuru* or "Amorite," and these "Akkads" from Sargon I. downwards I have shown to be Aryan kings of the Indian Epic king-lists. As, however, the name "Sumerian" has now been applied for so many years to this ancient Aryan people, we are forced to continue its usage, despite its unscientific and misleading effects.

The "Sumerian" word which has the Semitic synonym of *Sumer* or *Shumer* was written and pronounced by the Sumerians as *Ki-in-gi* or *Kan-in-gin*,† meaning "Land of Canes (*gin*) or Reeds,"‡ an appropriate designation for the great primeval alluvial plain of Chaldea or Babylonia, and was apparently descriptive of the wild aspect of that plain on the advent there of the Sumerians, before they brought it under cultivation.

The Early Sumerians do not appear to have employed any specific territorial name for Mesopotamia; but called it merely "The (cultivated) Land" (*I-lam* or *Ka-lam*).§ The grandson of King Uruash employed the word *Kīngi* or "Land of Canes,"|| and it is defined as centring around Nippur,¶ the site of the great sun temple south-east of Babylon, and the greatest religious centre of Mesopotamia down to the latest period and the place where the Babylonian kings were crowned. This title *Kīngi* apparently designated the whole of Mesopotamia (or what was latterly called Babylonia) in the time of the Ur Dynasty (presently dated about 2400-2300 B.C.), the kings of which began using the double title of "King of *Kīngi* and *Ari*"—the latter name *Ari* having in Semitic Chaldean the synonym of *Amurru* (or Amorite Land) or *Akkadu* (Akkad); and this dynasty appears to have had rule over the Amorite land of North Syria, and worked the mines in Eastern Asia Minor, as well as holding the colony in the Indus Valley.** The supposition that the Semitic name "Akkad" is related to the Sumerian name *Agade* of Sargon's capital has never found any historical or inscriptional justification. It is always used as a country name and never a city name, and is never spelt "Agade."

The Semitic synonym of "Shumer" ("Sumer") for *Kīngi* first appears unequivocally in the title used by the Babylonian King Hammurabi of the famous law code (about 2120 B.C.), in which he calls himself "King of

* B. Meissner, *Assyr. Ideogramme*, 5328; Barton, *Babyl. Writing*, 316, p. 165.

† Brūnnow, *Classified List Ideographs*, 9620.

‡ Prince, *Sumerian Lexicon*, 206.

§ On this *I* element see Brūnnow, *op. cit.* 5009 and 507. That *I-lam* was probably the form used is suggested by the Sanskrit *Ilā* = "the earth," and *Ilava*, "ploughman" (Monier-Williams, *Dict.* 1680, especially as this *lam* in Sumerian = "ploughshare," and *la* in Sanskrit = "cutting," suggesting that the final *m* of the Sumerian has dropped out.

|| Stele of the Vultures, reverse viii.

¶ King Zaggisi, predecessor of Sargon I.

** My *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*, 55 f., 113 f.

Shumer and Akkad," and this title continued to be the stereotyped title of Babylonian kings down to the Persian period, although many of the kings had no suzerainty over the land of the Amorites. The extraordinary statement that *Kingi* or "*Ki-en-gin*" according to phonetic laws became *Shumer*,* cannot of course be entertained seriously. This name Shumer or "Sumer" is supposed by Professor Sayce to be the source of the Hebrew "Shinār" title for Chaldea or Babylonia; and it is used solely as a territorial, and never apparently as an ethnic title in Babylonia.

This Sumero-Phœnician name of *Kingi* or *Kan-in-gin* for the rich plains of Mesopotamia fairly equates with the old territorial name *Kinakhi* or *Kinahni* for Phœnicia,† and is now seen to be apparently the source of these two dialectic names and of *Kanān* or "Canaan" of the later Phœnicians and Hebrews.

The Phœnicians, as I have shown in my "Phœnician Origin of the Britons," were in the habit of transplanting their old place- and land-names to their new colonies, just as modern colonists still do. And evidence was adduced in confirmation of the tradition recorded by Herodotus that the Phœnicians emigrated from the Persian Gulf to Phœnicia and founded Tyre before about 2800 B.C.

Now, it is significant that an early title for Phœnicia was *Kinakhi* or *Kinahni*, and it was specially limited to the narrow strip of plain along the eastern border of the Mediterranean, from the coast to the base of the mountains,‡ and thus was in series with the sense of "plain" which "*Kingi*" had in Mesopotamia. And the word "Canaan" is also supposed by Hebrew scholars to have the meaning of "lowland,"§ and the name conveyed to the Hebrews as "the promised land," a rich tract—the plains being richer than the hills. Moreover, the Egyptians of about 1800 B.C. applied the name "The *Ka-NVA*" to their long low-lying strip of coast-land of Phœnicia-Syria-Palestine, with the implication by the prefixed article of "The plains-land."|| The name "Canaan" for Phœnicia was only latterly extended to include the inland mountain areas.¶

Essentially a territorial designation, *Kinakhi*, with its dialectic variants, *Kinahni*, *Kanān* or "Canaan," came latterly to be given, as by the Hebrews, an ethnic application, as in the Genesis genealogies in which place- and city-names are made into ancestral eponyms. And it is significant in these Hebrew genealogies that the *Phœnicians* (as "Sons of Canaan" and of Sidon and other Phœnician city ports) were not regarded by the Hebrews as *Semites* or descendants of Shem. Thus we read:

"The sons of Ham: Cush and Mizra-im [*i.e.* the Egyptians, Upper and Lower], and Phut and Canaan. . . . And Canaan begat Sidon [Phœnician city-port] his firstborn and Heth [Hittite] and the Jebusite and the Amorite . . . and the Ark-ite [Arka, Phœnician city], and the Arvad-ite [Arvad or Arad, Phœnician city-port] and the Zemar-ite [Zimira, Phœnician city-port], the Hamat-ite [Hamath, Phœnician and Hittite city], and afterwards were the families of the Canaan-ites spread abroad."—Gen. x. 6-18.

All of the "Sons of Canaan," it will be observed, bear, like "Canaan" itself, land-names, the names of great sea-ports and adjoining cities of the Phœnicians, with massive Phœnician ruins still extant to the present day. And the Hittites and Amorites are also made sons of "Canaan" (or Sumero-Phœnicians), for as I have shown in my recent books, the Sumero-Phœnicians were also *Khadu* or *Khatti* or "Hittites," and *Maruta* or *Amurru* or "Amorites."

* S. Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, 1.

† H. Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, 11, 101, etc.

‡ Cheyne, *Encycl. Biblica*, 640.

§ *Ibid.*, 640.

|| *Ibid.*, 639.

¶ *Ibid.*, 639.

This late ethnic use of the territorial name *Kingi* (*i.e.* "Sumer" in Semitic), in the Phœnician dialectic form of *Kanān** or "Canaan" for the cuneiform *Kinakhi* or *Kinahni*, appears to have been in vogue also amongst the later Phœnicians themselves. The Phœnicians were sometimes called by the Greeks "*Chna*,"† and this name was also applied as an epithet of Phœnix, the eponymous ancestor of the Phœnicians.‡

Here it should be remembered that "Phœnic-ian" was a title seldom used by these seafaring colonizing people themselves. Being essentially enterprising merchant colonists, founding vigorous new city-ports and colonies, more or less autonomous all over the world, they usually called themselves after the new colonies which they founded, just as our colonists call themselves Canadians, Australians, New-Zealanders, etc. Only very occasionally did they use the title "Phœnician" as in the inscriptions of King Partolon on the Newton Stone in Scotland,§ and on the Knock-Many dolmen in Tyrone, Ireland.|| It is not found as a designation in the inscriptions in Phœnicia, nor amongst the many hundreds of votive inscriptions in Carthage is one in which the Phœnicians call themselves by this title, or even by the title "Punic." Similarly Homer and classic Greek and Roman writers seldom called these people "Phœnicians," but usually Sidon-ians, Tyr-ians, Caria-ns, etc., after their chief ports and states. And Phœnician coins show that Sidon was for a time "the metropolis of Carthage."¶ The ethnic titles chiefly used by them from the time of Uruash-the-Khad downwards were *Khad* in dialectic forms also of *Kad*, *Gad*, etc., a variant of *Khat* or Hittite or "Goth," or *Ari* or *Hari* "Aryan," *Maru* or *Maruta* (Amorite), and *Barat* or "Brit-on."**

That few or no inscriptions in Sumerian, beyond "cup-work" ones, have yet been found *in situ* in Phœnicia or Canaan is doubtless owing partly to the fact that the Sumero-Phœnicians outside Mesopotamia wrote on perishable parchment and not on clay-tablets as in Mesopotamia, and partly to the fact that all seals bearing Sumerian linear writing, whether purchased (and probably unearthed) in Phœnicia or Asia Minor, are invariably credited to Mesopotamia by Assyriologists.

It thus appears that the title "Sumer" (or Shumer) is a non-"Sumerian" word of Chaldean or Semitic origin, which was never used by these ancient Aryan Phœnicians themselves, although arbitrarily applied to them as a title by Assyriologists; that its "Sumerian" equivalent *Kingi* or *Kan-in-gin* was employed by the First Phœnician Dynasty of "Sumerians" to designate the rich plain of Central Mesopotamia, and was afterwards transplanted by their descendants to designate the plains of their new colony in Phœnicia; as *Kinakhi*, *Kinahni*, *Kanān* or "Canaan" on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean; and that the Hebrews regarded the Phœnicians as non-Semites.

L. A. WADDELL.

* Phœnician coins of Laodicea (Beirut) in Phœnician script of the time of Antiochus IV. and his successors bear the legend "Of Ladika, the metropolis of *Kanān*," with Greek translations "Laodika of Phœnicia." Cp. Hill, *Greek Coins of Phœnicia*, 1.

† Stephen Byzant and Philo of Bibyloe, 2. 27; and *Encycl. Biblica*, 638.

‡ My *Phœnician Origin of Britons*, 161.

§ *Ibid.*, 32 f.

|| Details in my forthcoming monograph.

¶ Hill, *Cat. Greek Coins of Phœnicia*, cvii.

** My *Phœnician Origin of Britons*, *passim*, and *Indo-Sumerian Seals*, 100.

FITZGERALD'S SINGLE SLIP CORRECTED

To the Editor of THE ASIATIC REVIEW

SIR,

The translation of Omar Khayyam by Edward Fitzgerald is ideally good. His variations from the mere letter of the text are intended to reveal the idea better, and generally do so. Only in one place is there need for correction.

In verse LXXXI. he wrote:

"O Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make,
And ev'n with Paradise devise the Snake:
For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man
Is blackened—Man's forgiveness give—and take!"

About 1899 a Persian in Moulmein told me, "No such thought is in the Persian," and I found he was right. Fitzgerald had made a mistake.

There is nothing in the most modern philosophy beyond old Omar; but like Tolstoy, he was above conceit and vituperation. He was a great astronomer, and called the "Astronomer-Poet"; and astronomy makes humility easy to the wise. So nobody need be surprised to learn that editors agree now that what Fitzgerald misunderstood to mean, "Accept forgiveness from me, O God!" did really mean, "Give me repentance and accept my repentance and forgive me." There was nothing in the Persian about the Snake. So the verse should have run thus, to render rightly what Omar Khayyam wrote:

"O Thou, who know'st the Secrets of the Mind,
And tak'st him by the hand who's weak or blind,
Give me Repentance and forgive me too—
O God and Father, who forgives Mankind!"

DAVID ALEC WILSON.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

HINDU PESSIMISM

BY STANLEY RICE

WITH remarkable unanimity all European writers concur in attributing to Hindu beliefs an ingrained pessimism which colours the whole Hindu outlook on life. Many of these writers are missionaries of Christianity, some like Deussen are scholars, others like Lord Ronaldshay are merely inquirers or observers, but all profess the Christian faith and all are imbued with the Western tradition. The missionaries, whose business it is, if we may so put it, to examine the religions they come to attack, naturally compare other faiths with Christianity to their disadvantage; they could hardly do less, since to admit the superiority of Hinduism would be to stultify themselves, and Balaam who came to curse would remain to bless. Nor is the word "attack" too strong; the metaphor of the fortress has often been used in respect of caste and is equally applicable to other strongholds in which they find their intellectual adversaries entrenched. But the only way to attack a position with intellectual, moral, or spiritual weapons is to strengthen your own case as much as possible and to weaken your adversaries'. Most missionary writers concentrate upon the latter, feeling perhaps that their own case may take care of itself. They assume that the truth of Christianity will be taken for granted. Thus, in referring to vicarious suffering, Principal Mackenzie says, without fear of contradiction, that it "is seen in its most sublime form in the Cross of Christ." Whether it is so seen depends, one would suppose, on whether the seer is a Christian: to a pagan Roman of the time of Tiberius Christ was probably a mischievous Jew who was well out of the way; to a Hindu who can appreciate his teaching the Cross may seem no greater sacrifice than that of Captain Oates, or of the boy who flung himself upon an exploding bomb to save his comrades. That is hardly the spirit in which to approach an impartial discussion of Hindu beliefs; but to those who are convinced that Christianity

alone holds the keys of salvation, and that all other faiths are erroneous, it is a spirit of which it is very difficult to be rid.

It is, of course, one thing to deny that a creed is true, and quite another to maintain that it is uncomfortable. It is perfectly possible to admit extreme optimism and yet to question the grounds on which it is based. Men are doing that every day. From the League of Nations to a football-match there are always those who believe strongly in ultimate success, though you may prove to them that they have no reason whatever, as far as human foresight goes, for such a belief. But what is argued of Hinduism, and what is vehemently denied by Hindus, is that its beliefs must necessarily, and in fact, do lead to pessimism. It is not here a question of hoping against hope, or of a Micawber-like trust that something will "turn up," but of a certainty as definite and inevitable as the darkness of night. Hindus complain that, apart from bias, the Western mind simply does not understand; that all the learning of the learned, and all the arguments of the student, proceed from false premisses. That these beliefs, in fact, do lead to pessimism is a proposition for experience in which one man's judgment is as good as another's in the same grade of observation. It is safe to say that, since opinions may thus differ, the truth of the statement is not absolute, and at that we may leave it.

What is meant by pessimism in this connection? The Christian regards this world—at any rate in theory—as "no abiding city," and in another metaphor as a stormy sea, and he looks forward to a more peaceful life to come, "eternal in the heavens." But he also looks forward to an eternity of torment for the damned, of whom, of course, he is not one. "One sin can sink a soul as one leak can sink a ship" is a Puritan saying, quoted by Mackenzie, apparently with approval, as showing the ethical quality of Christianity. And if it be as hard as we are assured to follow the path of righteousness, a non-Christian critic could scarcely be blamed if he held that the pessimism of eternal damnation outweighed the optimism of eternal bliss. The man who lives fully in this life because he does not believe in another can scarcely be called a pessimist. The charge against Hinduism is that, while regarding this life as a shadow lived among shadows, and therefore a thing to be got rid of, it holds out only a very slender and distant hope of such release, and release is only obtained by the sacrifice of individuality. It is sometimes argued that all that the Hindu

can hope for is annihilation; but even to those who put this extreme aside, the creed is still without hope. These conclusions are derived from the four doctrines of Brahman, Karma, Samsara, and Maya.

Brahman is the incomprehensible Absolute to which the spirit of man returns when it is finally purified. It returns not so much to the God who gave it as to the God from whom it emanated. Into the metaphysical difficulties of the conception there is no need to enter here: they are not relevant to our present purpose. But Brahman is identified with Ananda, which is usually translated "bliss," and this conclusion is accepted by Professor Radhakrishnan in his great work on Indian Philosophy. Lord Ronaldshay remarks that "the meaning of the word 'bliss' in this connection is difficult to fathom. It is a state wholly unrelated to desire or the fulfilment of desire, and is likened to the state experienced by the spirit when a man is sunk in deep, dreamless sleep." All great religions have some ideas of bliss as a goal worth striving for, but most of them are vague and indefinite. The Koran promises the pious "gardens and fountains, silk and richest robes, virgins with large dark eyes," all kinds of fruit, and freedom from a second death. That is definite, but it does not satisfy the Christian. What, then, is his idea of bliss? Is it the Vision of St. John, or the Vision of Dante? Does it incline towards the pagan view of a continuation of that which most attracted in mortal life? or does it prefer the contrast which the poor old drudge expressed in her epitaph—

"Don't weep for me now; don't weep for me never.
I'm going to do nothing for ever and ever?"

It is, of course, no argument merely to retort with a *tu quoque*, to say: "You complain that Hinduism has not defined bliss; but have *you* defined it?" But is it quite fair to expect clear ideas on a subject on which no one has clear ideas, unless of the purely material kind? A European writer must be cautious in interpreting Hinduism; but what the doctrine seems to mean is that empirical consciousness is swallowed up in absolute consciousness. The soul is lost in Brahman as a drop of water is lost in the ocean. The drop is still there, but it is no longer conscious of itself: it partakes of the "bliss" of the ocean. The dreamless sleep is not the sleep of Brahman, but of the individual, and is a figure of speech by which the Hindu seeks to express the impossibility of defining Ananda. It is quite logical, for, if Ananda could be defined, Brahman

would be known, and yet Brahman is, by hypothesis, unknown. Traced to its source, Western criticism of the doctrine is based upon the survival of individuality, from which the Western mind can never get quite clear. Mackenzie recognizes this, and brushes the argument from individuality aside with the remark that it is a question to "be determined by individual predilections." But he concludes his remarks on pessimism by another line of thought: "Can it be maintained," he says, "that the goal is supremely worth attaining, or is it, far from being a true goal, merely a deliverance from the struggle? . . . The struggle for attainment is regarded as evil." And since the goal itself is so far distant, and is dependent on conditions which are, "strictly speaking, beyond its control, are we not justified in calling the creed pessimistic?"

Mr. McNicol writes in the same strain: "The Christian ideal is positive and ethical—a righteous life; the Indian ideal is negative and unethical—escape from the bondage of existence." There is a great deal more scattered over his essays, of which the burden is despair and hopelessness and agony. It is practically certain that no Hindu would accept the premisses of such Western writers as these. And it is worth while to note in passing that nearly all the important quotations in Mr. Mackenzie's book are made, either from European writers or from the original works, on which, of course, a Western interpretation is put. What should we say of a critical study of St. Paul's Epistles, in which the only quotations are from Japanese, Indian, Persian, and Arabic sources?

If some partial concession is made to the conception of Brahman, practically everyone is unanimous in condemning Karma and Samsara. Mr. Mackenzie thus defines Karma: "Whatever a man suffers or enjoys is the fruit of his own deed, a harvest sprung from his own actions, good or bad, committed in previous lives." The definition is open to criticism as it stands, but at best it is only half a definition. For if Samsara is intimately bound up with Karma which nobody denies, and if Samsara, in the case of imperfection, can go on for ever, it is obvious that Karma cannot be bound by the present, but must project into the future. What a man has done in previous lives may receive reward or punishment in this life, but what he does in this life is laying up reward or punishment in the next. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," but also, "Whatsoever a man has sown, that is he now reaping." It is in this sense that Professor Radhakrishnan and others point

out that the doctrine of Karma is a great incentive to a righteous life. It is surprising to find Mr. Mackenzie insisting that Hinduism thinks rather in terms of actions than of character: surely any Hindu would repudiate such an idea? Acts are the expression of, and help to form, character. I am a thief. Whether my act is heinous or venial depends on circumstances, and by any conception of a God of Justice would be visited with fitting punishment. A repetition of the same act blunts the edge of conscience, and to that extent goes to form character, until the confirmed thief is lost to all sense of right and wrong, not only in respect of property, but by a reaction on the general character to most other things. The miser's love of his money "grows by what it feeds upon." We surely have good authority for thinking that "by their fruits ye shall know them," and if the context does not mean that you are to judge of what a man is by what he does, what does it mean? It is true that acts are not always a true guide; you may go to church every Sunday and yet be grossly immoral. As the witty but unkind saying has it: "He prays on his knees on Sunday, and on his neighbours for the rest of the week." But we are assured that the doctrine of Karma is unethical; it is true that it is liable to be misapprehended by the common folk. That may be admitted to be the great weakness of Hinduism, that in its most subtle form it is too metaphysical for the ordinary man, a contention which receives some support from the transition from philosophy to theism. The Hindu might, of course, retort by asking how many Christians understand or can explain the mysteries of the Incarnation, and of Atonement, or the dogmas of the Athanasian Creed, which they themselves glibly declare to be necessary to salvation. But let that pass: Hinduism, in the philosophic aspect of the Upanishads, claims to be judged on its own merits, and not by comparison with other creeds. To drag in Christianity—often dogmatically—at every point is a temptation to be avoided, for it vitiates the argument in two respects: first, because it obviously suggests bias on the part of Western writers; and, again, because controversy is deflected from what ought to be the main purpose to a more or less acrimonious discussion on relative merits.

To return to the charge that Karma is unmoral. Speaking broadly, the laws of Karma work like the laws of Political Economy. They assert that nothing that a man does is without effect, however small, whether it be for good or evil. This effect is not confined to the man himself, for it is

manifestly absurd to credit a people capable of such subtle thought with the idea that the social community is made up of individuals entirely unconnected with one another. What I do redounds to my credit, or brings its own retribution, as the case may be, and the cumulative effect of continued acts of vice or virtue incline a man towards evil character or towards good, just as the continued indulgence in drinking often leads a man to become a drunkard. But what of others to whom injury is done? If the works of God are to be manifested in the man born blind, why was that man chosen for the manifestation? If, to put a crude case, I steal your watch, my act may lay up future retribution for me; but why should you suffer? The answer which apparently the Hindu would give is that this is chastisement for something that you have done. Looked at in this light, the doctrine seems to be an attempt to explain two very difficult things—the existence of evil in the world and the power of free will. The first of these has never been satisfactorily explained, and it is open to anyone to hold that the doctrine of Karma explains it no better than any other theory, especially since what is evil is a question itself not easily determined. But it is difficult to see how upon this interpretation it can be called either pessimistic or unethical. Moses is not accused of pessimism because he told Israel to be sure their sins would find them out, and that is what Karma affirms, with the addition that your virtues will also find you out. It has been said that it finds no place for vicarious suffering. That may be true, if it be also true that the Hindu does not admit the doctrine; at the same time it is as well to remember the category of values. To give one's life for another may be interpreted as suffering for some past misdeed, but in the Divine Wisdom it may not be regarded as suffering at all, the less so if, as the Hindu believes, this present life is relatively of no importance at all. In that case the act retains all its ethical value, and whether it be called "righteousness" or the "acquisition of merit" is simply a question of terminology. And this proposition may easily be erected into a principle. For if suffering be looked upon as retribution, it is manifest that that suffering which is willingly undergone from high ethical motives cannot be so regarded. On the other hand, it may be looked upon as Karma, which will receive its reward in a future life. In this view of the case the argument that "our admiration of . . . suffering endured by men for the sake of others is absurd" simply falls to the ground.

It must, however, be admitted that, except to the highest

intellects, there is something unattractive in the thought of absorption into an impersonal and unknown entity, as the supremest goal of endeavour. In saying this, I might be accused of the common fault of thinking occidentally, were it not that the Hindus themselves suggest it. To the age of philosophy succeeded an age of theism; the bhakti margam took the place of the gnana margam, and it is surely no violence to Hindu ideas if we hold that the change was due to the craving of the unphilosophical for a more emotional worship. It does not necessarily follow that in bhakti, as Mr. McNicol holds, the Hindu has reached the highest stage because it is the likeliest to Christianity. But it does mean that there is an outlet for human emotion, and that the way is opened for the "grace of God," which missionaries complain is absent from Hindu theory. That bathing in the Ganges and other ritual actions can wash away sin is superficially an unsatisfying doctrine; but the Hindu, unless he regards such things as superstition, which in the case of the masses they undoubtedly are, would argue that they are symbolical, that the religious atmosphere thereby created conduces towards spiritual repentance, and that as the image is only the symbol of deity, so the phenomenal water is only the symbol of that spiritual cleansing of which the Psalmist speaks.

But what is the use of the struggle to live righteously, of the punishment for backsliding, of the agony of life, if it is all to lead nowhere? If "living beings have been through all times tossed about like balls of a juggler," if man's life is an agony and is but one of a series of "lives that have had no beginning and look forward to no end," what can result but despair? Rather than that it is better to hold that "we should eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die"—that happiness for a moment is better than endless agony that has no goal. But the Hindu does not admit these premisses. He denies that Brahman can be compared to a juggler, or that Karma is independent of free will. He denies also that Samsara is endless and that the goal is unattainable. To him Samsara is a period of probation, proportionate, if there can be any proportion, to infinity. "The pessimism of the Upanishads," says Professor Radhakrishnan, "is the condition of all philosophy;" but he adds: "The formulation of the theory of Samsara or rebirth is no proof that the Upanishads are pessimistic. Life on earth is the means of self-perfection. We have to undergo the discipline of Samsara in our efforts towards the higher joy and the complete possession of spiritual truth. That which gives zest

to life is the supreme motive of the joy of self-conquest. Samsara is only a succession of spiritual opportunities." But the way of virtue, as is recognized in other beliefs, is difficult, and so in despair of attaining perfection later Indian thought represents "Samsara as a dragging chain," and we may perhaps add, smoothed and shortened the way by the conception of bhakti and the introduction of a personal God.

It cannot be denied that there is a strain of pessimism in the theory, more pronounced than in any similar theory. Hinduism has not conceived the doctrine of original sin, for which there would seem to be little justification either in justice or in logic. Nor, except as an afterthought, has it conceived the doctrine of grace. That this world is a place of suffering is an idea not peculiar to Hinduism. Does not Paul speak of "the sufferings of the present time" and the "groaning and travailing of all creation"? Hinduism, however, believes that man can by his own unaided efforts achieve his own salvation, and since he is so prone to error the goal, except to the very few, seems too far off to be obtainable. That is the measure of the difference in pessimism: whether it is a large measure or a small one must remain a matter of opinion according to the temperament of the thinker.

But why should there be any struggle, any pain, any suffering, if, after all, men are but phantoms moving in a phantom world? If the nightmare of life is as unsubstantial as the nightmare of sleep, all incentive to vice or virtue disappears; since it cannot matter either way, man may as well follow his own individual predilections. The conclusion is irresistible, if we start from the premiss of absolute unreality, of the metaphorical "mirage." This is the premiss usually adopted by Western writers; it has the authority of scholarship and of repetition, but is it correct? Were the Indian sages so utterly lost in a maze of words that they endeavoured to maintain a theory which not only involved their arguments in contradiction, but was so manifestly inconsistent with the experience of every-day life? Of what use as a guide to conduct could such a theory be, when nine out of every ten men could not act upon it? "Maya is the name of the negative principle which let loose the universal becoming, thereby creating endless agitation and perpetual disquiet. There is hardly any suggestion in the Upanishads that the entire universe of change is a baseless fabric of fancy, a mere phenomenal show or a world of shadows. . . . The doctrine of Maya gives abstract expression to this general feature of all

experience of the finite, that it falls short of the absolute." The finite is contained in the infinite; the phenomenal world is made up of the different aspects of Brahman, who is always immanent; he who mistakes the true reality is subjectively under a delusion, and objectively the relative unreality is an illusion. Rabindranath Tagore quotes three lines of Keats with his comment that to translate them literally into Bengali would make nonsense of them. The inference is obvious. There is no English synonym which exactly expresses what the Hindu means by Maya; to adopt the equivalent of "mirage" or "illusion" is to start off upon a wrong track.

Such views as these are, no doubt, heterodox from the Western standpoint. Scholars, theologians, philosophers, have so often maintained the contrary view, that a mere student need not be surprised if he be told to run away and play in the nursery. But the nursery child is inquisitive. Whom is he to believe? The Western teachers declare that the Hindu doctrines are such and such, and that by all the laws of the game they must, and therefore do, lead to pessimism. The Hindu teachers assert that the doctrines are not what they are supposed to be, that they only lead to a pessimism which is inherent in all philosophy and, in fact, no further. Are we then to believe those who reason on theory from the outside, or those who reason on experience from the inside? All religions have a strain of pessimism. All are conscious of sin, of the imperfections of man, of the transitory nature of this present life. Hinduism adds the special note of Samsara, of which, as we have seen, Hindus themselves are aware. But regarded dispassionately, this seems to be the measure of its peculiar pessimism, and if we are to regard the whole matter dispassionately, *it is absolutely essential to disregard Christianity altogether*. That is the golden rule. Once the special creed of the observer is brought in, the door is opened wide for prejudice and recrimination.

A SURVEY OF RECENT BOOKS ON CHINA AND THE FAR EAST

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.

1. WHY CHINA SEES RED. By Putnam Weale. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd.) 12s. net.
2. THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CHINESE REPUBLIC. By H. G. W. Woodhead, C.B.E. (Hurst and Blackett, Ltd.) 15s. net.
3. THE QUEST FOR GOD IN CHINA. By the Rev. F. W. O'Neill. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.) 7s. 6d. net.
4. THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA. By Pao Chao Hsieh, PH.D. (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.) 3 dollars.
5. ORIENTAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM. (Lectures under the Harris Foundation, 1925.) By Michimasa Sayeshima, former member of the Japanese House of Peers; P. W. Kuo, President of the South-Eastern University, Nanking, China. (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.) 2 dollars.
6. OCCIDENTAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM. (Lectures under the Harris Foundation, 1925.) By H. G. W. Woodhead, C.B.E., Editor of *The China Year Book* and of *The Peking and Tientsin Times*; Julean Arnold, American Commercial Attaché at Peking, China; Henry Kittredge Norton, author of "The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia." 2 dollars.

THE increasing output of books upon the present situation in China is a hopeful sign of the growing interest taken in this country in Far Eastern affairs. Every day an ever-widening public is prepared to be interested in what is happening in China. But hitherto one of the main difficulties in arriving at a right understanding has been to ascertain what really is occurring.

Much of the so-called information which reaches the British public from China or elsewhere is both fragmentary and at times inaccurate. It comes from various sources, sources which the public have not yet learned to distinguish as trustworthy or the reverse. In order to form any accurate opinion upon affairs in China it is essential that those interested should have reliable data upon which to base an opinion. After reading the six books now under review, no one need go ignorant for lack of reliable data, though to bring together all this necessary information can have been no easy task.

As Putnam Weale writes in his first chapter of *Why China sees Red*:

"While a mere recital of events is an easy and mechanical task, to show the working of each particular element, to find what really lies behind it, and to combine it all without prejudice into a complete synthesis, is a very different matter. All the world knows that something has taken place in China which has raised a great storm of passion and made it a matter of perplexity for the best political minds to know how to restore calm. But beyond this generality, the specific causes are disputed even by those on the spot, although their correct valuation and honest treatment alone can bring appeasement.

"In broad terms, the history of China during a hundred years has been the history of the assault of a mechanically more perfect civilization on an age-old civilization which has drawn its strength and permanence from an agricultural pastoral origin."

Here in a nutshell is concealed the fundamental cause of all the present unrest and disturbance in China. And few living Europeans are more capable of completing the synthesis he refers to than the author of this intensely interesting book. For a score of years or more Putnam Weale has lived in Peking in the closest touch with "things Chinese." To have been behind the scenes in Chinese political life for twenty years would be an education to almost any man, especially when the individual was entirely familiar with the language of the country. But in addition he personally served that country's interest: was trusted by politicians of the first rank—so far as a European is ever trusted by Chinese—was closely familiar with Chinese social life in high places in Peking, had many friends among leading Chinamen, and was backed by a journalistic training suited to make him still more familiar with the press side of Chinese life, we have perhaps said enough of the author's qualifications for his task.

There is so much worth quoting in Putnam Weale's book that an attempt would leave no room for a review of the other five books. His best chapter in our view, we think, "The Men who Understand." From the War Lords and the *Coup d'État* of October, 1924, through Bolshevism, the Students, the Press, Japanese Policy in China, the Unequal Treaties, American Policy in China, Putnam Weale leads up to the final reckoning. About that he writes:

"Of the Chinese it can finally be said, as was said of the Israelites, that the children's teeth are set on edge because the fathers have eaten sour grapes. The unparalleled and

unique phenomenon in China of the decay of inland cities through civil war, and the swift rise of great modern towns grouped round treaty-port settlements—towns toward which all the wealth of the country is flowing—means the transfer of power to places dominated by foreign influences, and easily accessible to foreign navies. What the future of a country so placed is to be cannot be foretold by the wisest; for if all this has taken place in less than one generation, why should not the next be equally amazing?"

Mr. H. G. W. Woodhead begins *The Truth about the Chinese Republic* with an account of the attempted reforms of the ill-fated Emperor Kwang Hsu, at the instigation of that well-known reformer Kang yu-wei. He then describes the 1911 revolution and Sun Yat-sen's part in it. It is frequently forgotten that in January, 1912, the late "Red" chief of the Kuomintang movement was actually installed as first President of the first Chinese Republic at Nanking.

Tracing the Yuan Shih-Kai régime up to his death in 1915, then the earlier years of the so-called Republic, Mr. Woodhead in Chapter IV. arrives at "The Present Crisis." From that time on he holds the reader's fixed attention. On the behaviour of the students as a class the author of the book is both frank and outspoken. That the Chinese Government were, or are, unable to control this new political force—for such it is—is doubtful. But anyone with experience of government in China is aware that it is sometimes found useful not to control but to make use of such tools as these young firebrands. That this procedure is liable to trip up any Government in the long run hardly needs remarking.

There is, of course, another side to the student movement, or even in China its directors could not have taken such a leading part in present-day affairs. For one thing, the student movement is probably the best organized of any in China to-day, which means that it has behind it, on occasions, a very full measure of public opinion; and for another, as part of the new educational movement sweeping the country, that it counts as adherents some of the best brains and some of the most up-to-date minds in China.

Mr. Woodhead perhaps hardly does the movement justice, though he carefully gives concrete instances to uphold his point of view. Writing of the insubordinate spirit which undoubtedly animates many of the younger students, he says:

"One might multiply instances of this kind, but enough has been written to show the lawless spirit prevailing in

Chinese educational circles. It is to be regretted, moreover, that many missionary institutions, instead of making a firm stand against lack of discipline and political agitation, have tolerated, if they have not actually condoned, these undesirable student activities."

With another of the main disturbing influences in China—possibly the most disturbing of all—the Chinese army, Mr. Woodhead deals trenchantly:

"The expansion of China's armed forces," he writes (p. 115), "has resulted in the complete transfer of political power from the civil to the military officials. Even in theory the military man, from the common soldier upwards, enjoys a privileged position, inasmuch as the present Chinese laws exempt him from the jurisdiction of all but military tribunals. In actual practice the militarist is not amenable to any jurisdiction, but constitutes a law unto himself. He levies whatever taxes he thinks fit, commandeers and ruthlessly destroys state property (such as the railways and their equipment) and private property. In time of civil strife farmers and farm labourers, coolies, carts and transport animals, motor-cars, etc., are ruthlessly impressed into military service, without the slightest prospect of compensation. The ordinary soldier, following the example of his officers, oppresses and ill-treats the civilian population wherever he is stationed. The main function of the Peking Government for years past has been to raise funds to meet the insatiable demands of the militarists to whom it has been subject.

"It would be quite impossible to calculate the cost of the army to China during the past few years. It must have been stupendous. If we assumed that the actual cost of maintaining each soldier were only one-half of the average expense for the same purpose in 1911, the present armed forces would be costing the country \$228,000,000 per annum, or approximately as much as the total estimated annual reserve in 1912."

Is it not time, it may well be asked, for an Asiatic Locarno agreement? With the burning question of extra-territoriality Mr. Woodhead rightly deals at some length:

"I do not myself believe," he writes, "that the surrender of extra-territorial rights, either now or in the future, could be effected without the complete dislocation of foreign trade and disastrous results to foreign interests, unless it could be effected gradually and under effective guarantees against the abuse by the Chinese Government of its new powers."

With this summing up of the extra-territoriality question few who have closely studied Chinese psychology are likely to disagree. But the question cannot be so easily disposed of. No one knows better than the editor of the *Peking and Tientsin Times* the state of the Chinese mind to-day concerning the so-called "Unequal" Treaties. Even if that state of mind could be reduced to reason, the "Unequal" Treaties will certainly have to be modified, and, to some extent, extra-territorial privileges be surrendered with the best grace they can achieve by foreign nations. Just how this new rearrangement can be brought about with equal satisfaction to China and to foreign nations is what so far no one has been able to suggest.

Upon the deplorable financial situation in China there is some difference of opinion between Mr. Woodhead and the author of *Why China sees Red*. While both recognize the essential need for financial reorganization in China from top to bottom, they disagree, as experts may, over one, and that not an unimportant, point. Writing of the International Financial Consortium and its formation—before the overthrow of the monarchy in 1911—Mr. Woodhead thinks: "The Consortium has, however, fulfilled a useful purpose in checking indiscriminate lending to China for unproductive purposes and without satisfactory security. And it may yet, if circumstances permit, play a useful part in assisting in China's financial rehabilitation when the right moment arrives."

Putnam Weale looks upon the Consortium in a somewhat different light: "The chief argument," he says, "used in favour of the International Consortium of banks, that it restrains China from making unsecured loans, is pathetic at the present moment, when the destruction of trade and capital values by political intimidation is a far more serious question than any other that can arise. If China has proved anything by the general strike, it is that foreign interests are in the hands of the Chinese people, and that the greater the number of so-called safeguards imposed by foreign Governments, the worse it is for them." . . . "Incidentally, the Consortium constitutes a continued violation of the 'unequal' treaties, which destroyed and forbade monopolies, an interesting commentary in itself on the competence of those who have to face the present discontents."

In conclusion, Mr. Woodhead sums up frankly the view foreign nations take of the present situation in the Far East:

"The peace of the Far East depends upon a number of factors, among which are the relations between Russia and Japan, and Japan and the United States. One of the most vital, however, is the restoration of stability in China. And this stability cannot be brought about by calling China a monarchy or a republic, or her nominal ruler an Emperor, or a President, or a Provisional Chief Executive. Nor can it be achieved by conceding to a moribund and impotent Government rights of sovereignty which it has no means of exercising. The reorganization of the Administration upon a basis which will win public confidence at home and abroad, the restoration of the authority of the Central Government in such vital matters as the taxation of trade, the enforcement of international obligations, and the administration of justice and the establishment of the rule of law in place of the whim of the militarists, are among the essentials of a solution of the Chinese problem."

However true this may be, it is not the Chinese point of view. And there can be no "peace of the Far East" until foreign nations are prepared to give, far more than hitherto, a sympathetic consideration to that point of view.

The Quest for God in China is a sincere and powerfully written statement of the Christian Mission side of the China problem of to-day. It might have been the work of such men as the prophets of old, for it breathes the fiery outpouring of one who, body and soul, stands for what he feels is the only thing in life that matters.

As a statement of the spiritual possibilities inherent in the Chinese race, Mr. O'Neill's book will interest a certain section of the public anxious to learn about China.

What the message of the West to the East in its highest form may be to-day not even the wisest man can state. That we are justified in proffering Christianity to a civilization older by ages than our own some persons may doubt. It is well also to remember the present anti-Christian wave of thought which permeates the articulate classes in China. How this has come about or why are questions which are not easily answered. At least, they should suggest careful consideration to those who are anxious to press on at all costs with an alien and to many Chinese minds a false system of religion.

In *The Government of China (1644-1911)* Dr. Pao Chao Hsieh has given to European students of his country a very complete synopsis of its past and present methods and instruments of government. As the author writes in his preface, "In the preparation of this volume he, is con-

fronted with the danger of making it too technical for those who are not well acquainted with Chinese political institutions, and yet at the same time not technical enough for those who are better informed." In the four hundred odd closely-printed pages Dr. Hsieh has certainly provided sufficient material for those not well acquainted with Chinese political institutions, but in these days of hustle and rush to cram the daily life of a week into twenty-four hours it is to be feared many persons may not have the time to assimilate the store of governmental lore he provides.

In tracing the past history of Chinese Government and politics Dr. Hsieh emphasizes—as is very necessary—the intimate connection of long-past political institutions with the unique experiments in so-called republican government in China to-day. Whether it was necessary to throw so much onus for the breakdown of governmental methods in China upon the last reigning dynasty, the Manchu Dynasty, a foreigner is perhaps not competent to decide. It may, however, strike many who read Dr. Hsieh's book that again and again the Manchu Emperors, not excepting the Dowager Empress, that wonderful woman, Tzu Hsi, cannot do right. One is reminded in chapter after chapter that from the coming of this alien race, the Manchus, all the evils which now threaten China began. But were there not previous non-Chinese rulers who ought to share the blame?

As a careful and detailed analysis of the duties expected from their ruler—the Son of Heaven—also of the rights and privileges of Chinese Emperors, this book is full of information. Equally interesting are the chapters on the various Government departments, their duties, their limitations, their inherent unsoundness as the *personnel* became gradually more and more corrupt and out of touch with the millions they were set to look after.

As Dr. Hsieh says: "A form of government designed 3,000 years ago to meet the needs of an agricultural community was found, at the end of the nineteenth century, inadequate to satisfy a people who, in their attitude towards government, had grown from a stage of passive recognition to one of desire for active participation."

The latest stage in the troubled history of China is summed up as follows:

"The revolution of 1911 was, of course, due to a mixture of political and racial motives. Intercourse with the West had exercised more influence upon the political than upon the racial side. It is absurd to say that the racial con-

sciousness of the Chinese was a product of the European theory of nationalism and that the revolution was the work of Cantonese Yale graduates, for racial feeling existed in 1644 when the Prince Regent entered Peking."

Oriental Interpretations of the Far Eastern Problem is a book composed of lectures delivered under the Harris Foundation at the University of Chicago in 1925. Count Michimasa Sayeshima, a former member of the House of Peers of Japan, and a graduate of Cambridge University, England, treats of Japanese policy in China, Siberia, and Korea. He also discusses Japanese political, economic, and social aspects as well as her relations with the United States; Dr. P. W. Kuo, President of the South-Eastern University at Nanking, does much the same for China.

Interesting as the lectures are, it must be remembered that they were delivered under special conditions, which to some extent coloured them. Speaking to an American audience at Chicago it is only natural that the American share in the attempt to thrust Western civilization on China and to find a *modus vivendi* with Japan should receive special emphasis. Whether such an exposition will make the present situation in China or Japan more clear to students coming fresh to the enquiry is a matter about which discussion might well arise.

The six lectures include almost all the points, debatable or otherwise, which must be included in any general discussion of the *Oriental Interpretations of the Far Eastern Problem*. It will be interesting to any reader not coming fresh to, say, the Korean problem to read of it as presented by Count Michimasa Sayeshima. Equally of interest to the enquiring but not entirely ignorant student of Sino-Japanese affairs would be the perusal of Dr. Kuo's summary and comments upon the now famous twenty-one demands.

Occidental Interpretations of the Far Eastern Problem is a book also composed of six lectures delivered under the Harris Foundation at Chicago by one Englishman and two Americans. Mr. H. G. W. Woodhead, the author of *The Truth about China* reviewed above, is the Englishman. Mr. H. K. Norton and Mr. Julean Arnold are the two Americans. The four lectures delivered by Mr. Woodhead cover much the same ground as does his book, so it is unnecessary to say more.

The single lectures delivered by Mr. Julean Arnold, American Commercial Attaché, and by Mr. H. K. Norton, author of *The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia*, are models of their kind, and should be read and digested by everyone

who wishes to understand what is going on in the Far East to-day.

Mr. Arnold writes, in the first place, naturally, of China's economic condition, but his wide knowledge is backed by very shrewd powers of observation, and his method of getting what he has to say "across the footlights" in itself makes for understanding.

Want of space forbids quotation at length, and the lectures by Mr. Arnold and Mr. Norton are so concise and easily read that quotation is unnecessary. Mr. Norton in his contribution upon "The Russians in the Far East" throws light upon many, hitherto, somewhat blind spots. Mr. Norton's account of Soviet doings in Manchuria and Mongolia, together with Japanese and Chinese efforts to checkmate them, is the clearest summary that has yet been published.

That Mr. Norton realizes more than many people the danger of the present situation in the Far East the final paragraph of his extremely interesting lecture serves to show.

"While such possibilities [of trouble between Japan and Russia] are abroad in the world," he says, "it were well for us not to dwell too happily on silks and cherry blossoms, or too disdainfully on Bolsheviks and Soviets, or too ethereally on peace and disarmament, but to realize that in the Far East there is going on at this moment a desperate game of world politics, no less fraught with danger to America and American interests than the game which culminated at Sarajevo in June of 1914."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ORIENTALIA

ESSAI D'INTRODUCTION CRITIQUE A L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉCONOMIE PRIMITIVE.
Les Théories de K. Buecher et l'Ethnologie Moderne. Olivier
Leroy. (Paris: *Geuthner*.) 30 fr.

(Reviewed by N. M. PENZER.)

The questions of "how?" and "why?" in anthropology are always of absorbing interest. At any date one likes to think of, it would have been possible for an observant man, given the facilities for travel, to discover that in different parts of the world human beings were at different stages of civilization. So it is to-day. And the questions which must have surged through the brain of the first man who sought an answer still remain unanswered. Why does civilization crop up in one place and not in another? Why has it advanced much quicker here, while elsewhere it

seems to have stood still for centuries? Did it all emanate from a single centre, or were there several centres all developing simultaneously? Then we come to the question that the present work would answer. Does civilization in different localities and at different times go through similar stages of development? In other words, if we examine the stage of development reached by the aborigines of Central Australia, can we say definitely that we ourselves, and every other people, have passed through an exactly similar stage; and can we tell the future stages of culture through which those Australians, must, of necessity, pass? In order to present his own theory M. Leroy uses those of Karl Bücher, one of the older school of economic anthropologists, and attempts, with no little success, to show the shortcomings of the German's methods of deduction. The theories of Bücher will be found in the first two chapters of his *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*. In Germany the work has reached its sixteenth edition, and is regarded as a classic of economic history. In England, however, it seems little known, and is not even to be found in the library of the Royal Anthropological Society. It was, however, translated into English in 1901 by S. M. Wickett under the title of *Industrial Evolution*.

Bücher sought to establish the fact that all peoples passed through precisely the same stages of economic development, and that backward races of to-day merely show us a stage that we ourselves, and everyone else, had reached, and *had* to reach, before we could continue to the next stage of development. Our author refutes these arguments and shows that Bücher did not make sufficient use of the progress of ethnographical research, or assign important enough a place to environment or to the consideration of latitude. M. Leroy divides his work into seven chapters and, after stating Bücher's working principles, deals in turn with primitive egoism, social structure, ownership, provision, separation of the sexes and division of work, and general problems of origin.

In his concluding remarks he follows the dictum of Lowie in his *Primitive Society*. "There is no royal road to the comprehension of cultural phenomena." Bücher's primitive, he says, is but a creation of the mind. The material furnished by the study of the psychology of the modern savage is not sufficient data on which to build up a theory that can be applied with equal success to all peoples at all times. The substance of his conclusion is continued in the following words:

"Nous ne croyons pas, en effet, que ce que l'on étudié sous le nom de 'mentalité primitive' nous renseigne le moins du monde sur l'origine et encore bien moins sur le sens de nos institutions. Les sauvages, dans la mesure où ils sont restés sauvages, n'expliquent pas le civilisé."

M. Leroy could easily have emphasised his point by reference to some of the more recent works by British anthropologists. He could, for instance, have quoted G. Elliot Smith in his *Evolution of Man*, 1924, who suggests that when psychological factors began to count, a transmission of culture may arise, with a minimum form of transmission of race, those features only being accepted where the recipients are in a state to receive them. There being no sign that evolution in two distinct areas has pro-

duced exactly the same forms by different routes, there is nothing to suggest that identical cultures or implements could have arisen as spontaneous creations of the human brain in widely different parts of the world.

The work itself is well printed and contains fourteen illustrations on the subject under discussion.

Although it does not expound any very original theory, it is of value in showing the weaknesses of the older, and somewhat restricted, school of anthropological thought.

FOREGLEAMS OF GOD: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HINDUISM, BUDDHISM, AND CHRISTIANITY. By T. Isaac Tambyah. (London: *Luzac and Co.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by N. M. PENZER.)

The first thing that strikes us favourably about this work is the general arrangement of the material presented. Unlike so many books we receive from India, it is well printed, has clear notes giving full sources of information, and a large number of indexes covering about forty pages. The work itself can be regarded as an intelligent, comprehensive survey of Hinduism, culminating in an appreciation of the influence and necessity of Christianity in attaining that "solicitousness for *all men everywhere*." After two introductory chapters which do little more than state the case to be considered, the author deals in some detail with the *Rig Veda*, the nature of its hymns, the date of its composition, and consequently with the greatly debated question of the date of the Aryan invasion of India. The Vedic religion and the Vedic Pantheon are also discussed. The possible parabolic significance of the *asvamedha*, or horse-sacrifice, is next considered. As the present reviewer has already pointed out (*Ocean of Story*, vol. iv., p. 14), evidence points to Scythia as the home of this sacrifice, and we are reminded of the Greek sacrifices of horses to the sea-god. The author rightly declines to make any definite statement as to whether the Aryans actually ate horse-flesh. It seems likely that if they did eat it at all, it was no longer horse-flesh in their eyes, but a symbol of strength and endurance.

In this short space it is impossible to comment on each portion of Hindu ritual brought forward for examination—human sacrifice, transmigration, inter-relationship of the gods, the ideas of sacrifice, etc. All are of the highest interest and could be discussed at any length.

Our author, however, passes on his way. He speaks of the evolution of the idea of Brahman (priest), the origin of the *caste* system, and the great philosophical systems of Vedānta and that peculiar to the Tamil Hindus—the Siddhānta. Both the popular and philosophical aspects of Buddhism are brought under review, and the work ends with a chapter showing the debt which Hinduism and Buddhism owe to Christianity, and the value and nature of Western missions in the East.

In conclusion the author is led to the statement that Christianity and Western civilization are not at all the same thing. It is possible to be a

Christian without being Westernized, and yet those most saturated with the Western culture are not necessarily even nominally Christians.

Thus, in the small space of a single volume we are rapidly led across the centuries. We are taken into the workshops of the world's religions, and sped as if by a *jinn* across the Himālayas into the great plains of India. There we survey the effects of the Vedic mythology on the growing and intermingling masses. We even have time to look into detailed portions of ritual and belief—some of them Aryan—some Dravidian in origin. Then our author would bid us pause and view all his evidence in the light of Christianity and *bhakti* of God. And our verdict? Is it all merely *māyā*, or is our *avidyā* too great to grasp it all and give an opinion? We cannot say, but like our author we can but try and use what *vidyā* we possess.

- THE HUNG SOCIETY. By J. S. M. Ward, M.A., Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Society, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, etc., and W. G. Sterling, Assistant Protectorate of Chinese, Singapore. With an Introductory Essay by A. C. Haddon, SC.D., F.R.S. Vol. I. Crown quarto, pp. 180 + xvi. (London: *The Baskerville Press, Ltd.*) Price £6 6s. net, the set of three volumes. Numbered edition limited to 1,500 copies.

(Reviewed by N. M. PENZER.)

The Hung or Triad Society is probably the greatest secret society in the world, and is the reality on which are based many sensational novels wherein a Chinese secret society provides the principal thrill. This is, however the first time that the complete rituals have ever been made public, and the history of the society is, in itself, a greater romance than that provided by the most sensational novel, especially if the authors are correct in stating that under the name of the White Lotus it has existed since its foundation at Rozan about A.D. 386. It was thus contemporary with the great mystery rites of the Roman Empire.

- The rituals translated and the paraphernalia illustrated in the first volume have mostly been obtained in the course of police raids on secret societies in Singapore, where the Hung Society has been an illegal organization since 1890. The authors have done their work well and set out the rituals clearly, the rubrics being printed in red to distinguish them from the text, while the notes greatly enhance the value of the work. It is, however, not clear who is responsible for the translations, and Chinese scholars will miss the chance of comparing the original rituals with the present translations. The ceremony falls into four sections. First comes the traditional history, which relates a tragic story of base treachery on the part of a certain Chinese Emperor, which is supposed to have led to the formation of the society. This part of the ceremony was evidently "doctored" in the eighteenth century in order to turn what had been a mystical and religious initiatory rite into a political society whose object was to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. Next follows the preparation of the candidate, which contains clear traces of magical ceremonies, and

while this is being done the Master consecrates the Lodge. The third stage is the admission of the candidate into the Lodge, during which he passes through various "Gates" and reaches the "City of Willows," where he takes the oath of blood brotherhood by *drinking* blood drawn from the middle finger of all present. The fourth section consists of an elaborate catechism wherein we learn that the candidate has symbolically gone a long and mysterious journey, first over land, and then by boat, till he reaches the Market Place of Universal Peace.

The first volume, which is elaborately illustrated in colours and in black and white, contains the ceremony itself, and all who are interested in the ancient mysteries should study it carefully, since the Hung ceremony throws a flood of light on the whole subject. It will be of equal value to those interested in the religions of China. Mr. Ward indicates that the ceremony dramatically represents what the Chinese believes befalls the soul after death, and the City of Willows is really the City of Heaven. We look forward with interest to the two remaining volumes, trusting the authors have in store for us a full bibliography and a good index embodying both notes and text.

SOMADEVA'S KATHĀ ŚARIT SĀGARA; or, The Ocean of Story. Translated by C. H. Tawney, C.I.E., edited by N. M. Penzer, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S. In ten volumes. Vol. IV. (London: published privately by *Sawyer*, Grafton Street.) Price £2 2s. per volume.

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

Mr. Penzer has been very fortunate in obtaining the assistance of eminent scholars in Oriental subjects to write the forewords of the three preceding volumes of this work. In the fourth volume the foreword has been written by Dr. Thomas. This seems very appropriate, as Mr. Tawney was his immediate predecessor as librarian at the India Office. Dr. Thomas draws attention to the discovery made by M. Félix Lacôte of a Sanskrit version of Guṇāḍhya's work, bearing the title of the "Great Tale: Verse Epitome." This was written by a Nepalese named Budhasvāmin about the end of the eighth century, and therefore at an earlier date than Somadeva's version, which was written or completed in 1070. Of the former work only a comparatively small part is now known, though it originally consisted of twenty-six *lābhas*. M. Lacôte published his "Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Brhatkathā" in 1908. He has drawn some very interesting conclusions with regard to the other versions of the Kathā and of Guṇāḍhya's original plot, which centred round the imaginary adventures of Naravāhanadatta, in the form of a novel containing eighteen sections. Guṇāḍhya was a "born story-teller and the real creator of the literary Kathā." He appears to have travelled widely in India and to have picked up legends and stories from other men who had journeyed by sea and land, besides tales current in the cities and country places. Lacôte even hints that there might be some latent Greek influence behind the plot, consisting as it does of "travels and loves." We are glad to find that the French writer considers that, of the two, Somadeva is more faithful to the original than

his predecessor, Kṣemandra. It seems that other writers had overlaid the original work of Guṇāḍhya with a large number of stories from various sources, even including the story of Nala, and this had even been done two or three centuries earlier.

The two appendices treat, respectively, the subject of widow-burning and the story of Nala and Damayanti. As regards the first—it describes at length how it was practised in India. Many English readers will be surprised to learn that the custom of *Sati* was by no means confined to India, although it was for a long time identified with that country and practised there till a comparatively recent date. British rule abolished *Sati* in 1829, though in the Indian States it was known till 1898, when the widow of Sardar Shan Singh burnt herself voluntarily after Sabraon. Although the custom was penalized in British India, two cases occurred in 1906, in Cawnpore and Calcutta. In Southern India, the travellers Fernao Nuniz and Duarte Barbosa described in great detail the rites connected with *Sati*, which are quoted at length in the present volume. We learn that in that part of India *Sati* was practised most during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The custom of widow-immolation in Europe seems to have arisen in a Teutonic tribe which migrated from Sweden to the Black Sea; the suicide of widows was a regular custom in Scandinavia and Slavonic lands. It seems probable that the observance was brought to India from Scythia by early immigrants, as it was well established in the Punjab by the fourth century B.C. The custom was also observed in China and in Egypt. However revolting *Sati* may appear to us now, it had its bright side in the exhibition of the extraordinary courage and endurance displayed by its votaries. Such fortitude is all the more remarkable when we reflect on the choice of a death involving the most exquisite torture. In many cases the lot of a widow in India still involves a life of hardship and misery, and this constitutes a very serious blot on the present social condition in that country. Apparently reformers do not realize the importance of putting their own house in order with regard to the position of widows (of whom many are mere children) before agitating for political reform.

The second appendix is concerned with the story of Nala and Damayanti, one of the best known in Sanskrit literature to English readers. As Mr. Penzer remarks, it must be assigned to Vedic times, as all the gods mentioned in the story are Vedic. One wonders how the tale was first conceived, and whether it was founded on fact. The love for gambling is alluded to in the Vedas, and it seems just possible that a man of high position may actually have gambled away all his possessions, and that the story was told to act as a deterrent to others addicted to the same vice. Besides the original version and the longer one contained in the "Mahābhārata," two other poems on Nala have been written—one by the Kērala poet Vāsudeva, who lived early in the ninth century A.D., and the other, the "Naishada," by Śrīharsha. Other compositions on the same subject were written by Trivikrama and Rāghara, the latter a Telugu poet, who wrote it in A.D. 1650. The translation best known to English readers is the one rendered by H. H. Milman, formerly Dean of St. Paul's, from

Monier Williams's Sanskrit edition of 1860: Copious extracts from it appear in the appendix. The story of Nala has attracted the attention of Orientalists in France, Germany, and Italy. The French writer F. Bopp published a translation in Latin as early as 1819.

This volume possesses, in common with the others, excellent indexes of Sanskrit words, proper names, and a general one. It is a pity that this fourth volume should be of slightly smaller size than the other three; in all other respects it is got up in the usual excellent manner.

HISTORY

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock. Vol. III.: The Assyrian Empire. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 35s.

This third volume is in all respects a worthy successor to the two previous ones, which dealt with Egypt and Babylonia, and the Egyptian and Hittite Empires. The cream of English scholarship has contributed to its success. The first chapters are by Mr. Sidney Smith, of the British Museum, who is already well known through his Assyrian studies. Mr. D. G. Hogarth writes on the Hittite civilization; Mr. Minns contributes a chapter on the Scythians; Mr. R. Campbell Thompson supplies a contribution on the new Babylonian Empire; Dr. H. R. Hall treats of the connection of Assyria with Egypt. The volume is furnished with a very detailed bibliography, which the authors modestly declare not to be complete, and a series of maps to illustrate the extent and importance of the Assyrian Empire. There are also nearly fifty pages of indexes and synchronistic tables.

THE ORIGINS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE: BEING A TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC, ACCOMPANIED WITH ANNOTATIONS OF THE "KITĀB FUTUH AL-BULDĀN" OF AL-BALĀDHURĪ. By Francis Clark Murgotten, PH.D., Associate Professor of Modern Languages, University of Nevada. Part II. (New York: *Columbia University*, 1924; London: *P. S. King and Son, Ltd.*) 12s.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.)

Among Arabic historians, whose works constitute the glory of their national literature, Abu'l-Abbās Ahmad b. Jābir al-Balādhurī is of conspicuous importance, as he belongs to the third century of Islam, and is, therefore, one of the earliest, and has a high standard of accuracy and sobriety, qualities wherein the chroniclers who write in Arabic far surpass their Persian and Turkish colleagues. His "History of the Islamic Conquests," which was edited in the original in 1866 by de Goeje, an Arabist of exceptional ability, fully deserved to be rendered into a European language; and this want has been imperfectly supplied by Dr. O. Rescher, whose German translation, though scholarly and accurate, is "privately printed in sixty copies," and therefore accessible to few. The English version, which appears in the "Studies in History,

Economics, and Public Law," edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, is therefore welcome; and Dr. Rescher himself in *Islam* for 1919 paid a tribute to the conscientiousness wherewith Dr. Philip Hitti, of the American University of Beirut, had discharged the first part of this task. The second part, which is the work of Dr. Murgotten, and covers from p. 317 of de Goeje's edition to the end, deserves a similar encomium. The translator, while reproducing the original as accurately as is desirable, has, by dividing the text into sections, furnishing headlines in italics, and a variety of other expedients, greatly facilitated the employment of the book both for those who can and those who cannot consult the original. It is a great mine of archaeology as well as of political history, and indispensable to all who, having no time to acquire classical Arabic, are anxious to form an accurate opinion about the early propagation of Islam.

HISTORY OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE. By Charles Diehl. Translated from the French by George B. Ives. (*Princeton University Press*; London: *Miford.*) 11s. 6d. net.

A condensed survey of the intricate and perplexing incidents which fill the history of the Byzantine Empire is set forth in this manual, which will no doubt be of service to students in America, and elsewhere, desirous of being initiated into the history of a vast Empire, now extinct after a lease of life extending over eleven hundred years. We readily agree with the learned author, who, in his preface, states that for so long a time Byzantium lived, and "not merely as the result of a fortunate hazard; lived gloriously; and that it should be so, she must have had within her something besides vices." What a fine task to study Byzantine history under this aspect! It is with no small regret that in perusing the text of this history we read so much of vices as governing motives in the actions of "great emperors and illustrious statesmen, skilful diplomatists and victorious generals," so that we are at a loss to understand why they should be called "champions of Christendom in the Orient, who saved Europe again and again."

The French Professor Diehl certainly has a full claim to be considered an authority on Byzantine art. His "Byzantine Africa" and a few of his other well-known works have established long ago his reputation as a true scholar. His popular works, however, seem to conform to a slightly different standard. It should be borne in mind that they are thoroughly French in style, and when translated into English—and in the present case the translation leaves nothing to be desired—the author's verdicts sometimes seem to lack sobriety of judgment. The excellence of this English edition is, therefore, hardly a compensation for the advantage which the reader may derive from this book in its original French garb.

J. P. R.

INDO-ARYAN POLITY. By P. Basu. (*P. S. King.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The present volume is an enlargement of that published in 1919. It is an interesting attempt to reconstruct the conditions of Ancient Hindu

life on the basis of the Rig-Veda. Family life and village life are described in detail, and there is a short but valuable chapter on the castes and classes of ancient India. There are also plentiful references to the original texts.

ARCHÆOLOGY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR THE YEAR 1922-23.

(Reviewed by E. B. HAVELL.)

The last printed Report of the Archæological Survey of India, edited, in the absence on furlough of Sir John Marshall, by the acting Director-General, Dr. B. Spooner, covers as usual a very wide range of subject. Besides the usual departmental work of exploration, conservation of historical monuments, and the study of epigraphical records, it enters more or less relevant by-paths of research—e.g., an enquiry whether the Buddha really died of eating pork, as scholars allege, and a discussion of the true meaning of a passage in the "Odyssey."

"From the departmental point of view," writes Dr. Spooner, "the most important happening of the year 1922-23 was the reduction in the Government of India's expenditure on archæology by rupees three lakhs *per annum*." The effect of this will be, he observes, that for the next few years the activities of the Survey will be restricted very largely to annual repairs and the maintenance of monuments already conserved. Some fourteen years ago when the Government of India, in a similar fit of economy, proposed to abolish the post of Director-General of Archæology—a proposal which called forth from Lord Curzon a vigorous protest, printed in *The Times*—I pointed out in the same journal that the Archæological Department under Sir John Marshall's direction had provided the best official craft school in India, and that India would gain more, economically and educationally, by reducing the establishment of the Public Works and Educational Departments as now maintained for propagating European architectural ideas and methods of art teaching, which for very many years have been sapping the foundations of Indian art and architecture.

The experience of twelve years' extravagance in city building has not taught the Financial Department more wisdom in art. Neither did a most illuminating report on modern building, which proved the extraordinary capacity of the living Indian master-builder, published by the Archæological Survey in 1913, with an appreciative note by the Consulting Architect to the Government of India, teach departmentalism a method of adapting the routine of a European architect's office to the realities of Indian life. It is true that the building of the New Delhi has given Indian craftsmen more opportunities than they usually have in the Archæological Survey, but the system of Public Works building has undergone no change. Expert architectural opinion in India does not now venture to criticize a long-established official routine. The fair

prospects officially held out to the Indian craftsman when the New Delhi project was debated in Parliament have amounted to this, that, as usual, there has been no real artistic co-operation between the European architect and the Indian craftsman, though the latter has been allowed to pick up the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table. This is not the fault of the architects responsible for the Delhi scheme. It is the inevitable consequence of blind departmental routine, which refuses to adapt itself to Indian conditions. In this respect Indian departmentalism under the new reforms has shown itself as stolidly unimaginative as the European type.

Under these circumstances the best hopes for the survival of Indian art seem to be centred in the Native States. They may have neglected ancient monuments, but, with some glaring exceptions, they have kept up the finest building traditions of India. The capacity to build finely is of far more value to India than a purely antiquarian interest in the preservation of ancient buildings. It is, nevertheless, gratifying to note that Dr. Spooner bears witness to the increasing interest in archæological research, and in the conservation of ancient monuments shown by the Governments of Hyderabad, Mysore, Kashmir, and other Indian States. Section ix. of the Report gives a summary of the work carried out by the local archæological departments. May they show an equally intelligent appreciation of the work of the living builder in these states. There is a considerable danger that the prestige of the Delhi city architects may induce many Indian princes to supplant their own traditional master-builders by others who have only had a training in European architectural practice as taught in modern schools, and thereby complete the ruin of Indian art.

Of special interest in this section of the Report is the account given of measures for the preservation of the Bagh cave paintings, the last fragments of a noble series of frescoes of the Ajanta School, and equal in quality to the best of the classics of Indian painting. For many years they were totally neglected; no one able to appreciate their artistic value seems to have seen them. They are the subject of an important work shortly to be published by the India Society. Unfortunately, even now they are rapidly disappearing owing to the disintegration of the rocks in which the caves are excavated, and the measures taken for their preservation seem to me totally inadequate. Turpentine and wax may be an effective preservative in a European climate, but in the Indian hot weather I fear it will have the effect of fixing a thick layer of dust upon the surface unless the paintings are covered with glass. The only effective way of preserving these priceless fragments of the great Indian school of painting would be to remove them from the walls and put them under proper care in a suitable museum or art gallery, where they would be accessible to Indian art students.

Among the many and important works carried out by the Survey, the conservation of the remains of the famous monastery of Nalanda, in Bihar, demonstrates how right methods of building develop and preserve indigenous crafts and industries. Some thousands of large-size Gupta bricks, like those used at Nalanda, were required for conservation work.

Instead of indenting on headquarters in the prescribed form, the archaeological superintendent started to make them with local materials on the spot, and he reports "the bricks were satisfactorily produced at a cost effecting a very considerable economy over the estimates obtained from outside contractors. It is hoped to extend these brick-making operations in the immediate future." Such methods constitute the life and soul of the art of building. The departmental system of approved "designs" and standard materials not only makes building a purely mechanical operation, intellectually degrading to good craftsmen; it helps to kill village craft and industry, to close local brick-kilns, stone quarries, and workshops, and to drive village folk into the towns. Bricks, tiles, stones, timber, lime, painting materials, etc., all of the standard size or description, as provided for in the estimates, must be obtained from headquarters, from Europe, or from anywhere except the building site. Then when local builders and other craftsmen migrate, or become unskilled labourers, or take to clerical occupations, technical schools and workshops are opened to teach building craft as understood in modern Europe, and schools of art to teach what departmentalism approves of. If the result should not be satisfactory, experts from Europe are always available to make up for the deficiency.

The building of the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta, and more recently the building of the New Delhi, demonstrate clearly both the economic and artistic results of the system. When Indian craftsmen build cities, the painting and sculpture which may be desired as decoration are not accessories to be provided for in supplementary estimates when the building is finished; they are an essential part of the whole building operation, and grow up with it. Even now the builders of Rajputana keep up the old Indian traditions of mural decoration. They put a wonderfully fine polished plaster, made from the chips of the local marble quarries, on the surface of the red sandstone, and decorate it by a process of fresco similar to that used at Ajanta and Bagh. The Public Works formula substitutes for their fine artistry imported enamel paints, canvas, wall-papers, and hangings. The European "visitors" who will regulate the decoration of the New Delhi will doubtless find the Public Works formula more practical, as they have no experience of the technical traditions of the country they visit, and have no time to learn them. So we will continue to conserve ancient monuments and old Indian paintings and sculpture; but we will not preserve living Indian builders, painters, and sculptors unless they will give up their old-fashioned ways and come into our European schools, where our experts will improve them for the good of India. Such is the inexplicable inconsistency of Indian departmentalism, which the Archaeological Survey and modern city builders illustrate in their respective methods of work.

PETRA: ITS HISTORY AND MONUMENTS. By Sir Alexander B. W. Kennedy. (*Country Life*.) Price £4 4s.

The author explains that through the assistance of Mr. H. St. J. Philby he was able to make repeated visits (1922-1924) to Petra, from which the

above volume resulted. He also acknowledges the debt to Mr. Philby of having contributed the first chapter—*i.e.*, the geographical part of the book. Petra is situated not far from the Hedjaz Railway some distance south of the Dead Sea. These rock carvings were originally rediscovered in 1812 by a young Swiss, and the Germans subsequently wrote about them, but the above is the first adequate volume in English. They are at least six or seven centuries earlier than the Roman monuments that surround them, and are Nabataean. The volume has been very beautifully printed by Billing and Sons, Ltd., of Guildford, who are also specializing in illustration work. The plates call for special praise, particularly No. 86 (Tomb with Obelisks) and No. 56 (Temple in the Siq al Barid). It is to be hoped that subsequent discoveries will supplement these important new studies.

ANGKOR THE MAGNIFICENT. By H. Churchill Candee. With seventy-nine photographs and a map. (London: *H. F. and G. Witherby*.) 20s.

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

This is a remarkable book. It reads like a fairy story, telling how a young French boy first discovered the towers of the temple of Angkor Vat during the course of a morning walk in the jungle. Like the sands in the desert which cover and envelop the ancient tombs of Egypt, so did the jungle—in a manner so familiar to those who know the East—hide in its bosom the marvellous buildings of the Khmers. Who were these mysterious people, and how were they able to design and carry out the architecture of such a marvellous city and magnificent temples in the country of Cambodia? It appears that the Khmers took their origin from a mixed race consisting of Malays, Hindus, and Chinese, and that they developed a very high degree of culture during the eighth and ninth centuries B.C. During the succeeding period of four hundred years they built not only Angkor Thom, but numerous temples of wondrous beauty throughout the surrounding country. The Khmers made themselves feared everywhere in Asia, but their renown was limited to that Continent, and no rumour of their greatness penetrated into Europe. The nations living near them gradually became jealous of the wealth possessed by the Khmers and amassed by their conquests, and engaged in frequent wars with them. Siam eventually became their conqueror in the twelfth century of our era. This conquest resulted in the complete blotting out of the Khmer kingdom, with all its wealth and civilization. The city of Angkor was deserted, the million inhabitants disappeared, only the jungle remained and the Khmers were no more remembered. "Asia forgot and Europe never knew," till the eventful walk that summer morning. There are numerous photographs of the temple of Angkor Vat, and they are similar to the massive structures of South India. The five great towers (one at each corner and one in the centre) are conical in shape and are its special glory. The windows in the galleries below remind one of college architecture, only they are more closely set together. There seem no traces of the

pagoda influence, but the intricate carving is reminiscent of the Burmese elaborate designs in the Shwe Dagon in Rangoon, and the figures show the same Buddhist influence. In the other photographs we find also wonderful and spirited representations of warriors and fierce combats on the part of the gods. The Indian influence is shown in the figure of Vishnu, carved from precious stone, in the Vat, to whom the temple is dedicated, the Brahmanic face at Bayon, and the bas-relief of Apsaras round chariots with a Naga head and serpentine body showing in close proximity. There is another representation of the Naga on the stone causeway of the Vat, showing its uplifted heads and much beauty of form and ornamentation. The sculptors idealized it here in a far higher degree than did its devotees in India.

The other temples were also found outside the limits of Angkor Thom. Their size was so vast that they could have been built inside the walls of the town. These temples included hospitals, staffed with medical corps, besides assistants and women nurses. Their duties included caring for the sick and the old who came to offer prayers and libations.

This book concludes with a summary of the history of the Khmers, and it also mentions the visit of the Chinese Ambassador, Tch'eng-Ta-Konan, which lasted for two years, 1295-1297. The possession of Cambodia has now passed into the hands of a European power, and the treasures of Angkor Vat can safely be left in the hands of l'École de l'Extrême Orient.

MUSIC

THE MUSIC OF INDIA. By Atiya Begum Fyzee-Rahiman. (*Luzac.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

If a Hindu, or for the matter of that any unmusical European, having but a nodding acquaintance with Western music, were confronted with a treatise that bristled with counterpoint and diminished intervals, with fugues and sonatas, with oboes and clarinets, and with such unaccustomed names as Lully and Milhaud and Schomberg, it would not be surprising if he rose up little wiser than when he sat down. One must confess to some such feeling of bewilderment after reading the Begum's book. She does not differentiate between Muhammadan and Hindu music, going so far afield as Cordova in her historical summary; and though she does recognize the existence of a separate Southern School, she puts it aside as beyond the scope of her work. The book therefore describes the music of Hindustan rather than of India generally; and one misses the name of Tyagaraja Iyer, well known throughout the South.

The Begum does not attempt to explain by the use of analogies from the West; and there is something to be said for this method, for analogies are apt to mislead. On the other hand, it is sometimes difficult for an English reader to understand what is meant. What seems so plain to the Begum, who knows, is unintelligible to the English reader, who does not. Thus, in speaking of time we are told—

"The beats are as follows: Dha, Dhin, Dinna, Turkat, Kittack, etc."

These sounds represent, one gathers, peculiar beats of the drum, and, of course, if one has not heard them, the sentence means nothing. More especially, what is one to make of "etc."? Indian time is most complicated; and though there are only two pages of description, the Begum has certainly managed to convey some idea of the two dozen times of which she gives diagrams. Whether one would recognize them when played, as any elementary musician can recognize $\frac{3}{4}$ from common time in the West, is another matter.

For music, as has often been said, eludes description. You can no more get the idea of a Ragam from reading about it than you can get the emotional expression of a Beethoven symphony from the many attempts at analysis and commentary that have been made. The Begum has wisely left general effects to the imagination. She is, however, proud of the antiquity of her art, and she indulges in many superlatives in the exuberance of her enthusiastic praise: "When the Ragas are sung in proper time and season, and with perfect knowledge of the science, an absolute and inexpressible sense of calm and minor satisfaction is derived." "The Ragas display the most exquisite form of musical conception. . . . They touch the deepest chords of the human soul, and transport one to a higher and nobler realm." Well, that depends whether you are an Indian, and a musical Indian. It is safe to say that the Ragas do no such thing to any but a minute fraction of Europeans. But we must allow her her enthusiasm, and must remember that to many people Beethoven is an unpleasant person, who wrote dull music and threw things at the cook.

The reproductions of Raga pictures are very interesting, the more so as the Begum has explained them in the text. They are not to be taken as giving the music the character of "programme," rather are they the attempt to describe to the eye what the music is supposed to represent to the ear. Of even greater interest is the connection which the Begum establishes between music and astrology, which Thakur Seesodia sets out in a valuable appendix. She has thus accounted for the ascription of certain notes to certain planets, and has explained the curious fact that certain Ragas are meant for certain times and seasons, and for no others. The book is of undoubted interest to students of Indian music; it can hardly be called good general reading, but then no one but the musical enthusiast is likely to want to read it, and he will read it with profit.

EGYPTOLOGY

THE MUMMY: A HANDBOOK OF EGYPTIAN FUNERARY ARCHAEOLOGY. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. Second edition. Revised and greatly enlarged. (Cambridge: *The University Press.*) 1925. Price 45s. net.

(Reviewed by W. R. DAWSON.)

Neither the title nor the sub-title of this book conveys an adequate idea of its scope, for the mummy occupies but a few of its 500 pages, and so far from being a handbook of funerary archaeology pure and simple, it is

indeed a handbook to almost every section of Egyptian archaeology in general. One-fifth of the book is devoted to a description of the country and its ancient inhabitants, with an outline of the history of the dynasties and a list of the kings with their names and titles printed in hieroglyphic characters. This is followed by a long section dealing with the writing and language, with an account of the Rosetta Stone and of the discoveries of Champollion and Young in the decipherment of the writing. It is not until we reach p. 201 that an account of the mummy is presented to us, and this description is a very summary and general one, and is condensed into fifteen pages. The remainder of the book is true to its title, and deals with the papyri, amulets, and the hundred and one other objects which were directly associated with the cult of the dead, together with a description of the gods of Egypt. We meet with the mummy again at pp. 336 and following, where an account is given of the funeral of an Egyptian of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The description is an ideal one, based upon the person of the scribe Ani, the owner of the celebrated papyrus which bears his name. Incidentally it may be mentioned that on the evidence of the technique and text of this papyrus it should be assigned not to the XVIIIth Dynasty, as Sir Ernest Budge has always maintained (e.g., p. 234), but to the XIXth; the name Ani was a common one in the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. Assuming, however, that Ani lived in the XVIIIth Dynasty, the account of his mummification does not fit in with what is known of the technique of that period. Sir Ernest Budge does not seem to have followed the modern technical literature relating to mummification, or he could not have repeated the statement (p. 341) that the heart was removed from the body along with the other viscera. It has been shown conclusively that at least as early as the Middle Kingdom and right down to Ptolemaic times the heart was invariably left *in situ* in the body, and not excised. The very few exceptions to this rule are to be accounted for by carelessness on the part of the embalmers, who occasionally accidentally severed the heart from its connections when removing the other thoracic viscera. The Egyptians attached the greatest importance to the heart, and there are several spells in the "Book of the Dead" to protect the heart from being removed or damaged, and in funerary inscriptions it is sometimes said that the dead man rests in the tomb "his own true heart being with him." It is stated on p. 342 that the "Canopic jars" into which the viscera were put were provided with stoppers in the forms respectively of the head of an ape, a jackal, a hawk, and a man. Under the XVIIIth Dynasty the Canopic jars are, all four of them, invariably human-headed, the animal-headed jars not coming into use until later in the XIXth Dynasty.

It is stated that the brain, after removal, was dried and buried with the body, but so far as we are aware there is not a single case on record of the brain being so preserved. We are also told that the body was laid to soak in a tank of liquid natron for seventy days, whereas we know from other evidence that the entire process of embalming occupied seventy days, and that the immersion in natron (as a matter of fact *salt*, and not natron, was used) occupied only part of this period. The details which follow are

equally inaccurate. It is stated that after removal from the natron-bath, the fingers still retain the nails. No mention is made of the fact that elaborate precautions were taken by the embalmers to fix the nails, otherwise they would have been lost when the macerated epidermis peeled off in the brine-bath. We are also told that incisions were made in the hands and various other parts of the limbs, which were then stuffed with aromatic spices and sewn up again. It was not until the XXIst Dynasty that these packing incisions were made, at a time when the whole technique of embalming had undergone radical changes, and the packing material used was not spices, but mud or sand; nor were the incisions, except in very rare cases, sewn up. The use of artificial eyes, also mentioned in connection with the mummy of Ani, is an anachronism, for they were not adopted until the XXIst Dynasty.

We have called attention to these points because modern research has proved that the technical processes of mummification changed from time to time, and almost from reign to reign, and that it is by attention to such details that a mummy can be accurately dated, even when there are no inscriptions or other archaeological indications of date. We have a right to expect in a book bearing so specific a title as "The Mummy" a detailed and accurate account of these processes. Consequently, it is surprising to find the statement (p. 212) that under the priest-kings of the XXIst Dynasty the mummies show many signs of inferiority. It is precisely at this period that the art of embalming reached a pitch of perfection which was never surpassed. By an elaborate method of artificial packing, and by a number of other special processes, the embalmers at this time succeeded in making life-like mummies instead of the grotesquely emaciated and shrunken forms which resulted from the methods employed by their predecessors of the XVIIIth-XXth Dynasties. The special methods of embalming introduced under the XXIst Dynasty have formed the subject of more than one specific monograph, which should have been consulted. On the same page it is stated that bitumen pure and simple played a large part in the process of mummification at this period. Bitumen was never used until Græco-Roman times, and then by no means universally. The substance usually mistaken for bitumen is resin, or a paste composed of a mixture of resin, soda, and fat, which dries with a lustrous black surface, and superficially simulates bitumen.

When the first edition of this book was published in 1894 very little accurate research had been made into the technique of embalming, but since that date the old and inaccurate generalizations of early writers have been replaced by a large body of scientifically ascertained facts, and the second edition, which claims to have been brought up to date, should have profited by the accessions which recent years have made to our knowledge.

Space forbids a detailed examination of the other sections of the book, but we may mention in passing that the historical section requires considerable revision in view of the researches into the history of the XVIIth Dynasty published by H. E. Winlock in 1924. From this study it emerges

that many kings previously vaguely assigned to some period between the XIIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties now occupy definite places in the XVIIth. Amongst these is a certain Pharaoh Antef, whose coffin is now in the British Museum. A photograph of this coffin is given on Plate 20 as that of "An-Antef, a king of Egypt, XIth-XIVth Dynasty."

The book is conveniently arranged and abundantly and admirably illustrated. It is provided with a complete index, which makes it a very useful book of reference.

KINGS AND QUEENS OF ANCIENT EGYPT. Portraits by Winifred Brunton; History by Eminent Egyptologists. Foreword by Professor J. H. Breasted. (London: *Hodder and Stoughton*.) 1926. 42s. net.

In this handsome and tastefully produced volume Mrs. Brunton, whose artistic skill is already well known, presents us with a series of delicate and charming coloured miniatures of some of the most famous kings and queens of ancient Egypt. As miniatures they are all almost equally charming, and almost all of them convey a true and happy impression of what their subjects must have looked like in real life. Mrs. Brunton has taken as the basis of these studies actual statues or bas-reliefs, and has rendered the portraits with absolute fidelity to nature, but free from the stiff conventionalities of the ancient artists. For three of the kings the actual mummies have been the models; but Mrs. Brunton has brought them to life, and warm flesh tints are substituted for the dried and shrivelled heads smeared with the embalmers' resins. The least happy of the series, in our opinion, are the portraits of Tuthmosis III. and of Queen Nefertiti. For the former we have the actual mummy, which portrays a coarser type of physiognomy than the portrait, and for the latter the charming painted limestone bust now in the Berlin Museum. As particularly happy and striking we may mention the Pharaoh Amenemmes, and the Queens Hatshepsut, Ty, and Mutnezemt.

The accompanying letterpress gives a popular account of what is known of the kings and queens represented and of the times in which they lived. The dedication of the book is printed in hieroglyphics, and reads: "I dedicate this book to my mother."

GENERAL

RUDYARD KIPLING'S WORLD. By E. Thurston Hopkins. (*R. Holden*.) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by MISS VERONIQUE RICE.)

When Ibsen first presented "Ghosts" to the world his admirers and detractors fought each other over the message he intended to convey until the author announced that there was no message! The situation, he said in effect, seemed to him dramatic, and as such only was the play to be considered. One feels tempted to ask Mr. Hopkins to take this to heart. It is with the greatest reluctance that he admits that Kipling wrote a story, or that we read it, solely because it is a good story. It is as

though he felt that Kipling's work was not strong or rich enough to be judged on its own merits. His enthusiasm obliges him to find inner meanings even in the pages of the "Jungle Books"!

It is probably this obsession that leads Mr. Hopkins, who in many places refers to Kipling's admiration of pluck and physical prowess, his love of fighting, and his acute perception of the poetry of physical sensation, to miss the significance of Kipling's eternal youthfulness. Thus we are told that he regards a sword as "a symbol of law, order, and physical worthiness." To most Kipling lovers the statement will seem ludicrous. Like Stevenson, he is boy enough to feel the thrill of a well-tempered blade for its own sake. Like Stevenson, he takes a youthful delight in battles, physical courage, dangers, and even the gruesome—a delight which led them both beyond grown-up canons of art. Surely this, rather than a love of allegory, is responsible for such stories as "The Mark of the Beast."

Again, the same boyishness accounts for Kipling's love of machinery and technicality, for which Mr. Hopkins has no satisfactory explanation. The small boy with a passion for motors is more gloriously technical than any motor mechanic.

Kipling the artist, again like a small boy, is self-consciously proud of his masculinity. Nor can we agree that he is entirely free from the vice which follows self-consciousness—sentimentality. The spurious imitation of real feeling takes many forms, and its taint is in some of Kipling's best work. It accounts also, surely, in some measure for the artistic failure of "The Light that Failed." Dick's vanity, to which Mr. Hopkins takes exception, can hardly be criticized on artistic grounds. It is natural in the circumstances, and is, indeed, an essential factor in the poignancy of the story.

The Kipling film scenario described here for the first time is of little value. It is a mixture of several poems and short stories. But whatever its quality on the screen, in cold print it suffers from the usual defects of film melodrama. Only occasional Kipling flashes redeem it.

Mr. Hopkins's chapter on the poems is, on the whole, his best. It is shrewd and sympathetic. He is particularly happy in discussing the pictorial, objective quality of Kipling's verse—a quality of the old ballads, as opposed to the mystic personal note of most modern poetry. It accounts, in his opinion, both for its force and its popularity.

The author's study contains more enthusiasm than criticism, and such criticism as he gives is seldom profound. The book reads, in fact, almost as though he were introducing Kipling to a public ignorant of his work. The method is not without a certain charm. If some of the author's remarks are irritatingly obvious, his enthusiasm is occasionally illuminating; and some of his word-pictures of the East and of Kipling's Sussex home are very vivid. Mr. Hopkins brings not only admiration, but a real sympathy to his subject.

THE PERIL OF THE WHITE. By Sir Leo Chiozza Money. (*Collins*.) 10s. 6d. net.

A well-known master of statistics has here set forth the dangers that beset the white populations outside Europe owing to diminishing birth-rate. "White civilization needs to call every good counsel to its aid if it is to escape from the peril with which it is threatened. That peril is not a Yellow Peril or a Black Peril, but a peril of self-extermination. The worst enemy of the White is the White himself." The book ends with a stirring appeal, entitled "Renew or Die." But if all the races of the earth adopt the same slogan, it is difficult to see how the reign of universal peace is to be ushered in.

RUSSIA. By Nicholas Makeer and Valentine O'Hara. (*Benn.*) 15s. net.

This is the fourth volume of "The Modern World Series" under the general editorship of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher; another one, we notice, will be "India," by Sir Valentine Chirol. After an introductory chapter, followed by one on "Imperial Russia," the author plunges into the vortex of recent history. Descriptions of pre-war Russia are apt to rival the denunciations showered on the "ancien régime" in France. But the authors keep an even keel, and give full recognition to the work of the zemstvos, whose zeal even the late Madame Olga Novikoff applauded. They have been first in the field with a passionless account of Bolshevik rule, and are responsible for a book which is undoubtedly the most important on the subject which has yet appeared in the English language.

COUNTRY LIFE IN SOUTH CHINA. By D. H. Kulp. (*Columbia University*.)

As the sub-title, "The Sociology of Familism," indicates, this is a work dealing with the social life of the Chinese, and particularly of Southern China. The author stresses the importance of the village in the strategic importance of the country, a fact which is beginning to be recognized not only by missionaries, but also by statesmen. He has chapters on "Population and Health," "Village Polity," "The Family and the Sib," "Education in the Schools," and, especially worthy of notice, on "Religion and Spiritual Community."

FRENCH BOOKS

AVEC LES SÉNÉGALAIS PAR DELÀ L'EUPHRATE. By R. Desjardins. (Paris: *Calmann-Lévy*.) 6 fr. 75 c.

This is an account of a French action in 1920 at Tell-Abiad, beyond the Euphrates, against the Kemalists. The author's party, threatened with destruction, was saved by the colonel of the regiment, who was able to gather 1,500 men and bring them 150 miles to the rescue. There are some interesting accounts of the attitude of the French colonial troops towards the Indian soldiers. Thus, a French officer standing by the side of one of his men watching an Indian Army football match asks the soldier what he thinks:

"Are the English all right?"

"Do you mean the coloured men?"

"No, the English."

"They are not much good."

"Why?"

"They are no good—their trousers are too short."

The author seems to think that the wearing of trousers to the ankles is perhaps the root cause of French prestige among the Senegalese!

SUR LA ROUTE MANDARINE. By Roland Dorgelès. (Paris: *Michel*.) 7 fr. 50 c.

The author recounts his experiences in Indo-China, the colony which, the author explains, has advanced more in a few years than Europe in a century. The book has achieved a large sale in France, and is designed, like many others, to stimulate the Frenchman to go overseas. "There is the charm of the unknown, the prospect of becoming one day a rich man. There is awaiting you a life of greater importance than you can lead in France in some suburban flat or provincial back alley. You are obeyed; you are somebody." When a French official describes to him how men get rich almost overnight, and quotes the high profits of colonial companies, 40 per cent. and more, the author asks: "And how many go under?" he receives this reply: "Of nineteen Frenchmen seven break down, two go to hospital, and one returns to France."

INDIA

MEMOIRS OF HIS HIGHNESS SHRI SHAHU CHHATRAPATI, MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR. By A. B. Latthe. (Bombay: *Times of India Press*.) 1924. 9×5½ inches. Two vols.; pp. i+xx+649.

(Reviewed by LIEUT.-COLONEL C. E. LUARD, C.I.E.)

This is an interesting book on account of the striking personality of the Maharaja, also for the description it gives of the movement on behalf of the depressed classes, so strenuously championed by His Highness.

From 1901 until the hour of his death the Maharaja waged war upon the Brahman hierarchy, and strove to rouse his own Maratha caste from their lethargy, to regain their original position as leaders of society, while at the same time assisting the depressed classes, not in Kolhapur only, but in the whole of the Dekhan to rise out of the slough of despond into which they had been confined for centuries by Brahman ordinance.

Perhaps only one who has lived in India can grasp what this championship meant to a man of His Highness's caste and position. An instance may elucidate this a little. I remember the minister of a big state who, when his car broke down, had been assisted to reach his destination by the stopping of an express train, telling me that he was about to shake hands with the station-master to thank him for his courtesy. At that moment one of his staff whispered that the man was a Chamar (low caste). "So," he said, "I of course put my hands behind my back." He feared pollution. This is the common view taken in such cases. But here we have a

Kshatriya Ruling Prince not only helping these low castes to obtain education, but employing them in his state, and freely eating and drinking with them, an incontrovertible proof of sincerity.

Moreover, once his activities started, the Brahman community took every possible measure to oppose him, vilified his family, and instigated his subjects to oppose him. But he held grimly on. He created a Maratha high priest to perform religious ceremonies for his own caste, and so freed them from ceremonial tyranny.

As head of the Maratha community, moreover, he exercised remarkable influence. When the Maratha troops in Mesopotamia were required to eat horse-flesh and refused, the Maharaja sent them an appeal, pointing out that there was nothing against caste usage in eating horse, and that had he only been permitted to be with them in the field he would have shown this by his own example. After this there was no further difficulty. Beyond the personal influence, this instance is interesting as proving the persistence of the idea of racial (it seems to be the only term) cohesion among the Marathas; that sense of nationality which Shivaji inaugurated. It may safely be said that no appeal of this kind by any Rajput ruler would have had any effect in that community.

In 1902 His Highness opened 50 per cent. of appointments in his state to members of the depressed classes, thus showing by practical means how sincere his belief was.

In our strict regard for religious neutrality we recognized caste prejudices, and did not admit boys of the depressed classes to our schools; the teachers indeed being all of the higher castes, it was impossible to do so. His Highness felt that, difficult as the problem was, it should have been faced, and something done to enable this class to obtain the rights to which every man has a claim. Missionaries had done much, but, few in numbers, could not do enough; so His Highness stepped into the breach, and extended his activities beyond his state into British India.

As time went on he formed the opinion that India would never find salvation until all caste distinctions were abolished. "It will," he said, "be a happy day for us all when we realize that the sooner we get rid of our caste restrictions the greater will be our fitness for Home Rule." And the attainment of this, he held, could only be by the way of education, free and compulsory education. Home Rule in India until education spread could only mean a continuance of oligarchic rule.

As Sir Stewart Fraser remarks, he was a man of simple nature, very human, and one who never bore rancour; "his characteristics were those of a simple, generous, affectionate, and truthful nature." Careless of his own health, prodigal of his strength in the pursuit of his ideals, His Highness died in 1922 at forty-eight years of age. He leaves a gap in the ranks of India's social reformers which as yet there is no one to fill. His life was short, but like others of strong character who have striven, he will be remembered by the years he used, not by those he lived.

What of his work? He was an enthusiast and far ahead of the times. That the depressed classes should have an equal chance with all men every sane man will agree (Brahman ordinances notwithstanding). But is caste,

in the present state of India, a really unmitigated evil? Has it no place (the extravagances of untouchableness, so much more pronounced in Southern than in Northern India, excepted) to fill? In a primitive community purity of stock is of no little importance, occupational groups are almost essential to the welfare of isolated villages, where life is in its simplest form, and surely caste is a strong barrier against Bolshevism. Educate freely and let caste distinctions die, as they will in due course. It is always dangerous to abolish too violently traditions which perhaps lag behind the customs of an advanced modern world, but much of India is not modern or advanced, and as one who has spent his time in areas where old India lingers, I feel that it has still very much in it that is wholly admirable.

The book is well written, and all interested in India will acknowledge their debt to Mr. Latthe for this biography. It is, moreover, quite well printed and most profusely illustrated.

PROFESSOR RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS'S STATEMENT EXHIBITING THE MORAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS AND CONDITION OF INDIA DURING THE YEARS 1924 AND 1925. (*Government of India.*) 3s.

(Reviewed by SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.)

Professor Rushbrook Williams's "Statement" is a most admirable exposition of the history of India during the year, expressed in most lucid language and completely free from the baldness of blue-books; it is a mine of valuable information to the student of Indian affairs. The diagrams which illustrate the text are an attractive contrast to the masses of tabular statements which were wont to repel the readers of such publications. The record of events is throughout illuminated by a running commentary explaining the continuity and sequence of what has occurred, and the shape that thought and policy are assuming, or may be expected to assume, as time goes on. A man with no personal knowledge of Indian problems will find here a complete refutation of the charges frequently laid against British rule in India, that it selfishly exploits, impoverishes, and represses a helpless and down-trodden people. The refutation is all the more cogent because it is never pressed, but emerges naturally from the narrative. The author is nowhere aggressive, and treats even the crudest fallacies of the wildest politicians with the utmost gentleness. But, while unstinted admiration may be expressed both for the style of the "Statement" and the spirit of moderation which characterizes it, persons of Indian experience will feel obliged to disagree with some of the inferences which the author draws in the course of his commentary.

For example, he bases the conclusion that the influence of the educated classes upon the masses is established "beyond all possibility of cavil" upon the non-co-operation movement. He holds that what the educated classes think to-day, the masses will to-morrow. Whether or when this will come to pass is a question of prophecy, but it is certainly not established by the non-co-operation movement. In the first place, the

vast majority of educated Indians did not really believe in non-co-operation, though they may have rendered lip service to it. Having elevated the Mahatma to a position of infallible sainthood, it would have been rank blasphemy to express doubt of his wisdom, and but few had the courage to do so openly. In the second place, the masses did not shout "victory to Gandhi" because they knew or cared about his "swaraj"; but masses of ignorant men, stricken by the influenza scourge, discouraged by successive crop failures, and appalled by a rise in price, not only of food but also of clothes, to which the acutest famines in their memory could offer no parallel, were induced to believe that Gandhi was to be their saviour from a "satanic" Government sacrificing them for the benefit of the white people of the West; in other words, it was "Gandhi the Saint" and not "Gandhi the politician" that captured the masses, who saw in him the master that even the great Government was afraid to molest. When at long last Gandhi was incarcerated, his promises became mist and his influence waned. The whole movement proved that the people, educated and uneducated, were signally liable to unreasoning emotion, and that in the East a misguided saint is more dangerous than many agitators. In the second paragraph of his last chapter the author seems to have partially recognized this interpretation, for, describing the position to-day, he writes: "The vast majority of the Indian people . . . have turned a deaf ear to the appeals frequently directed to their address; they have shown themselves unwilling to subscribe to political funds, to join in political demonstrations, to sacrifice their time and their energy on behalf of causes which they but vaguely comprehend." No one realizes better than the masses how grievously they were deluded by the dreamer Gandhi and the unscrupulous persons who lied to them in his name.

To turn to another subject—namely, whether the Indian masses are growing poorer or richer under British rule—Professor Williams seems needlessly diffident. He dignifies by the name of "older generation of Indian economists" writers who were not only deliberately blind to the visible signs around them, but, in defiance of trade statistics, railway traffic, money orders, savings banks, and revenue returns, were content to assert without any evidence that famines and epidemics were of British introduction, and that the whole population was dying of slow starvation. Apart from statistical indications accepted by all nations as measures of prosperity, the elders of any village will tell you of the replacement of earthenware dishes by brass, of thatched roofs by tiles, of brick replacing wattle and daub, of the increasing expenditure on clothes, lighting, and better quality food.

No one denies that the Indian masses are poor, but they are not so poor as they were, and it is easy to exaggerate their poverty. They spend a lot of money on weddings, festivals, litigation, and travelling, and enjoy more gala days than the British working classes.

It is futile to compare the average income of the Bombay labourer with that of the British working man by merely converting the former into shillings at the rate of exchange. The "Statement" shows that the average Bombay labouring family receives 18s. per week; of this rent takes only

1s. 6d., and clothing 1s. 9d., and while the British worker pays 9d. or more for 4 lbs. of bread, the Bombay labourer can, except in years of great scarcity, buy his 4 lbs. of flour for 6d. or less. He is a vegetarian, or if not, he eats goat's flesh at about 3d. per lb. He only requires fuel to cook his food and not for heating. Bombay is the most expensive place in India. In the whole of rural India there is no house rent to pay, and fuel is obtained for the gathering. Doubtless the Indian working man suffers from some of the disadvantages entailed by the support of religious mendicants, and the sanctity of the cow, but the author appears to exaggerate the effect on progress of "their uneconomic tradition" of looking upon this world as a mere unimportant episode in a past and future existence.

These theories may increase ascetics, but the average Indian, like mankind in general, is delighted to acquire wealth. The Indian worker if he receives more wages is, however, apt to lower his standard of industry instead of raising his standard of comfort, but this is not unknown even in the West. It has nothing to do with a more spiritual outlook on life, but simply means that, if he can earn in four days what he formerly earned in six, he will work for four days only.

It is impossible in a short space to do justice to the wide range of subjects with which the "Statement" deals so informingly. It is, perhaps, natural that the author writing of a post-reform period should concentrate on the progress made and the difficulties encountered; but while it would be ungenerous to disparage the work of the Ministers, or to belittle their financial difficulties, it is equally unfair to ignore the progress of pre-reform years, and the much greater financial restrictions by which the administrators of that time were impeded.

The Ministers use the machinery created before their time, and indeed are standing on ladders which their predecessors are still holding up. The Great War and the crop failures which followed it had been surmounted before their work began. Of the confusing state of Indian politics during and since the Gandhi agitation the author has much to say, and he is most restrained in saying it, but judgment is not yet; great constitutional changes, unlike violent revolutions, take a long time to show their results. Applause or condemnation may alike prove premature. The crop of democracy, even in England, is not fully ripe; in India the seed sown has not yet germinated.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 1858 TO 1918. By Professor Dodwell. (Longmans.) 5s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.)

This book is a sketch only, and in the case of so vast a country, so large and so diversified a population, such complex problems, so many stirring events, and so much pouring of new wine into old bottles, a clear, comprehensive, and impartial sketch is a task far more difficult than a detailed history.

In an excellent Introduction Professor Dodwell sums up with force and decision the main points for development, and divides his sketch into three books dealing respectively with the Executive Government and its administrative policy, the foreign policy of the Government of India, and lastly, the political development of the people and its reactions on the structure of the Government.

The author may certainly be acquitted of any intention to depict unfairly or to criticize harshly; but as his sketch proceeds it is found to lose a correct perspective. One feels that, even in a sketch, amidst criticisms however justifiable regarding the policy followed, tardiness in execution, or failure to grasp opportunities, more space should have been found to present the reader with an accurate picture of the wonderful progress of the country, moral and material, between the date of the Queen's Proclamation and the publication of the constitutional reforms. But the chapter on administrative policy is disappointingly inadequate. Even where he deals with a few of the most important branches of administration he devotes many more words to earlier shortcomings than to later successes. Thus famine policy occupies seven pages, of which less than one deals with the great famines of 1897 and 1900; and the great successes achieved in later famines and scarcities are not even mentioned.

The remarkable activities of the Forest Department would not be recognized in the space allotted to it. The world famous work of the Irrigation Engineers excites but a poor tribute. It is the same with the railways. Early mistakes have been given much space, and the wonderful effects upon the country of their ultimate success are barely noticed.

The chapter on the Home Government, and of the gradual encroachment of the Secretary of State upon the responsibility of the Viceroy and his Council, is interesting, and his condemnation of government by private letter and telegram (though private telegrams have their proper uses as a supplement to official dispatches) will meet with hearty support; but, coming to later times, he is decidedly severe on Lord Morley, while he is both kind and unkind to Mr. Montagu; kind because Mr. Montagu's interferences—just as great and even more harmful than Lord Morley's—are passed over in silence; unkind in attributing to him so insignificant a part in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Lord Chelmsford undoubtedly sought a goal, but the steps taken towards it might well have been quite different if Mr. Montagu had never been Secretary of State.

The chapters on Foreign Policy deal with the problems of the North-West Frontier, and the effect of the Russian menace upon them down to the change in the outlook consequent upon the Anglo-Russian Convention; and the author shows how the intricacies of European politics have increasingly influenced the settlement of frontier questions. He alludes briefly to Burma and Tibet, but he has not noticed at all the complicated situations that arose in Persia as a consequence of the division of that country into zones of influence; nor does he mention the Persian Gulf. Again, he handles the latter part of his period much more lightly than the earlier one, and he does not give the Amir Habibulla credit for the extreme dexterity with which he resisted German and Turkish blandish-

ment and kept his country out of the war, in spite of fanatical pro-Turkish and anti-British parties in Kabul, a staunchness which saved India from a very dangerous situation, though it ultimately cost the Amir his life.

The chapter on the Indian States is an interesting summary of the changing attitude towards them which has marked the progress of years from Lord Dalhousie's time to the present day, and the author rightly lays stress on the profound effect upon the relations of the Princes and Chiefs to the paramount power which the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 brought about, but he is incorrect in describing them as subjects of the Queen. They are feudatories owing political allegiance to the Crown, but neither they nor their subjects are British subjects themselves, though they enjoy many of the advantages of that status.

The chapters on the political development of India are the most interesting, and much of the criticism of the chapter headed "Education and Employment" is sound enough from the destructive point of view, though most constructive alternatives that have been put forward by the various authorities would equally have been liable to severe criticism on this ground or the other. The author raises and discusses many well-worn issues as to the belated employment of Indians in the higher offices, the neglect of technical in favour of purely literary education, and the delay in announcing a goal of self-government. In all such discussions there is invariably controversy, and much wisdom after the event. But the author seems to have missed one very crucial point—namely, that it was the war and its effects that put forward the political progress of the country by at least a generation. When apostles of progress in England were prepared to declare that a great war had become impossible from a financial point of view, and that if there were such a war it could not last more than a few weeks, it is a little severe to have expected pre-war Government in India to anticipate political developments following a titanic conflict which lasted over four years, and of which the issue was in doubt until the fourth year had passed.

It is a fact also that the demands of the war postponed by several years certain intended advances in the directions of the greater employment of Indians and the adoption of a stronger industrial policy, while on the other hand it brought into the horizon political changes which would have taken several years to appear if the war had not altered the world.

No writer on this period of Indian history should have overlooked the significance of the extraordinary outburst of loyalty which followed upon the declaration of war. It was a visible manifestation that the great mass of people felt that India had been godly and quietly governed, and, whatever a dissatisfied intelligenzia may now say, that response will always be the greatest tribute to the people's appreciation of British rule.

The author has certainly been at great pains to select his material, and has not been consciously unfair, though his historical sketch would have been a juster picture if there had been a good deal more light and a good deal less shade.

CITIZENSHIP IN INDIA: ITS PRIVILEGES AND DUTIES. By Captain P. S. Cannon. (*Oxford University Press.*)

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.S.C.I.)

Captain Cannon, who is Instructor in History and Citizenship at the Indian Army School of Education, has written this book for the use of the personnel of the Education Corps which is attached to units and formations of the Indian Army. "It is hoped," he says in his Introduction, "that it may also be of assistance to Indian officers and N.C.O.'s acquainted with English who may be called upon to assist the Indian Army Education Corps in the work of education." He tells us that Citizenship has now for the first time been included among the subjects of education in the Indian Army, and we heartily welcome the announcement, for the extension among military officers and men of clear ideas as to the nature of India's Constitution is extremely desirable. As Captain Cannon says: "To familiarize with the idea of Representative Government men entirely unaccustomed to such conceptions will be found a long and difficult task; but if possible every man who is promoted to the rank of havildar should have received instruction in the way in which a province is governed."

The book gives instruction on a number of connected subjects. There are chapters on district administration, on the Native States, on the Government of India, on the Secretary of State and his Council, on the King in Parliament. There are also chapters on the qualities necessary to obtain future reforms, on communications, on agriculture, irrigation and forests, on public health and education, on money and banks, and on the British Empire.

In these days when false information is so busily disseminated on the subject of British rule in India, and an insidious mental offensive is directed toward fomenting and exploiting racial and class hatred, we heartily welcome the assurance given by this small volume that such excellent educational work is going on in the Indian Army, and we can conceive no book better adapted for its purpose than Captain Cannon's.

BOOKS FROM INDIA

(Reviewed by F. R. SCATCHERD.)

ṚGVEDIC CULTURE. By A. C. Das, M.A., PH.D. (*R. Cambay and Co., Calcutta and Madras.*)

THE GROWTH OF CIVILIZATION. By B. Rajagopalan, M.A. (*Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India.*) Boards, 1s. 4d.

THEOSOPHY AS THE BASIC UNITY OF NATIONAL LIFE. Convention Lectures, 1924. (*Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*) Boards, 1s.

INDIAN AFTER-DINNER STORIES. By A. S. P. Ayyar, I.C.S. (*B. D. Taraporevala, Sons and Co., 190, Hornby Rd., Fort, Bombay.*) Rs. 4.

"Ṛgvedic Culture" is a work intended for Vedic students and scholars. It deals with the highly controversial subjects of the locality of the original cradle of the Aryans, which the author's theory postulates must have been in ancient Sapta-Sindhu (the Punjab), and the date of the real beginnings of Ṛgvedic culture, which Mr. Das argues might have been about 20,000 or 25,000 B.C. Only Oriental scholars are in a position to decide as to the value of the revision of current views brought forward.

Apart from these highly contentious subjects, supplemented as it is with an excellent bibliography and copious index, "Ṛgvedic Culture" should prove of great interest to the Vedic student on account of its attempted reconstruction of the life actually lived in Ṛgvedic times. It is a volume of 564 pages, and Mr. Das, as lecturer on "Ancient Indian History and Culture," is to be congratulated on his zeal, industry, and learning.

"The Growth of Civilization" is based on lectures delivered in the Adyar Ashrama, a school for the study of "universal knowledge and culture," on the basis that these, in their various aspects, are "mutually illuminating expressions of the one Cosmic Life."

Mr. Rajagopalan makes various attempts to define civilization, a term so wide in its scope that it is possible for the student "to acquire that command over his understanding which would enable him to believe what he wishes, without evidence, or to refuse his assent to what may be unpleasing, when accompanied with evidence."* (Italics are ours.)

This quotation, from the opening paragraph, might be regarded by some as strangely appropriate to this work, based, as it is, on the assumption of a knowledge of the Divine Plan for the evolution of mankind.

Such a conclusion, however, would be unfair to the author, who points out the weakness of his own contentions.

Civilization, defined as the lowest common multiple of the virtues and characteristics of the innumerable people of a race, he tells us, may be considered as progressing in proportion as it influences the lives of ever-growing numbers within that race. This and other definitions are

* Max Nordau.

set aside in favour of that of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who believe civilization to be—

“a mould that each nation is busy making for itself to shape it men and women according to its best ideal.”

The criticisms levelled by the author against this definition of his own choice reveal a frank recognition of the danger menacing those who accepting certain preconceptions, run the risk of twisting historical fact to suit preconceived theories.

The author frequently escapes from leading-strings, and then his own ideas merit attention.

“When the virtues of a Civilization in course of time turn, by a curious trick of Nature's Laws, into vices, and threaten retardation of human progress, down comes the Divine axe (p. 11). . . . The Laws of Nature include within their scope the laws of biology, the laws of the struggle for existence, and the survival of the fittest . . . for which there has been evidence in recorded history out of all proportion to the real state of affairs. . . .

“The world does not need much convincing that the biological law, valuable as it is in showing that man shares with the animal certain characteristics, is not only not the only law governing man kind, but also not the most important. The overwhelming power of religion over men, the extraordinary development of ethical ideas, and the altruism shown by civilized men in the development of the spirit of humanity, in the treatment of children, animals, victims of cruel disease, criminals and slaves, show that the law of the struggle for existence has always been, and is increasingly being, dominated by humanistic law.”

It is difficult to appraise the lectures brought together under the title “Theosophy as the Basic Unity of National Life.” Dr. Besant's “The Real and Unreal in a Nation's Life” is delightful reading, regarded as philosophical speculation. The definition of a nation as “a biological individual” is illuminating. But when, as a result of her *study of history* Dr. Besant informs us that education along right lines will only become possible when the Devas again co-operate with men as they did in the past “by guiding incoming souls to appropriate bodies,” we feel we are being taken back to the days of “The Child's Guide to Knowledge,” with its division of history into sacred and profane.

“The Citizen as a Divine Agent,” by J. Krishnamurti, is of interest as revealing the mind of a young Indian escaping from his environment and the psychological influence of his Western educators. His ideas are indeed reflections from the minds of those instructors. Yet he has retained an individual view and is able to use his own judgment.

Here is his description of a famous Indian shrine he visited two years ago at Benares, resorted to by thousands of pilgrims:

“What comfort does it give us? what salvation does it offer us? None. The squalor, the noise, the yelling of people, the priest who comes and asks for a little money, the filth and the appalling degradation of what is the noblest thing in life—this is that temple now.

One comes away nauseated, depressed, wishing that the world did not exist, wishing that the priests were not there, wishing that, if they did nothing else, they would at least keep the temple clean. Do you know how many temples in Southern India own palm-groves, and those groves are rented for the making of toddy? Is it in keeping with a spiritual ideal to make money out of the ruin of the people?

“Then, again, look at the priest. I was at a funeral the other day, a cremation . . . the most appalling and pitiable of sights. There was a person lying down on the floor dead, a body finished, his *ego* or soul gone away, and there were thirty or forty priests saying prayers, mantrams, and so on. . . . I saw a big bag containing money, and the priests were asking for three or four rupees more before they were induced to go on with what they were saying. This happens just as much in the West, only there it is done privately.”

Krishnamurti is equally outspoken with regard to political matters. It is convenient to-day, as

“happened in Ireland, to abuse the Government . . . and lay all our troubles—family, religious, economic, and everything—on the Government. I do not say—far from it—that the British Government is not culpable, that the English people as a nation have not done a great harm to India, which England will have to pay for some day. Her Karma is great, and our pity for her should be greater. But we cannot blame the British for everything, and say that the death-rate, the birth-rate, child-marriage, and every other evil, is the fault of Great Britain. Ireland is now discovering, after she has got Home Rule and become a Free State, that what matters is character, strength to stand up by yourself, and not to throw all your burdens on to somebody else and be slack yourself. That is slowly dawning upon her, and we must also gradually realize it for ourselves.”

“Brotherhood as a Reality,” by the Lady Emily Lutyens, inspired as it is with a high ideal of social service, is yet rather out of its setting, since it deals mainly with life and social conditions in England.

Whatever comes from the pen of Mr. Jinarajadāsa is generally worth reading, and “The Spiritual Organization of a Nation” is no exception.

The gospel of science he thinks can be summed up in the one word “organization,” by which he means that a particle of matter specializes itself through the agency of “life,” and thus differentiates itself from surrounding matter. This results, according to occult teaching, in the release, not only of the blind force called “life,” but of a self-conscious divinity.

“The process of life which seems to the scientific vision merely a struggle for existence . . . is not that ruthless war which crushes the individual, but a process of idealism which is steadily releasing beauty, tenderness, harmony, and everything that man's heart longs for? . . . Just as the individual enshrines the nature of God, so, too, does a nation . . . just as an organism composed of cells has a function different from that of the individual cells, so, too, a nation may have a function distinct in many ways from the functions of its individual citizens.”

Work, worship, and play are the three functions by which the individual releases the divinity within him for the benefit of the nation into which he is born.

In order to release the divinity in the nation a sense of unity must be cultivated. But nationalism must not imply apathy towards, or hatred of, other national units. All national characteristics are needed—the subjectivity of the Hindū, the objectivity of the Muslim, and the Briton's ability to "muddle through."

"We do not care to muddle at all. We plan to create perfection; and while we are working at constitutions and visualizing difficulties ahead of us, and work everything out in detail for every contingency to the end of time, the Briton—that is, the unimaginative, practical, objective-minded man, who trusts in himself—simply says: 'Let us get together; we'll muddle through somehow.' . . . It is a precious gift . . . to get to grips with difficulties at once and muddle through somehow. If we learn that lesson from the Briton, I do believe that . . . we in India will make a really great nation."

A criticism that might be made against Mr. Jinarājadāsa's scientific allusions is that apparently they are all drawn from the pre-electronic age of science, as he only refers to atoms and molecules, not to the ions and electrons which would illustrate his points so much better.

"After-Dinner Stories" is an excellent collection of parables, tales, and traditional anecdotes, but, with the exception of two or three, no European would consider them laughable. The fact that they are so regarded by the author, who tells us they were written with the primary object of "promoting healthy laughter," throws a flood of light on the difference between the Eastern and Western minds. The wildest imagination falls short of depicting these mostly tragic stories of birth, death, and human destiny as forming themes for after-dinner mirth and relaxation in European clubland.

There is, for example, a subtle lesson in the sixty-fifth story for the logician who frequently insists on applying his exact science to the practical problems of life, but its outcome is certainly not laughter provoking.

There was a carpenter who plumed himself on his mathematical knowledge. Crossing a river, he ascertained that its depth was six inches at either bank and eight feet in the middle. What a fool he had been to pay two annas for crossing! The average depth was but three feet. His height was five feet six inches, thus he could easily wade through. So, his business finished, he entered the river, dwelling on the usefulness of a knowledge of the law of averages.

"Caught in the eight-foot depth, unable to swim, the unfortunate carpenter was dragged helplessly along by the swift current and met a watery grave."

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SOVIET RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN

BY PRINCE ANDRÉ LOBANOW-ROSTOVSKY

[The writer of this article, members of whose family have long been honourably connected with Turkestan, where they owned extensive properties, served during the Great War in the Russian Army, and was later on attached to the staff of General Denikin in the section of Foreign Relations, in which capacity he was in a position to obtain valuable information as to current developments in Central Asia.]

PUBLIC interest has, for some time past, been so much occupied by the great drama of political and economic rivalries which is being played on the international stage, that little is heard, even though much curiosity may be felt, regarding Soviet Russian activities in the arena of the Middle East. Yet there was a time when very strong feeling was aroused, both in Russia and Great Britain, by the clash of the national interests of these two great Asiatic rivals in South-Western Asia—Turkistan, Persia, Baluchistan, and Afghanistan. The rivalry of the early eighties, following the Afghan War of 1878-80 and prior to the agreement of 1886, will be well within the recollection of the older generation now living. As this question was then seen by the man in the street—reduced, therefore, to quite an elemental form—Russia was manœuvring for a strangle hold on India, and Great Britain was engaged in the necessary counter-strategy. Readers of Mr. Rudyard Kipling—and their number was legion, even in Russia—

will doubtless recall a very powerful story of that period entitled "The Man Who Was," in which a very maudlin and deplorably unrepresentative type of Russian officer enunciates his patriotic aspirations towards India with offensive frankness.

After the 1886 Agreement the diplomatic struggle swayed westward towards the Persian frontier, where it continued until the 1907 Agreement delimitating zones of influence for the two nations successfully exorcised yet new spectres of strife and bloodshed.

So matters remained until the reorientation of interests created by the Great War apparently shattered all pre-war conceptions of real-Politik. Out of the Great War had emerged a Russia as different, apparently, from pre-war Russia—so it might appear to a non-Russian—as chalk from cheese!

Enlightened men of all nationalities who have lived through the war, and learnt its lessons, will look back, not without shame, on the old imperialistic rivalries between Great Britain and Russia in the East, which, to a very considerable extent, were merely a gigantic game of diplomatic bluff. Seen from a post-war perspective, there was so much that the immense power of each might have achieved, by a policy of mutual goodwill and co-operation, to ensure prosperity within their enormous areas of influence and peace on the frontiers.

Does the new revolutionary Russia see this great problem in a different way from the old? A volume, and not an article, would be necessary to review this subject on the historical side, but probably very little space would be necessary so far as dealing with the question of "enlightenment" is concerned. What is partly known, and what is felt, regarding Soviet policy *vis-à-vis* China would probably immediately furnish an answer to nine men out of ten, little though they might know of the political philosophy of those who rule Russia to-day.

But references to China are by the way. The intention

of this article is to examine the relations existing between Soviet Russia and Afghanistan—the old problem in a new form. Afghanistan seems to have been forgotten by the European public, but not so by the Soviets, who are thinking, *mutatis mutandis*, in political formulæ that are already over forty years old. Let me try, as briefly as possible, to summarize recent events.

A recent Russo-Afghan frontier incident, which has not yet been settled, and the construction of a railway in Russian Turkestan down to the Oxus on the Afghan frontier have attracted little attention in the press, although they constitute evidence of a persistent activity of the Soviet Government in that direction. In the carefully mapped out plan of expansion and revolutionary penetration in Asia on which the Soviets look as their trump card, Afghanistan has always had a prominent place. It is difficult to say whether this penetration will become as formidable as it has proved in China, or whether it will meet with a rebuff, as in Persia, but a survey of the geographical and historical conditions of the Amir's kingdom will partly supply an answer to the question, and will at least make the history of the Soviet Afghan relations more intelligible.

Afghanistan extends over a territory about equal to that of France and lies between Persia, Baluchistan, and Waziristan on the one hand and Russia, Turkistan, Bukhara and Ferghana on the other, these last three regions having once been part of the former Russian Empire. Thus practically the whole northern frontier of the country is dominated by Russia, and this boundary line is of very great importance since it runs mainly along the greatest river of Central Asia, the Amu Daria, or the Oxus as it was known to antiquity. The tremendous chain of the Hindu Kush mountains, towering some 20,000 feet high, divides the northern portion of the country, known as Afghan Turkistan, from the rest, and the population of this part, Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Turcomans, links ethnographically with Russian Turkistan, the bulk of which is

populated by these races. The importance of this factor was quickly recognized by the Soviet Government, as we shall see later. The Afghans themselves are a sturdy race, with an indomitable spirit of independence which renders them peculiarly inaccessible to any permanent foreign influence. Yet another important factor is that the main commercial cities, with the exception of Kabul, the capital, are located near the Russian frontier and their prosperity depends on trade relations with their northern neighbour. This holds good in the case of Andkhui, Balkh, Maimana, Mazar-i-Sharif, Shibarkhan, Faizabad, all cities of from 30,000 to 80,000 inhabitants and all lying at the termini of caravan tracks to Russia. Along these routes pass the Afghan exports of products of cultivation, carpets and fruit, and imports from Russia of sugar, manufactured goods, steel and iron products. Thus an important commercial current runs northwards, carrying many far-reaching consequences to the economic and political life of the country.

The political history of Afghanistan has been subject to the law of attraction exercised by all powerful neighbours on small countries, and the orientation of its policy subsequently towards one of the two poles of attraction, viz., British India or Russia, has been the cause of much trouble to this little country.

So far as Russia is concerned the first contact was established in the days of the Tsars of Moscow, by a mission which visited Balkh, then independent, in 1648. A second mission arrived in Kabul in 1675. For a period of 160 years thereafter, however, no Russians were seen in Afghanistan, since it was not till 1837 that a new Russian mission, headed by Vitkevitch, was sent to the Court of the Amir. Although at first received with hostility, Vitkevitch eventually succeeded in winning Amir Dost i Muhammad to the Russian cause. Forty years later a mission under General Stoletov met with a like success, and established an alliance with the Amir Shir Ali Khan. The too

russophile policy of this Amir, however, led at last to his downfall. Since then Russo-Afghan relations virtually remained at a standstill, and in her treaty of 1907 with England, Russia formally renounced interest in Afghanistan.

The Great War brought a German-Turkish military mission to Kabul, and after the war the country fell on troubled times. When Amir Habibullah Khan's reign ended Nasrullah Khan, who followed him on the throne, was shortly after dethroned by his nephew Amanulla Khan, the present ruler, whose reign seems to mark an opening of a period of progress and modernization. Indeed, reforms were granted in 1921, a party of 100 Afghans were sent abroad for studies, diplomatic missions from France, Italy, and China arrived at Kabul, and last, but not least, a concession to run a motor service from the capital to the Indian frontier.

The civil war in Russia was still raging when the Soviet Government turned its eyes towards Asia in application of Lenin's words: "When the Russian proletarian movement at its maximum succeeds in effecting a junction with the populations of Asia the world revolution, and its corollary, a universal Soviet republic, may be considered as secured." An Oriental Section of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs was established in 1919 at Moscow, and was placed under the control of the Orientalist Vosnesenski. In the same year a conference took place at Tashkent, under the auspices of the Khubis or Turkish Communists, which had for its object the Communist and Pan-Islamic development of Central Asia. Early in 1920 a second, and more ambitious, conference, held at Samarqand, was attended by delegates from places as remote as the Pamir, India, and Ceylon. This conference laid the foundations of the Union of Liberation of the East which has since been so active in supporting all anti-European movements, from Abdul Krim to Canton. However, it was not until an official consecration of their policy was obtained at the

second Congress of the Third International at Moscow in July of the same year, that the Soviets embarked energetically on their Asiatic adventures. Immediately after this Congress, plans were laid for a Pan-Oriental Congress, which was held in September in Baku. This Congress marks a date in the post-war history of Asia: 1,890 delegates were present, representing 37 different nationalities; 50 women participated, and 3 were elected to the Presidium. The plenipotentiaries of Moscow were Zinoviev and Radek. The Congress definitely established the liaison between the Third International and the revolutionary and nationalist aspirations of the East. One of the results of its deliberations was the creation of a Soviet of action and propaganda in Baku, depending on the Executive Committee of Moscow. This Soviet was organized in three departments:

- (a) Section of Propaganda, which published the newspaper *People of the East* in various Oriental languages.
- (b) Administrative Section and Executive.
- (c) Instruction Department.

It is, however, from the moral results obtained by the Soviets that this Congress is important: it was here at Baku that Asia first made their acquaintance and that they first put on the mask of defenders of the oppressed.

The first relations between Soviet Russia and Afghanistan were established in 1919, contemporaneously with the adoption by Moscow of her general Eastern policy. An Afghan mission proceeded to Moscow and the Soviet envoy Souritz left for Kabul. A year later two important political events nearly put an end to this dawning entente. A Soviet revolution broke out in Bukhara and the Amir of that country took refuge in Afghanistan. Following this, in 1921, an anti-Soviet Pan-Turanian movement, known as the "Basmach" revolt, started in Eastern Bukhara, spread all over Russian Central Asia and according to common

report found active support in Afghanistan. This movement seemed to have existed for some time before, in the form of ordinary bandit activity, from which its name is derived. The Basmach activities appeared to be then confined to the mountainous regions of Bukhara and were directed against the authority of the Beks or feudal governors ruling under the ægis of the Amir, and also against the payment of taxes. The overthrow of the Amir and his flight to Afghanistan enlarged and redirected the movement, which became the instrument of counter-revolutionary activity on the part of the Amir's supporters and the Muslim clergy, who proclaimed a holy war against the enemies of Islam—i.e., the Jadids (Bolshevists). But it was mainly because of the mismanagement of the land policy by the new rulers of Bukhara and the plight to which the population was reduced as a consequence of Russia's economic breakdown that the revolt became a popular movement. Two figures will suffice to illustrate how desperate the economic situation had become: in 1917 Bukhara exported to Russia 2,000,000 poods of cotton (its main wealth); in 1921 the amount had fallen to 142,000 poods.

At an early stage of the revolt, which was carefully watched by the whole Muslim world, a Turkish staff officer arrived from Angora and addressed the rebels in terms of a Muslim union against European imperialism. However, the leader of the movement was not the man for so ambitious a programme. Eventually the man did appear, in the person of Enver Pasha.

Enver had not joined the Kemalists, probably not wishing to play a secondary part. In 1919 he was traced to the Crimea and a year later he appeared at the Congress of Baku, where his reception was by no means cordial. Thereafter he remained in Baku, watching the trend of events and looking for his opportunity. The Basmach revolt came *à propos*. Early in November, 1921, he arrived at Bukhara. Three days later he set off on a

hunting expedition from which he never returned, having in reality joined a small rebel detachment commanded by a Turkish officer. He was at first received with suspicion and even made prisoner, but managed eventually to get in touch with the fugitive Amir of Bokhara and was finally appointed by him Commander-in-Chief of the Basmatch forces, or, as he himself styled it, the Muslim army. Under his swift and able leadership the revolt at first met with conspicuous success. Directed by a staff of Turkish officers, aided, it is alleged, by Afghan money, munitions, and, in one or two cases, by Afghan regulars who crossed the border in support, the movement spread throughout Russian Turkistan and became a very serious menace to Moscow's sway in Central Asia. The "Reds" abandoned a great portion of the country and native administrators returned from exile in Afghanistan to resume their posts. Enver's emissaries spread all over Turkistan co-ordinating the local movements, and were to be found in the border Muslim states asking for support. The three main objects of the revolt, as postulated by Enver, were: the creation of a large Pan-Turanian empire comprising Persia, Bokhara, Khiva, Afghanistan, and eventually Turkey; union of all the Muslims; and delivery from the Europeans. On January 21, 1922, Enver sent Moscow an ultimatum demanding the total abandonment of Turkestan by the Soviets. In March, Moscow replied by sending the Red Army to Bokhara. Fighting went on throughout the summer. The movement was, indeed, tending to become one of those major tidal waves which have swept over Asia from time immemorial. Enver's luck turned, however, after the unsuccessful battle of Baisun, and his forces were gradually driven back towards the Afghan frontier.

On August 4 of the same year he was killed in a rear-guard action, and so ended a career of extraordinary glamour and adventure. His death was fatal to the cause he had espoused with such energy; the movement was

definitely broken and mastered, dwindling down gradually into sporadic outbursts of little importance.

During the early stages of this crisis the Soviet diplomacy displayed great moderation with regard to Afghanistan, seeking to maintain friendship at all costs. On September 12, 1920, Treaty negotiations were concluded, but the Treaty was revised later, and finally signed in Moscow on February 18, 1921, being ratified by the Afghan Mejlis six months later. Compared with the closed door policy previously maintained by the Amir's Government, this Treaty was certainly very favourable to Russia. Apart from the establishment of diplomatic and consular representation in both countries and full mutual recognition, the Afghans acknowledged the independence of Khiva and Bukhara, *whatever form of government might be prevalent*. The Russians granted free transit to Afghan exports and promised technical and material help.

Under this Treaty Soviet consulates were established at Herat and Mazar-i-Sharif. However, little time elapsed before the political horizon was again ominously clouded. The Basmatch activities of the Afghan Government increased, until ultimately an attempt was made to capture by force the powerful Russian wireless station at Kabul, which had been established by Souritz. Thereupon the Treaty was suspended. Then came the turn of the tide in the Pan-Turanian revolt, and with it a discreet change in the Amir's policy. Finally, he issued a decree forbidding the border population to take part in the Basmatch movement. In November, 1922, the Treaty was revived, and has been in vigour ever since. Further, a "stunt" flight was undertaken by a squad of Russian aviators from Turkistan across the Hindu Kush to Kabul, as a result of which some aeroplane orders were secured in Moscow. Finally, an Afghan air force was created by Soviet instructors. This force is reputed to consist at present of twelve machines, piloted by Russian aviators, and a considerable addition is projected in the near future.

For the three years following the revival of the Treaty it looked as though a state of more or less stable equilibrium had been attained, but the entente has again been disturbed by a new and extremely violent frontier incident which occurred this winter over an island on the Oxus claimed by Russia, and the quarrel has not yet been settled, notwithstanding the fact that recent news is to the effect that the island has been evacuated, and that a Soviet Afghan Commission is working amicably on the question in dispute.

The frequency and violence of these quarrels show that, if friendship there is between the Soviets and Afghanistan, it is certainly not whole-hearted on either side.

A survey of the relations between the two countries would not be complete without a brief survey of what has been done on the Russian side of the Afghan border since the Basmach crisis came to an end.

Prior to the revolution Russian Central Asia formed a part of the Russian Empire under the name of the General Governorship of Turkistan, with the capital at Tashkent. Two independent protectorates, Khiva (Khoresm) and Bukhara, were included in the Turkistan jurisdiction.

Following on the Soviets coming to power the Khan of Khiva and the Amir of Bukhara both lost their thrones through risings in their states. The two Russian protectorates became the Khorasm (Khiva) Peoples Independent Soviet Republic, and the Bukhara Peoples Independent Soviet Republic, and were linked to the U.S.S.R. on the basis of independent contracting parties, this independence being of course only nominal. In 1924 a new territorial grouping took place, and the two republics became three—viz.: (1) the Uzbek Republic, comprising the lands inhabited by the Uzbeks on the border of Afghanistan and a notable part of Bukhara; (2) the Tajik Republic, inhabited by Tajiks; and (3) the Turkman Republic, comprising Khiva and the Turkman

part of Turkistan. The total population of these three Soviet Republics amounts roughly to 3,500,000.

The reform of 1924 is most instructive, and shows on the part of Moscow a desire to profit by the lesson of the Basmach movement. It will be noticed that a strict ethnographical line has been followed in the delimitation of these republics, according to the principle of *divide et impera*. But apart from this the reform is conspicuously directed against Afghanistan. If we remember that the northern districts of that country are inhabited by Uzbeks and Tajiks we shall detect a similarity between the creation of these republics and the establishment, about the same time, of the Moldavian Soviet Republic on the frontier of Bessarabia. In both instances the purpose is to create a powerful centre of attraction and propaganda beyond the borders and to stimulate the centrifugal tendencies of frontier populations of the neighbouring state.

Similarly, though perhaps not so conspicuously, agitators from the Turkman republic are working amongst the Turkmen around Herat, calling them to join their brothers the Turkmen of Russian Turkistan. This line of penetration is highly interesting. Herat, the second great city of Afghanistan, has 100,000 inhabitants and lies on the shortest commercial route between Russia and India. A telegraph line connects it with Russia. What may be the present prospects of Herat detaching itself from Afghanistan and becoming a Soviet Republic is a matter of conjecture, but a few considerations must be kept in view. The present unity of Afghanistan dates only from 200 years ago, and whereas the north was previously independent, the south was under the yoke of the Mogul Emperors of Delhi. Hence, the north regards the south with a certain disdain, and the ethnographical line between these two regions, as already pointed out, is so distinct as to give skilled agitators ample scope for persuading the peaceful Afghan border populations that the ruling mountain tribe are foreign oppressors. On the other hand, the character of these popu-

lations, which is essentially commercial and materialistic, tends to convert the strong commercial current running to Russia into terms of political attraction. Remembering that the constitution of the Soviet Union is elastic enough to permit of new entities joining up on the basis of independent contracting parties, and bearing in mind the fate of Mongolia, detached from China before the war, ruled by the Khutukhta at Ourga, and transformed by Soviet pressure into a "red" republic, we can by no means dismiss from our calculations the possibility of Herat following the same historical road, and giving a lead in turn to the Uzbeks and Tajiks. Nor, in connection with these conjectures, should we overlook the opening, in 1923, of a military high school for Oriental studies in Tashkent, and a year later, in the same city, of a Central Asia Communist University where lectures are delivered in the native tongues.

Other lines of activity have also been adopted by the Soviets. Immediately after their entry into power they directed their attention, not unnaturally, to the question of railway communications, as a result of which traffic was opened up in January on a new line running to Termez on the Afghan frontier. It may seem strange that expenditure should be wasted on such a line—so little likely to yield an economic return—particularly when there are so many urgent transport problems in the heart of the country, caused by the disorganization of the railways, awaiting solution; but the underlying policy is typical of the mentality of the Moscow leaders. It only shows the importance they attach to this line, and its significance must not be underestimated. The new line branches off from the Merv-Andijan sector of the Central Asia Railway which joins the main Russian system at Orenburg. It goes south-east and runs approximately parallel with the Merv-Kushk line which created so much excitement in this country as being the first Russian railway to approach Afghanistan. At Termez, the terminus of the new line, lies the main

crossing over the Amu Daria. The directional importance of this line is shown by the fact that, whereas through Kushk pass two difficult tracks to Kandahar and Kabul and four roads through the Pamir region, no less than nine caravan roads pass via the Termez region to Andkhui, Balk, Mazar-i-Sharif, and Shibirkhan. The railway will doubtless intensify the commercial current flowing this way, but its main object seems clearly strategic, since it is the best gateway to Afghanistan. In this connection it is of interest to note that in the *Voennaya Mysl* (a military review published in Turkistan) appeared an article in 1921 suggesting the direction Herat-Kandahar for a railway to India. The idea was dismissed officially as being impracticable.

The Bolsheviks are prone to speak and dream in world terms. Though the railway to India can only remain a bluff, it is certain that the country lying beyond the snowy peaks of the Hindu Kush fascinates them; and, in their visions of Pan-Asiatic domination, their eyes and thoughts turn again and again to the roads that lead to Afghanistan and thence beyond.

What has the future in its keeping? Will Afghanistan allow itself to be gradually drawn into the orbit of Soviet influence, or will there be a national reaction? Or will there be a counter move on the part of other neighbouring powers? It has been suggested that adjustments of railway rates on the Indian railways running towards the Afghan frontier, and a development of motor services from the railheads to Kabul and Kandahar through the Khyber Pass would create a new commercial current towards the South. It has also been suggested that the bordering and fertile Persian province of Seistan, joined with India by a railway from Nushki, might become a basis for this counter move—all the more so in view of the fact that the main Afghan river Helmund runs through it. But this carries us beyond the scope of the present study of Russo-Afghan relations.

INDIAN PEASANTS

BY RAGHUNATH D. REGE, M.SC., (BOMBAY) A.I.I.S.C.

[It will be recalled that Prof. N. Gangulee, who has now been appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, wrote two papers, from the Rothamsted Experimental Station, on "Rural Conditions in India" for the ASIATIC REVIEW. The present writer is a Research Scholar at the same institution.]

WHILE the state of Indian peasantry is now arresting much attention in the Press, there is a divergence of opinion as regards the causes of its poverty. According to various political views, some throw the blame on the Government and others on the people themselves. A writer in the *Round Table*, for instance, suggests the social evils, such as early marriage, caste barriers, joint family system, the Hindu social ideals, and even the Hindu-Muslim antagonism as the chief causes of the deplorable condition of the Indian peasant; others attribute it to the high increase in population and therefore consider the problem beyond the control of any human agency. There is a third group of opinion which emphasizes the remarkable achievements of the British Government, such as the establishment of internal peace, the introduction of irrigation and modern transport facilities, the opening of international markets for raw products and the inauguration of the agricultural departments. There is also a tendency among certain economists to judge the standard of living of an ordinary cultivator from the statistical data of India's exports and imports. I think these people do not much differ from those noblemen of an old Muhammadan king, who were reputed to condemn the folly of his subjects in dying of starvation during a severe famine instead of eating ghee and wheat bread—commodities common on the table of these noblemen but hardly ever seen by the people in normal times. In this connection the official statement, as given in "The Moral and Material Progress of India in 1921," may be found interesting:

"Even if it can be assumed that the income of Rs. 100

per head per annum of the Madras Presidency (obtained by the Statistical Branch of Agriculture of the Madras Presidency from the agricultural products) is true for the rest of India, this increase over the 1899 figure (Rs. 30) does not really amount to very much. For at present the average Madras rustic family enjoying such an income must spend nearly half its earnings on staple food, if that food be rice, in order to get enough food. Only half its income is available for all the other necessities of civilized life—milk, curds, clarified butter, condiments, clothing, fuel, light, housing, education, amusement, travel, recreation and the like. In short, the Madras Survey seems to show that the symptoms of increasing prosperity, such as have been described, ought not to disguise from the observer the poverty which besets the masses of the Indian population—poverty of a kind which finds no parallel in the more exigent because less tropical climate of Europe."

What are, then, the causes? To get a clear idea it may be necessary to trace the history of rural conditions since the advent of the Western powers in India. Before the appearance of the agents of the great commercial companies formed in Holland and England, the Indian village enjoyed being a self-contained economic unit. Its food-stuff, its fuel, its need of agricultural and industrial implements, even of cloth were satisfied in the village itself. This gave rise to an artisan class representing a fairly large part of the population. It is estimated that 25 per cent. of the entire population in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century were employed in these craft industries. But the import of cheap machine-made commodities has slowly ousted these unorganized industries and thrown the people engaged in these occupations on the only staple industry in India—viz., agriculture. It must be remembered that these unorganized industries were not ruined by that process of economic evolution of society which took place in the European countries, but by the introduction of cheap machine-made products from outside. Thus these people actually lost their occupation without

any other means of livelihood, and though a part of these, having been in possession of a little capital, became traders, a large majority had to depend solely on the land. This process of the disintegration of village industries was further accelerated by transport facilities and subsequently by the growth of native machine industries. As the Industrial Commission (1916-18) says: "The extended use of cotton cloth of native and foreign manufacture by the poorer classes has very prejudicially affected the communities of weavers scattered over the country." The same process of elimination had gone on in other craft industries. No doubt the new organized industries which have sprung up either on native or foreign capital have absorbed a large majority of those outcasts, but an appreciable minority had to return to land, mostly as landless agricultural labourers.

Further, the increase in population has intensified this pressure greatly on the cultivated area. It is estimated that during the last century the population of India has more than doubled. Undoubtedly, during the earlier years India was able to assimilate a large majority of these increasing mouths by expansion of cropping area as a result of the destruction of portions of extensive and impenetrable forests which according to Roxburgh had covered vast tracts of best lands. It was only during the Great War that the Indian Government realized the necessity of Indian industrial development. The following passage from the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme speaks for itself:

"We believe that if the resources of the country are to be developed, the Government must take action. We feel no surprise that there remained a feeling of bitterness among the advanced parties. The people have recognized their inability to carry out their programme [of industrial development] without the help and guidance of Government. . . . On all grounds a forward policy of industrial development is urgently called for, not merely to give India economic stability, but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people, who desire to see her stand before the world as

a well-poised, up-to-date country; in order to provide an outlet for the energies of her youths, who are otherwise drawn exclusively to Government services or to a few overstocked professions; and in order that money now lying unproductive may be applied to the benefit of the whole community. Imperial interests also demand that the natural resources of India should henceforth be better utilized. We cannot measure the access of strength which an industrialized India will bring to the power of the Empire."

The number of those supported by agriculture as primary occupation is, according to the Census Report of 1921, 224 millions, representing 71 per cent. of the population. Deducting those living on agricultural rent and on stock-raising, fishing and hunting, the aggregate number of people subsisting exclusively on agriculture amounts to 208 millions. The total area in cultivation in 1921 of both food and non-food crops amounted to 291 millions. Thus the average cultivated area per head of the agricultural cultivators (including labourers) is a little above 1.4 acres. The figures given below, abstracted from Dr. Mann's "Land and Labour in a Deccan Village," would clearly illustrate how the increase in population has led to the diminution in the size of the holding.

Date.	Number of Land-holders.	Average Size of Holding.	Largest Holding.	Smallest Holding.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
1771-1772	19	40	74	7
1791-1792	35	21	28	2 $\frac{1}{3}$
1797-1798	28	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	56	6
1811-1812	48	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	44	2 $\frac{1}{3}$
1817-1818	42	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	35	2 $\frac{1}{3}$
After British occupation:				
1829-1830	52	14	—	—
1840-1841	54	14	—	—
1914-1915	116	7 (approx.)	40	Less than an acre

This survey of a village shows that "in the pre-British days and in the early days of British rule, the holdings

were usually of a fair size, more frequently more than 9 or 10 acres, while individual holdings of less than two acres were hardly known. Now the number of holdings is more than doubled and 81 per cent. of these holdings are under ten acres in size, while no less than 60 per cent. are less than five acres." It would be interesting to note that in England and Wales, while in 1851, before the advent of mechanical appliances, a holding was 17 acres per worker, in 1911 it had gone to 21.

Even this portion of land is sufficient to provide a man if intensively cultivated on the modern scientific methods, supplemented by subsidiary industries, as poultry-keeping, bee-keeping, etc. It is estimated in Germany that, due to intensive methods of cultivation and effective agricultural organization, 75 persons can be properly fed on each 100 acres of cultivated land. In India, owing to the favourable climatic conditions, which enable in some cases the raising of two crops a year, it is quite possible with such efficiency to properly support 100 men even on 75 acres of land. But in spite of the present changed conditions, Indian peasants were forced, due to their ignorance of modern methods of cultivation as well as due to the want of capital, to pursue the old extensive method of cultivation, which, owing to the larger holdings per individual and highly fertile nature of the soil, was producing sufficient for their livelihood a century back. As the Census Report (1921) rightly remarks, "India is a country of comparatively small holdings often of the allotment size, but cultivated on an extensive system applicable to large areas and under a method which, as it utilises neither the energy of the worker nor the productivity of the soil, is the reverse of economic. It is in these figures that the explanation of the poverty of the cultivator lies."

Not only the lack of knowledge but the fragmentation of these holdings in scattered plots makes intensive cultivation an impossibility. Due to Hindu as well as Muhammadan laws of inheritance, the heirs have equal rights in their ancestral property, and the scrupulous care observed in doling

out justice by dividing each block of land has led to this evil of fragmentation. The following table gives a clear idea of the situation in the village of Pimpla Soudagar studied by Dr. Mann.

Size of the Holding or Plot.	Number of Holdings.	Number of Plots.
Above 40 acres	1	Nil
Between 30 and 40 acres	1	Nil
" 20 and 30 "	9	1
" 10 and 20 "	18	7
" 5 and 10 "	34	21
" 1 and 5 "	71	268
Below 1 acre	22	428

It is worth noting that while there are only 156 holdings, the plots reach the alarming figure of 725. Further, fragmentation has gone to such an extreme that while only 15 per cent. of the holdings are below one acre, 60 per cent. of the plots come in this category. This is therefore a worse evil than subdivision, and it is unfortunate that nothing has been done so far to stop it. "It has, in fact, all the evils of very small holdings in that it prevents the use of machinery and labour-saving methods, and on the other hand, of large holdings, in that it hinders the adoption of really intensive cultivation by hand labour which is the great advantage of the small holder." No doubt some improvement is made by the people themselves by sub-letting a large amount of land by the holders. Much progress is done in the Punjab by the co-operative societies in the consolidation of holdings, and as a result of this the rent of the area treated in this way in one village has doubled. But what is required is a law like that passed in Japan in 1900, to prevent further fragmentation as well as to adjust the present ones. The Government, who could without consulting public opinion pass a law for the abolition of that abominable social practice of *sati*, could have easily passed this law for her prosperity without waiting for the development of that public opinion which is only apathetic and may not be quite hostile to such a measure.

Lastly, while agricultural methods as well as the agriculturists are in that primitive state as were a century back, due to the outside organized forces, the economic life of these people is in rapid process of transformation. Before, each cultivator was growing first what he needed for his maintenance, selling the surplus, and thus was not subjected to the mercy of fluctuating prices. But the demand for raw materials in the native as well as foreign industrial centres has brought about a radical change in the kind of crops raised. Instead of diversification which was suitable and therefore common in that primitive state of agriculture, specialization in particular crops not necessarily of feeding value has resulted. Thus cotton, jute, oil-seeds, etc., are taking the place of the grains as rice and wheat. The reason for this change is that the poor peasantry can not only realize cash immediately after a harvest from these commercially important crops, but if necessary he can get an advance in money by mortgaging the coming harvest. Thus he is coming more and more into the clutches of the village trader, who is an agent of big export firms and is an efficient instrument in exploiting the peasant, who is illiterate, without capital, and mostly in debt to the trader himself. By following the Western system of issuing regular crop forecasts, even the Indian Department of Agriculture, either wittingly or unwittingly, assists the middleman as well as organized commercial bodies to speculate, greatly to the detriment of the farmer, who is himself quite ignorant of the market prices of the farm produce. Thus while the Statistical Departments are busy calculating the average income of the farmer by the prices of agricultural products, the illiterate and indebted farmer, owing to this method of exploitation, hardly gets half of that.

Thus the elimination of the existing village industries without adequate corresponding remedy, the increasing population which has led not only to the small size of the holdings, but to the worse evil of fragmentation of these holdings, the stationary condition of agriculture greatly due

to the illiteracy of the people, lack of initial resources, and outside economic forces are the primary factors operating against the Indian peasant. Let us now examine some of the reasons to which this poverty is attributed by a great many writers. They say, "But can people advance when they are so conservative, burn the cattle manure as fuel, spend money on unproductive undertakings, show such veneration for the cattle as to protest against the elimination of wasteful and unfit members, and are bound by caste prejudices?" It is therefore necessary to study these carefully so as to find out the nature of their influence on the standard of life as well as the factors which have led to their retention.

Conservatism is an essential attribute of a practical farmer and is not peculiar to the Indian peasant. Even the same complaint is heard of the farmers in other parts of the civilized world. Owing to the diverse climatic and soil conditions, the close relation of science and practice is difficult, and the farmer who wholly depends upon his land for his livelihood, is naturally wary of trying any new experiment on his land till he is convinced of its advantages. This is more essential to an Indian peasant, who generally lives from hand to mouth, and any failure in the yield he gets brings him to the brink of starvation. Thus as Professor Rushbrook-Williams says, "very frequently, indeed, the so-called conservatism of the Indian cultivator is merely that of a practical farmer, who requires good reasons for departing from established practices. For when the success of improved methods can be plainly demonstrated they spread with remarkable rapidity."

Lack of initial resources is another factor operating in favour of conservatism. The margin of subsistence of the Indian peasant is so low that he has, as a rule, very little extra money, and any new improvement, such as manure, irrigation water, efficient tillage implements, requires additional expenditure. In spite of the knowledge and desire therefore, the peasant has from necessity either to continue

the old practice or to look to the moneylender for the solution. By the introduction of the Taccavi system of advances and recently of co-operative credit societies, the Government has made a beginning in the right direction, and the rapid growth of public confidence in this movement is a sufficient proof of the progressive nature of the people.

Perhaps the most potent argument advanced to condemn the cultivator for his poverty is his practice of utilizing cow dung as fuel. The most general manure in India is the cattle manure, and its use as fuel is certainly a great agricultural loss. Therefore this wanton destruction of fertilizing resources is certainly condemnable, if it is due to sentiment on the part of the cultivator. But a careful survey of different provinces shows that this practice is only common in places where there is a scarcity of firewood—*e.g.*, Poona, Ahamadabad, North-West Provinces, etc. Even in many such places the cultivators avoid, if possible, burning dung by trying to eke out their stock of fuel by gathering stalks, etc., and by growing hedges and clipping them. Mr. Nicholson in his "Manual of Coimbatore" writes: "Cattle dung is never used except in towns. Very occasionally a few 'bratties' may be seen in a bandy-pettah (a standing or halting place for carts), but not a hundredth of the cattle-dung is so used, partly because the value is perfectly known, partly because fuel for the few wants of the Raiyat is supplied by hedge and tree loppings, cotton and kambu stalks and so forth." Dr. Volecker, who has made a careful study on this point, says: "As the result of my enquiries, I feel I may safely assert that where the practice of burning dung as fuel prevails among the genuine cultivators, it arises, in eight cases out of ten, from the scarcity of firewood."

Thus the Indian agriculturist knows the value of the cattle manure and tries his best to utilize it for the purpose. But owing to his poverty he is led to divert its application to his immediate necessities or advantages. He therefore not only burns it for his own use, but if he is near the town

he has a great inducement of realizing some ready money immediately by the sale of these dung cakes. The real cause of this great waste is therefore the lack of a cheap supply of fuel, which would not only remove the necessity of burning the cattle manure, but as a result of the lack of demand from townspeople would remove the temptation to the villager near the town of selling it to satisfy his immediate wants.

It can therefore be clearly seen that the provision of fuel is the most potent factor in the prosperity of a cultivator and eventually of the State itself. Owing to the small acreage of land at his disposal, the cultivator cannot set aside a portion for growing trees for firewood. Naturally this duty falls upon the Government, and we shall now see how far she has discharged it. To prevent the reckless destruction of the forests, which was going on during earlier years, the Government rightly created a Forest Department in 1866; and this department has sufficiently justified itself by achieving its object of conservation of the forest resources of India. But as Dr. Volecker says: "Its objects were in no sense agricultural and its success was gauged mainly by fiscal considerations; the department was to be a revenue-paying one. Indeed we may go so far as to say that its interests were opposed to agriculture and its intent was rather to exclude agriculture than to admit it to participation in the benefits."

But fortunately this policy is slightly changed. During recent years the Forest Department has recognized in theory that its first duty is to provide for the wants of the agricultural population. But comparatively very little is translated into practice. My experience in Poona and Ahamadabad shows that the state of affairs is the same as it was in 1893. Recent agitation against the rigours of the forest restrictions is another phase of the same phenomenon. Even the various Government reports concerning the Forest Department pass off with a few words on its agricultural activities. While talking about the lack of suitable firewood and

consequent burning of animal manure as fuel, Professor Rushbrook-Williams, in "The Moral and Material Progress of India," is completely silent as regards the forest activities in this direction. But he dilates on the value of India's forests as a commercial asset, and shows that the increased demand for timber and other forest products characteristic of the post-war period has directly stimulated the forest exploitation in India. It is interesting to note that the surplus of revenue in this department has increased nearly twelve-fold during the past fifty years and that it averaged over $1\frac{1}{2}$ crore of rupees per annum during the last quinquennial period. Thus this failure of extended agricultural action is not due to any check from the Government of India or from the Forest Department, but purely due to a financial check. As Dr. Volecker says: "The forest department is practically called upon to show a large revenue and is naturally proud of the profit it makes . . . so it has come about that in the majority of cases the officers have turned their efforts mainly to produce large timber whenever they could even though the circumstances of the 'reserved forests' would, in the wider sense of the good of the country as a whole, have often adopted them better to other purposes than timber growing."

Perhaps the chief characteristic of an Indian peasant requiring careful attention is his lack of frugality. This is partly due to the benevolence of Nature and partly to the religious ideal of the detachment from the materialism of the world. Owing to the fertile nature of the soil, a few centuries back, the people had no necessity of thrifty habits which are essential to the cultivator in more temperate climates. In spite of the changed conditions, millions upon millions of people have unfortunately fallen into this habit. The ideal of self-abnegation, coupled with the many prevailing social usages, has further encouraged it. The pertinacity with which the cultivator has clung to the old social customs has, owing to his present meagre resources, resulted in his indebtedness. Government can do much

to change this outlook of the people by the diffusion of knowledge and extended facilities for profitable investment. The rapid increase in the deposits in the agricultural credit societies illustrates clearly the responsive nature of the people. At the same time the duty of every educated Indian is to create public opinion against borrowing for wasting on religious as well as social ceremonies.

But much is made of this lack of frugality on the part of the peasant to explain his poverty. Dr. Mann, in his "Land and Labour in a Deccan Village," has definitely shown that more than half of the families in that village would not be able to pay their way, counting personal expenditure at their own standard, which is very low; and he considers this village typical of the general state of affairs. Thus, even if these people try to emulate Scots in their thrifty habits, no improvement is possible in their present state of low production.

No animal is so useful in India as the cattle. The male cattle is the only motive power of Indian agriculture. He is used for ploughing land, drawing water, carting, etc. Due to the vegetarian life of the Indians, milk and milk products form the chief portion of their nourishment, and are supplied by milking cattle. It is no wonder, therefore, that cattle are looked upon with so much veneration in India. The ideal of not letting down those who have helped, directly or indirectly, to sustain the life, is strongly ingrained in the Indian mind, and even education would not at once change this outlook. But is it not possible to achieve economic salvation by keeping up this religious sentiment? The history of the farmers of the Western countries shows that it is not necessary to trample on every sentiment for economic regeneration. On the other hand, I may further assert that, if intelligently guided, this sentiment of Indians can be commercialized by the development of the dairy industry. The care which an Indian bestows on the cattle is proverbial. If he is, therefore, supplied with good breeds, a continuous supply of fodder, knowledge

and facilities for the treatment of preventable diseases, as well as scientific methods for the economic use of milk, he will be a strong competitor to the Danish farmer.

But the actual state of affairs is quite the reverse. The subservience of rural to urban interests has led to the exodus of the best milk cattle to the cities, thus ruining the milk breeds of the villages. The semi-starvation during summer, followed by over-gorging during the monsoon, as observed in many parts of India, has naturally degenerated the health and, consequently, the capacity for milk production. Lastly, the lack of knowledge, as well as the facilities for the prevention of diseases which are very common among the Indian cattle, is a great contributory factor to their uneconomic nature. It is no wonder, therefore, that, in spite of large stocks of cattle, the villagers in India have to go without milk or ghee, which should form the chief part of the diet of these vegetarians. In the village of Pimpla Soudagar, Dr. Mann found that, in March, 1914, there were available 107 lbs. of milk for a population of over 500, including over 150 children—i.e., 3 ounces of milk per head of the population. Can even the best breed of cattle stand the unfavourable circumstances, such as lack of continuous supply of proper nourishment, with consequent susceptibility to diseases? Is it surprising that, owing to these reasons, more than 80 per cent. of these cattle are uneconomic? Would the wholesale slaughter of these in any way improve the state of affairs? Is not construction possible instead of this huge destruction of animal life which the critics of Indian sentiment agitate for? Would not the present scientific knowledge of improvement in breeds, greater utilization of soil resources for supply of fodder, and treatment of diseases be the real solution to make India a stronghold of the dairy industry? The establishment of dairy institutes for the training of students and improvement of cattle breeds, the various attempts of provincial governments as regards provision of stock bulls and increase of fodder supply, spread of veterinary hospitals

due to both the Government and the public help, and lastly, the recent appearance of various scientific articles in the *Journal of Agricultural India*, prove that the Government, as well as the people, have at last realized this side of the question.

That illiteracy is the root cause of caste prejudices requires no discussion. It is shown by many independent as well as official writers that the lamp of knowledge does scatter away the darkness of these prejudices. If the peasant knows of some method which would better his economic prospects, caste system hardly stands in the way of his accepting it. His innate conservatism is attributed by superficial observers to the caste prejudices. But as I have already shown he is not a die-hard conservative unresponsive to conviction. The rapid spread of potato cultivation, utilization of night soil as manure in Poona, Nasik, and other places, and the spread of the silk industry in the Mysore State are enough to prove this point.

We have thus dealt with the real as well as the fictitious causes of the poverty of the Indian peasant. They can be mainly grouped round one central issue, which is education. Without the knowledge to utilize those, all other improvements are only superficial. It is impossible for the peasant to grip the facilities of irrigation, transport, co-operative organization, without the grounding of mental development. The more he makes use of these advantages by growing the crops of commercial value, the more he becomes a prey to the wiles of the middleman, and then gets hardly anything for his exertion in his industry. Due to illiteracy, he also lacks the "open sesame" to the inexhaustible store of nature and is actually half-fed surrounded by such rich treasures. In short, without a widespread system of education *suitable to her capacity and her needs*, India cannot hope to free herself from this economic mire.

This is the real responsibility of the Government, which she has failed to tackle. After more than a century's peaceful rule, only 122 per mille of Indian men and 18 per

mille of Indian women can read and write (Census Report, 1921). Even at present roughly two-thirds of the population of school-going age never make their way into an educational institution of any kind. The primary education is thus not only unsatisfactory in quantity, but is also defective in quality. Men of trained intellect are hardly attracted to the profession of primary teachers, due to the want of even a living wage, and those who are in the profession have very little inducement to exert themselves. The majority of children in primary schools are under instruction from between 3 and 4 years only, and nearly 75 per cent. of these linger in the lowest class. The instruction is purely literary, completely unsuited to the needs of the people. In consequence, many of these lapse into illiteracy after this short period of instruction comes to a close. Perhaps the greatest evil for this type of education is the dislike of manual labour, as this fashionable education associates it with loss of dignity. This has resulted in a class of people who look to the clerkship as the only occupation suited to them. The lack of initiative and individual enterprise which is apparently the common feature of the Indians at present is due to this faulty system of education.

The plea of financial check which the Government advances as a talisman to explain every action of omission is not only flimsy in this case, but illogical. India's military expenditure absorbs one-third of its revenue, a large portion of which is allocated to the maintenance of standing armies for internal peace. We must admit that by achieving that internal peace which is the primary condition for the progress of a nation, the Government has laid the foundation stone of the prosperous India. But the idea of continuing it simply with the maintenance of standing armies to overawe the people is based entirely on shifting sand. The true policy would be to create a prosperous peasant class, which is the bulwark against any rebellious ideas.

Increase of revenue depends therefore upon rise in pros-

perity, which, as I have already shown, is based on education. In this connection the study of land revenue would be quite illuminating. Though the Government according to its policy is gradually reducing the proportion borne by the assessment to the net assets in the case of those subject to periodical revision, the actual revenue is increasing. For example, while in 1900 the State income from land revenue was 262 millions, in 1920 it was 351 millions. As there was no territorial expansion of any fiscal importance during this period, larger production and perhaps rise in prices are mostly responsible for this substantial increase. This proves that the Government is arguing in a vicious circle. She cannot get an increase in revenue without an increase in prosperity, and this increase in prosperity is not possible without the right sort of education.

THE INDIAN STATES

I.—HYDERABAD OF THE NIZAMS

BY COLONEL M. J. MEADE, C.I.E.

THE word Nizam is Arabic, derived from the triliteral root of three consonants, NZM, meaning arrangement, so Nizam means the man who makes arrangements—*i.e.*, rules, governs. The title was bestowed by the Delhi Emperor on the ancestor of the present Nizam, a Turki or Moghul noble, Chin Kalick Khan, grandson of Abid Kuli Khan, formerly the Kazi, or chief judge, of Bokhara in Central Asia. He came to India, and entered the service of the Padishah at Delhi, in 1658, about the time of the restoration of the monarchy in England, in the person of our Charles II. Abid Kuli Khan went with the Emperor Aurangzebe to the Deccan, and was killed at the siege of Golconda in 1687—that is, about the time of the revolution which deprived the Stuarts of the English throne, and sent James II. into exile. These comparative dates are interesting, as they go to show how recent the establishment of the Nizams at Hyderabad is, compared with the English monarchy, and that the founder of the Muhammadan rule at Hyderabad came to India as an adventurer, in search of employment, when the British throne was already venerable with many centuries of power.

The Hyderabad over which the Nizams have held sway for about 200 years is called Hyderabad Deccan, to distinguish it from another city of the same name in Sind. In Thornton's life of Sir Richard Meade he writes: "The word Deccan (properly Dakhin) is a corruption of a Sanskrit word signifying south. The word literally means right hand, and has the same root as the Latin *dextra*; but, as the Hindu, worshipping towards the rising sun, has it on his right hand, Dakhin has come to mean the south

as well as the right hand." Be this as it may, everyone in India now knows that Deccan is the Hindu for south, and that the Deccan is the country south of the great river Nerbudda, which, rising in the Rewa highlands, not far from Allahabad, flows across India into the Indian Ocean at Broach.

The country north of the Nerbudda was occupied, at a very remote time, by the Aryan invaders of India; but the menial duties of life were performed by the local aborigines, who were probably the same, or much the same, as the non-Aryan people of the vast regions south of the great river. These regions were apparently regarded with awe and dread by the early Hindus of the north, but, later on, the Deccan itself became peopled by three distinct races, Hindu, or partly Hindu. These differ considerably in character and language. They are Maratha, Telinga, and Canarese, and form the bulk of the population of the Nizam's dominions. These territories, including the assigned districts, and the Berars, have an area larger than that of Great Britain. Much of it is, however, virgin forest, and jungle, and unculturable waste, and the population is small—not much over 12 millions, or not a third of that of England and Wales and Scotland.

The invasions of India, except those by sea, and by the Bolan Pass, have been chiefly through the Khyber. Through that route has passed an endless stream of caravans, laden with the products of Central and Western Asia, and taking back the riches of Ind—the fabrics and muslims of the Indian looms, the spices of Ceylon, and the many other useful articles of the East, gold and frankincense and myrrh. With these great caravans of merchandise came thousands of adventurers—scions and cadets of noble houses, with their retainers and servants, their wives and womenfolk. This was always going on, but occasionally a great raid, led by some famous leader—Alexander (Sikunder), Tamerlane, Baber, or Nadir—overran the great north of India, and left behind it many adventurous souls, who built

up kingdoms and founded states. The Turks, as they were called, were perhaps the noblest of India's invaders, and they set up several splendid states north and south of the Nerbudda, where their magnificent tombs, musjids, and palaces, though long in ruins, are still to be seen, and bear witness to the great men who conceived and built them. Bijapur and Beder, Mandu, Gulbarga, and Golconda, are among the great Muhammadan states which stretched across India, and kept back the rising tide of Hindu revolt against the Muhammadan rule of Northern India. The great Moghuls, of whom the Emperor Aurangzebe was the last, had come themselves from Central Asia. Baber, the founder of the family, was fifth in descent from Timur Lang, or Lame, the Tartar, whom we call Tamerlane. Baber was born at Samercund, one of the Khanates, and must have been not only very able, but a very charming character. We have his memoirs, written by himself, showing his failings and weaknesses, as well as his great qualities.

It is necessary to dwell at some length on these matters, for the Nizams are also Moghuls, sprung from the same stock, and coming originally from the same country. Baber (the Lion) founded the Moghul Empire, but it was his grandson, the great Akbar, who consolidated it, and made all India north of the Nerbudda into a Muhammadan Empire, looked up to and respected by the great states of Europe. Both Akbar and his son, the Emperor Jehangir, gazed with longing eyes on the fertile lands of the south, and at Mandu, occupied by both Emperors, are inscriptions, to the effect that both had started on certain dates for the conquest of the Deccan. Shah Jehan, who succeeded his father Jehangir, was too much occupied with building the beautiful Taj Mahal and the present city of Delhi, called after him Shahjehanabad, by the Muslims, to undertake great foreign wars; but when his third son, Aurangzebe, had destroyed all the other competitors for the peacock throne, and was firmly established on it, he resolved to

subdue the whole of India, and make it all Muhammadan. He was a bigot, very different to his enlightened predecessors, who were tolerant to all other faiths, and employed Christians and Jews, Hindus and Moslims, alike, if they found them capable and useful.

The Padishah organized a great expedition to the Deccan, and remained there for the rest of his life, dying at Roza, close to Aurungabad, which he had founded, and where he had built a copy of his father's great tomb, the Taj Mahal. Aurangzebe is buried at Roza, and close to Dowlatabad and Deoghir, and the Ellora caves, which were constructed by Buddhist monks centuries before the time of Muhammad. No marble canopy covers the last resting-place of the Great Moghul, who expressly desired that he should lie in the open, exposed to the sun by day, and the moon and stars by night. He had gradually conquered the various Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan, and left the way open to the rise of the Marathas, who, under daring leaders, overran the great empire Aurangzebe had inherited from his fathers, and reduced the Emperors to *rois faibles*. For some years, however, the firman of the Emperors still carried weight, and men did not at first realize that there was nothing to support it. Aurangzebe died in 1707, when Queen Anne was ruling in England, and six years later his successor, Ferok Shah (the Emperor who granted a charter to the East India Company), appointed Chin Kalick Khan, Subadar, or Viceroy, of the Deccan, with the title of Nizam-al-Mulk, or administrator of the land. He was also called Asaf Jah or the equal of Asaf, the name of the traditional Vizier of King Solomon. These titles have been passed on from father to son, and each Nizam assumes them when he succeeds to power.

The original Nizam was a man of considerable ability and force of character, and he had acquired much influence in the Deccan. He was originally made Governor of Bijahpur, formerly the seat of the Adil Shahi dynasty, and one of the most magnificent cities in India.

He made Hyderabad his headquarters, and the capital of the State he eventually founded. Hyderabad has no claims to antiquity, or to fine buildings, as it was not founded until the close of the sixteenth century by Kutb Shah Mahomed Kuli, fifth in descent from Sultan Kutb Shah, founder of the dynasty of Golconda. This place is only a few miles from Hyderabad, and the ruins and tombs are a favourite place for picnics, and riding parties from Chudderghat, as the British town, a suburb of Hyderabad, is called. The Golconda tombs are very fine, and give an idea of the pomp and magnificence of the Muhammadan dynasty, who ruled there for many generations. When the capital was moved to a new site, or who the Hyder was whom it is called after, I do not know, but the site of the present city is certainly healthy and salubrious. It is on the banks of a river, the Musi, which flows into the Kistna, and which, though not navigable, has a plentiful water-supply for the city, and keeps the wells full. The palaces of the Nizam and of his chief nobles are not striking, and there are no great gateways, triumphal arches, or pillars, which form such prominent objects in other great cities. The palaces are in great enclosures, surrounded by high walls, intended to prevent prying eyes viewing the zenana beauties, and also to guard against sudden *émeutes*. Many of the old houses in Paris are in similar walled enclosures, and extensive grounds, with massive gateways. Though there is little of architectural beauty in the streets of Hyderabad, the surrounding country is interesting and striking. There are two large lakes, the Houssain Sangor, between the city and the military station, Secunderabad, and the Mir Alam, on the latter of which steamers can ply. Many striking granite peaks, and great masses of wild rocks, are scattered all over the neighbouring country, and make the *tout ensemble* very charming when contrasted with the numerous gardens and country-houses of the Hyderabad nobles, merchants, and others.

Though the streets and bazaars of Hyderabad are not

beautiful or interesting, nowhere, except perhaps at Shiraz, in Persia, are there such crowds of picturesque Orientals as Hyderabad offers to the Western traveller. The Court and Government of the Nizam have, since they came into being, attracted Muhammadans from all parts of the East, and these jostle each other in every direction. Turks and Arabs, Moors and Afghans, Zanzibaries and Persians, Bokharies and others from parts of Central Asia, Rohillas, and many other nationalities, are met with at every turn, most of them superbly and picturesquely clothed, and all armed to the teeth with the weapons of their own lands.

Like other West of India States, the Hyderabad Durbar indented on Arabia for troops to guard the Sovereign against local disaffection, and the Arab jemadars, who were assigned great estates to keep up these troops, had, and still have, considerable wealth and authority. It is said the Arabs and Rohillas in Hyderabad number over 40,000 armed men.

Apart from the Arabs and Rohillas, the dominions of the Nizams are chiefly divided into great fiefs, held by Moghul nobles, relations, or friends, of the original ruler. The Moghuls, who were at first Pagans, and who were converted to Islam after the first great raid on India, divided their conquests into fiefs, held on military tenure like one old feudal system. A great Pagardar, as he was called, had to bring so many thousand men, generally cavalry, when summoned by his lord. He sub-let his estates on the same terms, so that the whole country was always in a state of readiness for war. This was the great restraint on the power of individual rulers. Each one depended on the goodwill of those below him. There were several great nobles at Hyderabad, the chief being the Amir-i-Kabir, also called the Shams-ul-Amrah (eight of the nobles), and his brother, the Vikar-ul-Amrah. These two were the heads of a great Moghul family, who had gone, I believe, with Asaf Jah, the founder of the Nizams, to the Deccan, and had received huge estates from him. Both these nobles were

immensely rich and very powerful, and their views carried great weight with the policy of the Durbar.

Asaf Jah was at first merely a servant of the Delhi Emperors, but towards the end of a very long life he became practically independent, and handed on his position to one of his sons, who succeeded him. From being hardy soldiers, ready to take the field in person, the Nizams became inclined to live entirely in their zenanas, surrounded by their women, and were often the victims of palace intrigues. It was even said that when important matters had to be discussed between the Nizam and his chief Minister, the latter did not always see his master, but exchanged communications by a female intermediary, who alone had access to the august presence. Good and efficient rule was impossible under such conditions, and the ill-regulated state of the Nizam's dominions became notorious, even at a time when the collapse of the great power at Delhi had caused confusion all over India.

This may be somewhat exaggerated, but it seems undoubted that the Nizams became, like other Eastern potentates, immersed in the life of their seraglios, and at times neglected the high duties of their position. The sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were important ones for India. At the beginning of the period they cover the Moghul Empire seemed unassailable. There were numerous satraps and governors in every province. These satraps were, however, a source of weakness, for able men were apt to try to become independent, and often gave the Central Government much trouble to subdue them. While there was an Akbar, or an Aurangzebe, as Great Moghul, rebellions were generally easily put down; but once the Moghuls themselves deteriorated, able governors became more or less independent.

Asaf Jah, the first Nizam-ul-Mulk, was the greatest subordinate of Delhi. His life was prolonged, so that before he died he was able to establish his family as the rulers of a large portion of the Deccan. While he was

doing this the advance of various European nations, who had been coming to India by sea for many years, became more marked, and they gradually ceased to be merchant adventurers in search of trade. The French were the first to recognize that, though Indian troops, however personally brave and warlike, were no match for the trained forces of Europe, when trained, disciplined, and led by Europeans, they formed excellent material, much less expensive than French, English, or other Europeans. Dupleix nearly established a great French dominion in India, and two able lieutenants of his, Bussy and Raymond, went to Hyderabad, about the middle of the eighteenth century, and raised an Indian force officered by Frenchmen.

Had the French Government supported its servants in India, Bussy would probably have maintained his position, but after the final defeat of the French at the Battle of Wandiwash, and the fall of Pondicherry, the English ousted the French at Hyderabad, and have ever since held a paramount status there. Asaf Jah died in 1748. Pondicherry fell in 1761, but two years before that the French had been excluded from the Nizam's dominions, and the first treaty between the British and the Hyderabad State was executed in 1759. Salabat Jung, a son of old Asaf Jah, was then the Nizam, and the chief provision of the agreement was to locate a strong British force of all arms at Secunderabad, a few miles from the capital. The strength of this division was over ten thousand, and it was one of the largest, if not the largest, in India. It was laid down that it was to protect the Nizam from external enemies, and to secure him in the sovereignty of his dominions. The Nizam in return engaged to assist the British in time of war with all his forces, and to bring them into the field as quickly as possible.

There were many other subsequent treaties between the two States, by which the Nizam became the perpetual ally of the British, and it may be said that during the hundred odd years that have since passed this alliance has not been

infringed. To secure the execution of the various engagements a British representative, the Resident at Hyderabad, was appointed in 1788, and the post has been held by a succession of able British officers ever since. A splendid palace was built for the Resident by the Nizam, and is said to be one of the finest public buildings erected by the British outside the great seats of government at the Presidency towns. It is a noble example of the generosity of the Indian prince who provided the funds. It stands in extensive grounds, surrounded by a high wall, which, I hear, is now more strongly fortified than it was in 1876 when I first saw it. Besides the Residency, and its park-like surroundings, the Nizam also conceded the suburb of Chudderghat, a large bazaar, and considerable lands with many fine bungalows and their extensive gardens, where members of the Residency staff, and many English in the service of the Nizam, reside. All these people and a large number of merchants and shopkeepers are under the jurisdiction of the Resident and his assistants.

It is clear that after the departure of the French the Nizams came under the protection of the British, and they engaged to have no connection with any other Government, or to employ any Europeans in their service, without the knowledge and consent of the British Government. To keep up the force at Secunderabad certain cessions of territory were made, which now form part of the Madras Presidency; and later on, in 1853, the districts known as the Berars, now part of the Central Provinces, were taken over to provide for a force, first called Russell's Brigade after the then Resident (Mr. Russell), and afterwards the Hyderabad Contingent. It would be quite beyond the scope of this article to go into the various questions which have arisen out of this cession of territory by the Nizams, always in connection with the upkeep of British troops. It seems, looking back, that it was unfortunate that no other arrangement was possible than the permanent transfer of districts for the purpose; but it must be borne in mind

that it was a well understood method, in India, to provide for the upkeep of armies, and that Count de Boigne, the French soldier of fortune, similarly received large grants from the Gwalior Durbar for the regular forces of the Scindias. The difference, of course, was that the Scindia assigned districts remained under the Durbar, while those we took have passed permanently under the British Raj.

The Hyderabad Contingent was formed to put down the incessant troubles there were in the Nizam's dominions from the numerous gangs of dacoits, and bandits, Rohillas, and other outlaws, some of whom were powerful, and had seized forts and strong places, from which they infested the trade routes, and held up merchants and travellers. The Contingent, which consisted of four regiments of cavalry, six regiments of infantry, and four batteries, was an excellent force, and did good work in putting down organized crime in the Nizam's dominions. They also distinguished themselves outside the Deccan—in the Mutiny, in Afghanistan, and in Burma. The force was very liberally treated by the Nizam, and attracted many excellent officers and men; but the cost of its upkeep drove the Nizam into debt. These debts were paid off by the British Government, and then, when the Nizam could not repay, the Berars were ceded.

This was in 1853, and the arrangement aroused much opposition. But the Viceroy then was the great Marquis of Dalhousie, who was firmly convinced that it was right, and insisted on its being carried through. The Nizam at that time was Nasir-ud-Dowlah. His chief Minister was Suraj-ul-Mulk, an Arab of a good old family, originally from Medina, which had settled at Hyderabad some generations before. Suraj-ul-Mulk is described as an honest and capable official, but his chief title to distinction is that he was the uncle of the famous Sir Salar Jung, and trained his nephew so well that he was able to take up the duties of Prime Minister at the early age of twenty-four. Suraj-ul-Mulk died soon after the conclusion of the treaty of

1853. I cannot recollect what his nephew's proper Muhammadan name was, but he was always known by his title, Salar Jung (leader in war), afterwards Sir Salar Jung; and, as he played such a distinguished part in the politics of Hyderabad from the day he became Prime Minister, in 1856, a few words about him are necessary.

In his "Life of Sir Richard Meade," chapter xviii., p. 268, Thornton writes that "Salar Jung had been carefully trained under European supervision for the important duties he afterwards so ably carried out." I remember his referring with pride to a comparison between his own boyhood and that of the younger Pitt, who was similarly trained from his childhood to be prepared for a high destiny. He said: "I was only twenty-four when I became Prime Minister here." Someone remarked Pitt was even younger. Sir Salar replied, "He had slightly the advantage of me, but all the same, I was very young to have such great responsibilities." He was the nephew, as already mentioned, of Suraj-ul-Mulk, the Minister at the time of the assignment of the Berars, in 1853, and was also grandson of Munir-ul-Mulk, who was appointed Prime Minister in 1808, and who was son-in-law and successor of the famous Mir Alum, after whom the great lake at Hyderabad is called. It is said that Sir Salar Jung never left Hyderabad till 1870; but he had great hereditary connections with the administration, and was also extraordinarily versatile and gifted. His knowledge of other countries, of men, and of affairs, was very remarkable. He was a good linguist, and spoke, wrote, and read English as if it was his own tongue.

When I first met Sir Salar Jung he must have been about forty-six or forty-seven, and he was then one of the most distinguished-looking men I have ever seen. Above middle height, his fine presence, handsome face, refined and gracious manners, made him a general favourite with the English, to whom he extended a profuse and generous hospitality. "He performed his duties as Prime Minister,"

says Sir Richard Temple ("Men and Events of My Time in India," p. 288), "with unwearying assiduity and with an efficiency unprecedented in the Deccan." He employed able, trained, Europeans in every department of the State service, and introduced all sorts of reforms and improvements. In these his policy had the cordial sympathy and support of the British Government, and of its representative, the Resident. But in his great work of reform and improvement the Prime Minister had much opposition to encounter from his own people. Vested interests were endangered; the Minister was, after all, of foreign extraction, and belonged to a different section of the Muhammadan faith. As mentioned before, his father and family came originally from Medina in Arabia, and his mother belonged to a Persian family. He was a Shiah, while the bulk of the ruling class at Hyderabad were, and are, Sunnis. The difference between these two great divisions of the Moslim world is more pronounced than that between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The Nizam, Nasir-ud-Dowlah, though loyal to the British, was naturally distressed at the loss of the Berars, and was inclined to blame his Minister, Suraj-ud-Dowlah. Sir Salar Jung felt this, and his great ambition was to get the British Government to restore the provinces, and to lay them at the feet of his master. He certainly had no intention of doing so by any but legitimate methods, and all his efforts had the one object of so improving the internal state of the Nizam's dominions that the British Government would have to admit that the Contingent was no longer required, and the Berars, which were only taken to pay for its upkeep, could be returned to the Hyderabad State. Nizam Nazir-ud-Dowlah died in May, 1857, and was succeeded by his son, Afzul-ud-Dowlah, who was even more difficult to deal with than his predecessor, and kept his great Minister almost in a state of thralldom. He was never allowed to leave Hyderabad, or to interview the British representative, except with the express permission of the Nizam.

Sir Salar had great difficulty in keeping his position, but he had the full support of the British Government, and during the years 1857-58, of the great Mutiny, he fully justified what had been done for him. He was able during those dark days to persuade his master to stick to his engagements, and to give the British unqualified support. Attempts by fanatical mullahs and others to stir up trouble in Hyderabad were promptly put down, and an attack by Rohillas and Hyderabadis on the Residency was repulsed by artillery fire, followed by a charge of a squadron of the Hyderabad Contingent. It was never repeated. No one came out of the Mutiny with a more enhanced reputation than Sir Salar. The Nizam was created a K.C.S.I., and his Minister received honours and rewards. The districts of Dharagao and Raichur, which formed part of the assignment made for the support of the British troops, were restored to the Nizam, together with Shorapur, a small state whose chief had rebelled. Further, a debt of Rs. 500,000 due to the British by the Nizam was cancelled. A new treaty, embodying these new arrangements, and confirming all previous treaties and engagements, was also executed in 1860.

Nizam Afzul-ud-Dowlah died in 1869, leaving a son, Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, father of the present ruler. Mir Mahbub Ali Khan was only three years old when Afzul-ud-Dowlah died, and Sir Salar Jung was made co-regent during the minority. With him was associated the leading member of the great Moghul family, already mentioned, related to the Nizams. He held the titles of Shams-ul-Umra (or Light of the Amirs) and Amir-i-Kabir (or Head of the Amirs). Sir Richard Temple describes him as "a high-born Muhammadan of the old school, refined, dignified, and judicious, though somewhat enfeebled by old age." Sir Salar Jung, who was in 1871 created G.C.S.I., had, after the death of Nizam Afzul-ud-Dowlah, a much freer hand. The co-regent, the Amir-i-Kabir, though well-intentioned, had not a tithe of Sir Salar Jung's force of character, and ability, and, with certain limitations, he became the practical

ruler of Hyderabad. He pressed on reforms and improvements, and there is no doubt the administration was greatly altered during the years that he had power. Above all, he organized a force called "the reformed troops," which were under a retired Anglo-Austrian, Major Neville, who had served in the Italian campaign against France, and who had married a daughter of the novelist Charles Lever, when he was Consul at Trieste. This officer was given the sword of Raymond, the French soldier who, as already mentioned, had been in the service of the Nizam about one hundred years before. Under Major Neville were many Europeans of mixed nationalities, and the force, which was on the model of the Contingent, was intended to supersede it on the grounds that it was no longer required.

Sir Salar Jung was, as has been said, generally liked by Englishmen, and the visit of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII., to India in 1874-75 gave him an opportunity of meeting not only His Royal Highness, but several influential members of his staff. To all of these the great Arab statesman proved himself most charming, and, with the record of all he had done for his State and for us during the Mutiny, it is not surprising that they became his warm friends and admirers. His chief outward and openly declared object was to do away with the Contingent and regain the Berars for the Nizam. But it was hinted by his opponents that he did not want the young Nizam to be properly educated, or his character to be formed and developed, but would, if he could, keep him in the background, and intended to secure for himself and his family a position similar to the Mayors of the Palais in Medieval France, or of the Peshwas in Poona. It was said, in fact, that personal ambition was the main spur of the great Minister's labours and activities. It is possible that this last infirmity of great minds was not absent from Sir Salar Jung's character, but, at the same time, his efforts to improve his State were laudable, and even his wish to regain the Berars for his master is not open to blame. But

his attempt to maintain that Great Britain and Hyderabad are equal States would seem ludicrous if it was not seriously advanced by one of the most level-headed statesmen of his generation, and Lord Lytton, the Viceroy at the time, may be excused for thinking that Sir Salar Jung intended to create a great Muhammadan kingdom in the centre of India. Looking back with all the information we now have, we cannot believe that Sir Salar Jung was ever really disloyal to the British, but he wished to increase the *izzat* of his master and, incidentally, of himself, and tried his best to improve and enlarge the Hyderabad State. I have perhaps written too much about Sir Salar Jung, but it is difficult to avoid doing so, as he writ his name so deeply on the pages of the history of his times, and was, in fact, one of the most striking statesmen India has produced. It must also be realized that the claims for the restitution of the Berars, and the unfortunate assertion of equality, were advanced by Sir Salar Jung fifty years ago, and it is, I think, understandable that the present ruler should revive them, though his father, who was only a child or young man in Salar Jung's time, agreed to a fresh arrangement not long ago.

There is one incident in Sir Salar Jung's connection with the Berars question which may here be mentioned. In 1876—that is, the year after the Prince of Wales's tour in India—Sir Salar Jung went to England. He openly stated that his object was to regain the Berars for the young Nizam, who was then a child of ten or eleven years old, and it is said that he offered to provide a sum of 8 millions sterling as a permanent endowment for the upkeep of the Contingent, and to give guarantees for the proper administration of the districts. The offer was, he thought, good in itself, and as he believed that he was himself a *persona grata* to the British Government, on account of what he had done during the Mutiny, he was very hopeful that his wishes would be granted. But there were strong objections against returning to the rule of an Indian State districts

which had for some years enjoyed the advantage of British administration. It was, indeed, in those days a fundamental principle that provinces which had been under us, even for a short time, should not be returned, except under very exceptional circumstances, and the British Government were on this ground most averse from retroceding the Berars, which had prospered under our rule and were most contented with our administration. Strong representations were probably made by the people of the Berars against a retrocession, and Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State, who could not help admitting the strength of Sir Salar Jung's claim, did not see his way to meet or reject it, but avoided giving a definite decision on the grounds that the Nizam was a minor, and that the request for the return of the Berars should come from the Nizam himself when he was ruling his State, and not from a regent, however distinguished. No doubt this was a great disappointment to Sir Salar Jung, but he accepted the decision without showing outwardly any annoyance.

Before the young Nizam came of age Sir Salar Jung had ceased to live, and for many years after that the question was allowed to remain in abeyance. It was revived, later on, in consequence of the Hyderabad Durbar objecting to the smallness of the annual amounts they received, though the revenues of the two districts had increased immensely from various causes. It is not necessary to go into this complicated question, but it is fairly certain that the Berars were more expensively administrated than other parts of British India, and that the surplus, to which the Nizam was entitled, after all charges for the administration and for the Contingent were met, was small. The Nizam, in fact, did not benefit from the fast increasing prosperity of the districts he had given to us. This was known to the Durbar, and excited resentment. Eventually Lord Curzon, then Viceroy, visited Hyderabad in 1902, and after an interview with the Nizam Mahbub Ali induced him to agree to the British Government taking the Berars on a

lease of several years, to be renewed from time to time, on a rent of twenty-five lakhs per annum, the Nizam's flag to be hoisted and saluted once a year at the headquarters of the province, as a sign that it was still a part of his dominions. About the same time, the Berars were taken away from the control of the Resident, and merged with the Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces, afterwards made a Lieut.-Government, and later on a Governorship. No doubt from an administrative point of view this was a good arrangement, and the addition of the Berars materially increased the extent and importance of the Central Provinces, and made it more than ever unlikely that the two districts would ever revert to the state of which they once formed a part. Nizam Mahbub Ali was about forty-three when he concluded the arrangement with Lord Curzon, and, though no undue pressure was put on him at the time, he certainly appears to have regretted having made it afterwards. The present Nizam, Mir Usman Ali Khan, was born in 1886, and is therefore now forty years old. He has tried to reopen the Berar question, but as this is so recent it is not desirable to discuss his action, or the decision of the British Government, in this article.

The above short and very incomplete account of the Nizams of Hyderabad will, I hope, show that the family, as rulers of Hyderabad, is of recent origin, and that the founder was a servant of the Delhi Emperors, whom he, and his immediate successors, acknowledged as masters. They were never quite independent, and came under the protection of the British Government immediately the Delhi Empire crumbled away. The young Nizam, with the regent, Sir Salar Jung, attended the great Durbar at Delhi, when, on January 1, 1877, Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, assumed the title of Kaiser-i-Hind, or Empress of India, and they thereby acknowledged the sovereignty of the British Crown. Perhaps in other times a man so exceptionally gifted as Sir Salar Jung would have founded an Arab Muslim dynasty at Hyderabad; but not only

were the times unpropitious, but the British Government was the ancient friend of the Nizam family, and was resolved to keep the dynasty in full possession of its old dignities and prerogatives. They regarded the young Nizam as their ward, and, greatly as Sir Salar Jung was admired and respected, and much as his loyal services to our Government were appreciated, it was resolved that he should not be allowed to encroach on the rights of his young master. Therefore the situation at Hyderabad seemed to require particularly firm handling. Sir R. J. Meade was appointed Resident early in 1876. Sir Richard had had long experience of Indian States: in Central India, in Mysore when he was Chief Commissioner, as well as Resident, and more recently at Baroda, where his masterly handling of a difficult situation had won for him the unqualified approval of the Government. He was transferred to Hyderabad, when he was fifty-five years of age, with the express object of meeting the difficult problems there, and he succeeded in doing so to the entire satisfaction of the Viceroy, Lord Lytton.

On the death of the old co-regent, Amir-i-Kabir, Sir Salar wished to be sole regent; but it was felt that this would place too much power in his hands, and he was obliged to accept a younger brother of the Amir-i-Kabir as his colleague. This latter, known as the Vikar-ul-Umrah, was a vigorous, elderly man. He acted as a salutary check on Sir Salar Jung, who at one time talked of resigning his post rather than serve with him. There was much trouble at the time, but the Residence was convinced that the appointment of the co-regent was necessary, and at last he induced Sir Salar Jung to consent to work in a satisfactory way with the Vikar-ul-Umrah, who took the higher titles his brother had held. Sir Richard Meade did his utmost to gain the affection of the young Nizam. At Mysore, and Baroda, he had also been connected with the boys who afterwards ruled those important States, and was much beloved by both. The young Nizam was younger than

either of the other two young chiefs, and it was unfortunate that Sir Richard left Hyderabad when Mahbub Ali Khan was only eleven or twelve years of age. As mentioned, Nizam Mahbub Ali Khan died in 1911, and his son, the present ruler, succeeded him. He gave the British Government loyal help in the Great War, and his title was raised to His Exalted Highness as an acknowledgment of his services. He was also styled Faithful Ally of the British Government.

I hope it is clear from the above account of Hyderabad and its rulers that it is by far the most important of the protected States of India. The Nizams have always kept up a great position, and the profuse and generous hospitality extended by them, and their nobles, to the English whom duty or pleasure take to the Deccan has never been surpassed. Entertainments at Hyderabad and the brilliant gatherings in the city evoke all kinds of vague ideas of the Arabian Nights festivals in Cairo and Baghdad. The whole city on such occasions is bright with splendid illuminations, while the palaces in which the gatherings are held are themselves masses of bright colours. The Resident and his staff, the generals, and officers at Secunderabad and Bolaram, are never behindhand in profuse hospitality. Throughout the cold weather—that is, from November to April—balls and dinner parties, race meetings and other gatherings, in which the English garrison mingles with the Indian aristocracy, go on incessantly. Hyderabad is, in fact, not only the Blue Ribbon of the Indian Political Service, but the hardest worked in every way, socially as well as officially.

It is clear that for many centuries Hyderabad Deccan has been ruled by foreigners—that is, by non-Indian people. First the Turks for Central Asia established their rule, and created the powerful and splendid kingdom of Golconda. The Moghuls followed, also from Central Asia, Arabs and Persians. Finally came the Feringhees, French and English. No trace of an *Indian* Government remains, and strangers have always ruled over this part of India.

NEW SECTION

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KURDISTAN

THE conclusion of a treaty between Great Britain and Turkey draws our attention to the disturbed state of Turkish Kurdistan, by reference to which Angora, until recently, sought to justify her claim to the Mosul Vilayat. It was represented that the disorders were instigated by the British, who wished to add part, or the whole, of Turkish Kurdistan to the 'Iraq, or, alternatively, that they were the result of our machinations aiming at the creation of an independent Kurdistan; but another plaint, which, *prima facie*, appeared to be not altogether groundless, was that the superior administration of the 'Iraq arouses the envy of the Kurds in Turkey and is responsible for a state

of disaffection which was, and will continue to be, an intolerable drain on Turkish military resources. These arguments seem to invite some investigation of the Kurdish question and the Kurdish policies of the authorities at Baghdad and Angora.

The Kurds, unlike their neighbours the Arabs and the Turks, are members of the Aryan family. A virile mountain people, they inhabit the slopes of the eastern Taurus, the Van plateau (except southern Hakkari, the deserted home of the Assyrian Christian clans) and its foothills, also the slopes of the Zagros range from Mount Ararat to the Baghdad-Kirmanshah road. Of their total number, some three million souls, approximately 1,500,000 are to be found in Turkish territory and rather less than 500,000 in the 'Iraq. Of the remainder, there are 700,000 in Persia and smaller numbers in Syria and the Russian Caucasus. An overwhelming majority adheres to the *Sunni*, or Orthodox, branch of Islam. The small communities of *Shi'ahs*, who are chiefly in Turkey at a distance from the frontier, and the non-Moslem Kurdish tribes, do not complicate the problem with which we are now concerned. To the north of the Taurus range Zaza is spoken by the Kurds, while the language of central, eastern and southern Kurdistan is Kurmanji, which is divided into two main branches, northern and southern; but, illiteracy being general, dialects differ in every valley and tribe—hence a southern Kurd is seldom able to converse intelligibly with another from the central or northern districts. This language difficulty, the narrow outlook of a people living in remote highland valleys, and the barriers to communication formed by the lofty mountain ranges which separate the 'Iraq from Persia and Turkey, have combined to preclude the existence of any appreciable "race-consciousness."

The humbler elements in Kurdistan consist of *rayat* (cultivators) and *'ashiret* (tribesmen), between whom there is, possibly, some ethnic distinction. The former are an industrious, but backward and unwarlike, people whose

interests are on the side of tranquillity. Centuries of ineffective Turkish rule, however, have led them to look to their Kurdish overlords rather than to the Government for protection. They are, therefore, without influence on the political and military situation. The *'ashiret*, who are aggressive and prone to treachery, without possessing remarkable bravery, but have many redeeming characteristics, supply the well-armed forces of the *Aghawat* (landlords and tribal chiefs).

The Kurdish leaders—between whom there is a consuming jealousy and distrust rather than cohesion, except in the face of a common danger—are the Aghawat, the Shaikhs, and those members of the ruling families, displaced by the Turks during the nineteenth century, who are to be found amongst the intelligentsia in the towns, in Constantinople, and in groups of exiles in Europe. Those in the last category are, with few exceptions, staunch but somewhat unpractical advocates of the complete independence of their country, since they can gain much and have but little to lose through attempts to realize this ideal. To the majority of their class, Turkish and British suzerainty are almost equally obnoxious; and it is only with these that Kurdish Nationalism has any real existence. It is the Shaikhs, however, who have achieved the greatest prominence of late. In Kurdistan a Shaikh is not, as in Arabia, a tribal chief. Amongst the Kurds the title denotes a leader in religion who has acquired his position, either by a reputation for piety and learning, or by descent from a prominent divine or the Prophet himself. (The titles *Sharif* and *Saiyid* are not ordinarily employed.) Those whose sanctity is due solely to heredity form the majority, but, judged by European standards, they possess no claim to be considered religious, being, rather, fanatics and firebrands. Their influence, which is, naturally, very great amongst an ignorant and superstitious people such as the Kurds, has been exercised to such purpose, that many have succeeded in acquiring much land and in gathering round themselves

numbers of adherents constituting units similar to tribes, whilst others have succeeded in usurping the authority of the Aghawat of tribes which existed before their advent. These individuals, fearing that education of the masses will dissipate their authority and wealth, are opposed to any strong and enlightened government, whether British, 'Iraqi or Turkish, Moslem or Christian, and ever ready to participate in intrigues against constituted authority. Those of the Aghawat whose tribes are settled in the richer lands of the foothills—a comparatively small minority—have a stake in the peaceful development of their country and are willing to co-operate with their respective governments if accorded reasonable treatment. But the highland Agha maintains a hold over his tribe through his reputation for military prowess; to him, the tribal raid is a necessity, giving him the means of demonstrating his value in the eyes of his bellicose followers; and, moreover, he is much under the influence of the Shaikhs, who are capable of alienating the sympathies of his tribe. He is not, therefore, in complete agreement with those who would provide law and order.

In the administration of the Kurds to the south of the border we have encountered difficulties as great as those which have confronted the Turks in the north. Although we have profited by our regard for the interests of the Shaikhs and Aghawat, we have suffered in the past through the hostile propaganda of the Turks and their agents. When the temporary composition of inter-tribal disputes has rendered action possible, the Shaikhs, assisted by the wilder Aghawat, have employed all their resources in order to retard the march of progress, acting alone or in co-operation with the Turks—not actuated by friendship for that people, but by an opportunism which causes them to accept any assistance available for the time being. If punitive action by our troops and Assyrian Christian levies and the final ejection of Turkish bands has taught certain of them the futility of further resistance, it should not be inferred from this that the Kurdish highlanders of the 'Iraq

are, as the Turkish argument suggested, a diligent, law-abiding people rejoicing in the *pax Britannica*. It is also incorrect to suppose that those in Turkey, who are no more civilized than their compatriots in the south, are attracted to the 'Iraq by its superior and comparatively stable administration.

The Kurdish policy adopted by the Government of 'Iraq and its British advisers is based on the interests of the Arab majority in the state, but is not antagonistic to the Kurds, who form about 17 per cent. of the population. The laws of the state provide for the appointment of Kurds, when possible, for local administration, for the dispensation of justice and for teaching in the schools in Kurdish districts, recognizing Kurmanji as the official language in those areas. At the same time it is a fixed ambition that the Kurds within the border should be brought to consider themselves good 'Iraqi subjects with a share in the central government proportionate to their numbers. There is reason to believe that, in the course of time, this policy may prove successful, for the Kurdish officials employed show satisfactory loyalty; and it is remarkable that Kurdish Nationalism, as distinct from the attitude of the Shaikhs and highland Aghawat, is practically non-existent in the 'Iraq. A moment's reflection will show that any designs aiming at the inclusion of a larger area of Kurdistan within the boundaries of the 'Iraq, or the formation of an independent Kurdistan, would run counter to the interests of the Arab majority in the government at Baghdad. Acquisition of territory to the north of the frontier claimed at Geneva would add considerably to military commitments, without providing any compensating economic or strategic advantages, increasing, at the same time, the numerical strength of any future Kurdish party in the Assembly, to the detriment of purely Arab interests. Similarly, the legislators at Baghdad are opposed to Kurdish independence, since realization of such a project, were it practicable, could not fail to recoil on their own heads, portions of southern

Kurdistan being essential to the security and economic development of their country. Any conceivable inclination on the part of British authority to support or countenance a scheme for Kurdish independence must have died a natural death on the constitution of the 'Iraq Government in 1920.

Consideration of the interests of the leading elements in Kurdistan explains the origin of the disturbances in Turkish territory. The intelligentsia were working for independence; the Aghawat saw in the unifying policy of the new *régime* a grave menace to their authority; while the Shaikhs realized that their influence was jeopardized by the Republican laicism. When signs of disunion at Angora became apparent to the Kurds in the spring of 1925, Shaikh Sa'id set a spark to the tinder and there followed a widespread conflagration. Since Mosul played no part in these events, possession of that province by the Turks would have served only to widen the theatre of their military operations. With the defeat of the insurgents, Angora decided upon a policy of repression. There followed numerous executions, the abolition of religious institutions, drastic curtailment of the privileges of the Aghawat, deportations of entire communities and important families to western Anatolia, and attempts to Europeanize a wild, but proud Oriental people, leading to renewed outbreaks in the Erzerum Vilayat in the autumn of the same year, and in the Jebel Tur in the following March. To account for Mustafa Kemal's inability to pacify the Kurds, and to justify his action against the Turkish Opposition and reactionaries, alleged to be in sympathy with the insurgents, the Turkish press, disregarding actual conditions, attributed the disorders to British intrigues in Mosul. The President had, therefore, no alternative to pressing for the restoration of that Vilayat to Turkey until he was able to devise other means of keeping his political adversaries and the Kurds in check. It is possible that this manœuvring averted a premature collapse of his

authority, but it has brought him no nearer the final solution of his problems in Kurdistan.

The permanent pacification of the Kurds in Turkey cannot be achieved by repression, for which purpose the Government possess inadequate forces. A grant of autonomy to that people, whether inspired by genuine (but feeble) liberality, or due to a desire to embarrass those responsible for the security of the Mosul Vilayat, cannot fail to react against the authorities at Angora. But a generous, yet firm, policy towards the Kurds, if undertaken before the opportunity has passed by, would enable Mustafa Kemal to effect a partial demobilization of his army and the release of considerable sums of money for worthier objects. This, together with the assistance of foreign capital, would render possible the gradual introduction of remunerative improvements in communications and agriculture. It is only by these means that he can bring the Kurds to realize the benefits of a stable government, which, for many years, they would be unable to provide for themselves.

THE INDIANIZATION OF THE INDIAN ARMY

THE expression, "Indianization" of the Indian Army, of which a good deal has been heard during the last two or three years, is not a very suitable one, but it is difficult to find a better one. The Indian Army is as Indian as it can be, except in its higher officer ranks. There are no European non-commissioned officers as in pre-Mutiny days. The question is purely one of replacing the superior cadre of officers who are entirely British by a proportion of Indians. What that proportion is to be eventually is the problem. From many points of view the proposal or the demand is natural and reasonable. For many years the non-military services of India have admitted Indians to what would be described as British officers' appointments. It has been accepted that a proportion of these services can be properly filled by Indians. Until quite recently it has been considered impossible, or at any rate that the time had not come, to admit Indians into the "British" ranks of the Army. There are many reasons for this which have quite properly ruled the question in the past. In the first place, the fighting races have taken to education slowly; in the second place, such as have absorbed a higher European education have tended to lose their martial qualities thereby. It is here that the East differs so materially from the West. Among the races of the West, certainly among those of Teutonic and Celtic origin, aggressive courage of the kind needed for military service is the characteristic of the major portion of all classes, in, of course, a varying degree. In the East it is quite different. Aggressive courage, as distinct from patient endurance, is confined to a very small proportion of the 320 millions of India. It is not hard to understand how this complicates the problem. It puts out of court so many of those brilliant mentalities who have all

the brains, and more, which the modern officer needs to understand the complications of his profession. As General Sir O'Moore Creagh said when Commander-in-Chief: "You may tache a poodle tricks, but ye can't tache him to draw a badger." And that is the story of the past.

THE EARLY DAYS IN INDIA

In the early days of the Army in India, when the Northern adventurers who had overrun the land, and their stock, still maintained a portion of the military virtues of their forebears, and when the requirements of a leader were courage and resource and little else, Indians rose to important military positions in their corps in Southern India. Two or three Europeans sufficed for a corps, and Indians filled the rest of the ranks. But as the quality of the enemy improved, and French, and the Marathas, and later the Sikhs and Afghans, had to be met, it was found that only by largely increasing the number of Europeans could Indian regiments perform the duties required of them. After the Mutiny the "regular" system, in which the organization and methods of the British Line were copied, was held to have failed. Corps in large numbers were raised in the Punjab to suppress the Mutiny, and flourished on what was called the "irregular" system, which had already existed *pari passu* with the "regular" army, especially in the light-horse service and other particular duties.

In the reformed army, all corps were to be constituted on this system, which aimed at giving the Indian more scope in the leading of troops and companies than in the old line, where the so-called Indian officers were of advanced age, having risen through the ranks to an honourable position with the lightest routine duties attached thereto. During the Mutiny the Indians, under the "irregular" system, had shown considerable power of leading in the guerilla conditions which followed the break-up of the organized bodies of mutineers. But exactly the same causes which had been responsible for the gradual intro-

duction of more British officers into the pre-Mutiny armies were soon at work again. The fierceness of the fighting in the Umbeyla Campaign of 1862, and in Afghanistan, showed that, given the hardy enemies of the North, only with more British leading could the Indian regiments, even though drawn from the hardy men of the Punjab, do their work. Complicated modern equipment made it impossible for the staunch old Sirdar of Mutiny fame to do more than lead troops and half-companies. The approach of Russia and the preparations for a Russian war emphasized the difficulty. Everyone was unanimous that the Indian Sepoy, however brave and devoted he was, would only develop his best qualities with British leading. There is no one who disputes this point. And the result was that the number of British officers increased at various stages, until, at the time of the Great War, the total with a corps was fourteen. All this time the Indian officers, partly promoted from the ranks, partly by direct commission, have carried on in great content their subordinate roll, beyond which there was no door to higher things. The position was one of dignity, and the relationship between them and their British officers has been one of the most remarkable and almost pathetic features in the Indian Army, entirely creditable to both sides. Where the officers reached a commissioned position at the age of thirty-five, the natural period of activity was drawing to a close by the time they had moved up its hierarchy, and the ambitions of the yeoman farmer class whence they were drawn were sufficiently met. Where, however, direct commissions were given at an earlier age to men of somewhat better position, the *finale* of advancement came early in a man's life, and could not fairly fill the bill.

THE PRESENT POSITION

Before the Great War the feeling was growing, however, that it was time for some experiment to be made in advancing Indians to the military position held by the

British officer. Close on the end of the war a few "King's Commissions" were given to Indians, that phrase explaining the difference in status introduced, as compared with that of the old-time Indian officer who held "Viceroy's Commissions." The experiment, however, did not admit of any knowledge being obtained as to the fitness of Indians to hold that position in war time. With the close of the war, arrangements were made to send a few selected Indian lads to Sandhurst. This experiment which has now been in progress for some time is one of working steadily to bring the Indian forward, at a rate which would preclude any dangerous deterioration of army efficiency from taking place should the results be disappointing. The difficult matter of high command and the command of British officers by Indians senior to them was to be left to evolve itself as time passed. But into this question another factor was soon to be introduced. Candidates suitable for Sandhurst were hard to find, for the educational system of India is not such as produces the character and training required, while the educated members of the martial classes did not produce many candidates who could be accepted. It seemed that the only satisfactory solution would be to take the children of the existing Indian officers and bring them up from boyhood to hold the higher position. Schools of this type known as King George's schools have therefore been started, but have not of course yet been able to turn out lads old enough. The Cadet College at Dehra Dun inaugurated by Lord Curzon for giving some military training to the sons of the nobility, has also been adopted as a preliminary school for Sandhurst, while the King George's schools are producing the material which will eventually fill that college.* A carefully prepared and graded scheme is therefore in progress, with the cordial sympathy and co-operation of the British officer.

Into this situation of goodwill the more rabid type of

* As a part of the experiment, certain corps have been selected for complete Indianization, by posting only Indians to the junior ranks.

Indian politician has leapt. Imbued with considerable hatred of anything British, which in his brain seems to have grown to an obsession, he demands that India shall manage her affairs in all particulars, that she shall officer and command her own army, and that inferiority and any implication of inferiority shall be eliminated. A rapid "Indianization" is his platform. In vain has he been told by the late Lord Rawlinson that it has taken forty years to fit him for the office he held; that it has taken two hundred years to evolve the British officer class, and that only slowly can the position be changed. This type of politician will have none of it. He demands blindly immediate and complete Indianization. He will no doubt see reason in time, or be ignored, but he gives Government occasions for considerable embarrassment. He has also demanded an Indian Sandhurst, a question which deserves consideration on its merits, because it is not an easy matter to demand that the parents of candidates for "King's Commissions" shall assent to their sons coming to a strange land at an early age. A committee under Sir Andrew Skeen is considering the matter, and is now in Europe examining the military educational methods of many nations. Its Indian members, some of the grave and responsible type and some of the less balanced, are all absorbing ideas on the subject which may be new to them. The point really is that if Indians are to lead their men in the situations and against the foes in the same way that their British officers do, where can they best be trained? The question is still an open one.

THE FUTURE OF "INDIANIZATION"

The situation as it now exists has been described, and the practical point for consideration is, what is it all going to result in? The answer is impossible to find. The Indian Army has been brought to its present efficiency by the psychological influence which the British officer has over his men—an influence which has maintained its character since the beginning, and is partly due, as is that of the civil

officer in the districts, to the impartiality among conflicting and hostile races with which he holds the balance. The future both of the Army and the Civil Service will depend on whether or no a partially Indianized service can command the same confidence, and if so, where the limit shall be. In the Army the question is what percentage of Indians can a regiment or battalion take and still be a fighting force that can protect India. Experiment alone can show. Under the system Government is pursuing the experiment can take place sympathetically at a safe rate. The safety point can be ascertained. If the politicians had had their way they would crash the machine. There are many side issues, and there will remain that very difficult one of command between British and Indians, and still more so that of the relationship of the King's Commissioned Indians to the officers and men of the British Army. Indian troops go into the field in the more serious wars, with the inestimable advantage, as a stiffener, of a portion of European troops at their side. The British officer of the Indian Army is invested with authority over such when occasion demands. The British Army will not be prepared to accept the Indian in the same position at any rate until his competence is very fully proved, and many years hence. So long as a certain type of Indian politician preaches a sour hatred of everything British and tries to imbue the Indian Army with it, so long will this particular problem remain insoluble. Only when the Indian can be accepted as equally British with the British, and when his efficiency as a leader has been thrice proved, can the question of command over Europeans be settled.

If the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief are permitted to carry out the experiment they are now making in their present wise and sympathetic way, some measure of success will accrue, and it is possible that the difficult future problems referred to will find their own solution. If the question is allowed to develop into a bitter political one, only harm can result.

TOURIST SECTION

IN THE NEAR EAST: A LETTER FROM
A TRAVELLER

BY DARIUS TĀLĀYARCARN

(Continued from p. 208)

I ARRIVED at Aleppo after eleven glorious days in the desert. There is nothing to see there except the French cafés, and nothing to hear beyond the deadly noise of rubberless wheels on the cobbled streets. But there is one thing—and that is the Citadel—upon whose architectural beauty you can feed for ever. Legend has it that the mount upon which it is built was constructed by artificial means, and that it is supported by 8,000 columns of stone and granite. Surrounded by a deep moat, it stands silhouetted against the soft greys of the sky—a gigantic Saracenic building of time-mellowed red stone, yet showing a slight Crusader influence in its great vaulted arches, bronze-studded doors, and bastions. There are four gateways of stone, the walls of which are covered with strange, fantastic writings. Altogether it is a place to play upon the imagination. Scenes of bygone centuries flash and reflash across the mind's eye, and in the gloom of the narrow turreted staircases the dead come back to life.

From Aleppo I went on to Baalbek, at the foot of the Lebanon. Conservative as I am, I prefer to say Heliopolis—it has more euphony—Heliopolis, City of the Sun, the favourite resort of King Solomon. The ruins are among the finest in the world, and strange and curious history adds beauty and colour to the atmosphere. When the Arabs drove away the Romans they changed the name of Heliopolis into the old appellation of Baalbek. They destroyed some of the architecture in their endeavour to make it into an impenetrable military fort. But it remained for the Emperor Constantine to destroy as far as possible

the art and beauty of the whole. We have there the reddened brown of the stone, the dark shadowy green of the walnut tree mingling with the lighter shades of the linden and vine, the long ranges of the snow-peaked Lebanon casting bronze shadows on the cornfields, and the pale slim reeds in the lichen-stained pond. It was like a coloured reverie . . . tall Corinthian pillars of grey granite, exquisite friezes of which the borders of heart-shaped acanthus leaves, and fragile wreaths of poppies and barley, gave one the impression of stone-reddened filigrane. Through the six towering columns of the Temple of Jupiter peeped the blue of the sky, and walking under the intricately wrought ceilings and through the columned cloisters of the Temple of Bacchus one thought of bare-footed maidens in their snow-white drapery and filleted curls—of processions of youths crowned with myrtle, their bare brown limbs flashing from their tunics. But now nothing remains—only silence and the wind, and the sun-bathed beauty of broken and forgotten things. From Baalbek I went to the Lebanon, and stayed in Ain-Sofar in a tiny cottage amidst the cedars.

From the Lebanon I went to Damascus. Except that the French have covered parts of the bazaar with corrugated iron, and the few streets that have become "Eurasianized," Damascus typifies everything that is Eastern. The people are proud, arrogant, and haughty. They have a saying amongst them that the world began at Damascus and will end at Damascus. Besides its Biblical association with St. Paul, Damascus is a wonderfully beautiful place. At this time of the year, on either side of the river, the vast orchards and gardens are blazing with colour. The air is laden with the subtle aroma of pale yellow lemons, that hang in heavy clusters from a mist of enamelled foliage, oranges and figs, apricots—curved globes of pink and cream-tinted velvet—olives and tiny green apples, white and black mulberries, rose-pink pears, and grapes that hang in long racemes, like showers of green and purple

beads, the passionate scarlet of the pomegranate, and the deep crimson of the cherry. See the long avenues of cypripedium, of linden, pine and cedar, through whose fretted shadows the lover creeps, and kisses rapturously the scarlet petals of the lips of the beloved, while the liquid tones of her voice cling to the cool waves of air. In the market-place the merchant sits, a grave and solemn figure, his amber beads tinkling against the wrought mouthpiece of the nargileh. In chests of cedar-wood, studded with tinsel and stained with wax and the fluid juice of the purple mastic, are wonderful brocades and exquisite silks, figured with the sprays of jessamine and tube-rose. Here lies an Abba fresh from the quaint and primitive loom to which the Damascene still adheres—it is in white silk and silver tissue; on the borders are wrought peacocks worked in silk and crystal feathers. They amorously kiss large almonds and pomegranates, and their feet are lost in a riot of lilies, each bloom being delicately picked in seed pearls. In a wicker basket lined with muslin is the noted Damascene filigree—a mass of silver froth.

In the Lebanon I had got a letter of introduction to a perfumer, and it was with him that I stayed while in Damascus. I had a little arched room right up on the flat mud terrace, but nearly every minute of the time I spent in the great fragrant cavity that my host called his shop. For hours I used to sit in the dim corners inhaling the fragrance from each tiny tube and casket, while the proprietor would murmur in hushed voice the secrets of distilling and compounding. In the tiny crevices were fantastically shaped bottles, stained with minute patterns in vermilion, filled with heavy sensuous essences and aromatic balms. In tiny caskets of bone and crystal fragrant roots and odorous incense sent clouds of perfume through the air—saffron and myrrh, frankincense and aloes, spikenard and orris—while piles of cinnamon and ugar mingled their perfume with cubes of sandal-wood and cedar.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE CRIMINAL TRIBES OF INDIA

BY COMMISSIONER F. BOOTH-TUCKER

(The Salvation Army)

INDIA is the land of Hereditary Trades Unionism, and amongst the most important and effective of these Labour Unions must be numbered the extraordinary Union of Criminal Tribes, whose whole and sole mode of existence and support consists in the commission of crime. Without a gun, pistol, or sword this vast arm of law-breakers is able to successfully defy all the forces of law and order, and to carry on with all classes of society a guerilla warfare which appears to have no parallel in any other part of the globe. For courage, daring, ingenuity, and enterprise it would be difficult to find their equals. From their own viewpoint they are successful and succeed in levying tribute on all classes of the community. True that many of them undergo long terms of imprisonment, but this only serves to add a touch of romance and glory to their achievements.

The lowest estimate of their number places them at one million. In the Punjab a recent enrolment showed a population of 130,000. In the United Provinces they are certainly not fewer in numbers. They abound in Rajputana and Central India, which may almost be reckoned to be their happy hunting grounds. In Bengal and Madras they are also numerous, and if there are any Native States which are free from them, we have not yet come across such, though it is not unusual for the State police to drive them from time to time into British territory. If, however, they thus succeed in ridding themselves of the nuisance, it is well known that the tribes are soon back again in their old haunts, where their generosity and readiness to share their plunder with their persecutors render their presence not

altogether unwelcome to those who are engaged in curbing and curtailing their activities. Moreover it is a well-known axiom among the tribes that they should grant immunity from raids to districts and States which will in return grant them immunity from prosecution. Thus village headmen, watchmen, and subordinate police can gain a cheap—nay, profitable—reputation for a crime-free record in their own domain, while adjoining territories are paying heavy tribute to the “protected” marauders, and their often too-friendly guardians!

Many efforts have been made to deal effectively with this problem, by means of inducements to reform, restriction of movements and punishment, but generally speaking it has been admitted that the efforts have resulted in failure. Organized crime is such a lucrative business, and the vested interests are so great, that anything like eradication of the evil has appeared to be well-nigh hopeless.

It is now some eighteen years since the Salvation Army were invited by Government to take a hand in the solution of the problem. A sufficient period has therefore elapsed for an opinion to be formed as to the measure of success which has been achieved. The field covered is already extensive, and the variety of tribes dealt with and methods employed yield much interesting information as to the perplexing nature of the problems that require to be solved.

The Salvation Army has now some twenty-one settlements and industrial schools, with a total population of 8,221 men, women, and children committed to our care. Our operations have been extended to the Punjab, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and Madras, and the tribes dealt with include Sansias, Bhatus, Haburahs, Nats, Karwals, Doms, Maghayas, Pans, Yerikulas, Veppur Parayas and Korachas.

The two main objects we have kept steadily in view have been—

1. The permanent reformation of each tribe, or clan, committed to our charge, and

2. The provision of some honest and profitable form of occupation.

To change their circumstances only required money, but to change their character was a different matter altogether, and it is here that our strong faith in God has carried us over barriers which would otherwise have seemed insuperable. We had seen the same miracle take place in other lands. We had a remedy which, skilfully, patiently, and affectionately applied, could transform the worst, and what was very important, we had an almost limitless supply of experts, men and women of prayer, faith, courage and self-sacrifice, who had made a study of the human heart, with all its ramifications of sin and sorrow, and all its grand possibilities of consecration and devotion.

We have not been disappointed, and whatever success we may have achieved, we have no hesitation in saying, has been due to the fact that we have recognized from the first our dependence on God and the Gospel to effect the radical and permanent change in heart and character at which we have aimed, and without which we have felt that any temporary success we might obtain could only be ephemeral.

On one occasion Sir Henry McMahon introduced me to one of the leading Maharajas of India, who was anxious that we should undertake work among his criminal tribes. His Highness had taken the trouble to personally visit our Settlements, as well as to inquire from Government as to our success. But there was one condition he was anxious to introduce—namely, that we should refrain from introducing Christianity. He was a Hindoo—his people were Hindoos—and any attempt to proselytize would be resented. I pointed out to His Highness that this would be to invite failure, and when this became evident, there would be no object in continuing the experiment.

He then suggested that a Hindoo Pandit should be appointed to each Settlement to teach their religion, while we taught ours. I suggested that a better plan would be

to have two separate Settlements, one in charge of the Hindoo Pandit, and the other run by us. Competition was the soul of business, and His Highness would be able to judge in due course which was the most successful.

However, we were unable to come to an agreement, although the money, land, and buildings required for the work were all at our disposal.

In the early days of our work it was not uncommon for the people themselves to complain to Government that we were trying to change their religion. In one case the Collector of the District happened to be a Mohammedan, and he had a long discussion with us as to the advisability of dropping Christ out of our programme—at least for the present—and confining ourselves to other Prophets, such as Moses. We replied that it was Christ, not Moses, who had changed our hearts and made us willing to adopt their dress and customs, and live amongst them as one of themselves. Apart from this, there were plenty of others who could undertake this work, but so far as we were concerned it was to Christ alone that we could attribute any success we had achieved.

However, as time passed, and the people themselves expressed their preference for our religious teachings and manifested by their changed lives the reality of their profession, objections of this kind diminished and disappeared.

When once we could persuade them to listen—and this was not always easy at the outset—the extraordinary difference between their Animistic beliefs and those of Christianity came to them with all the vividness and force of a new revelation. Their love for the Bible became intense, they wanted no other book. Those who could not themselves read would listen by the hour to those who could—often their own children, whom we have taught and trained in our Settlement Schools. "Send my boy to speak to me. He knows what to say," said one of our worst characters when seeking the pardon of his sins in one of our meetings.

In regard to the financing of the work, we have aimed steadily at making each Settlement self-supporting. The contributions of Government have simply been for supervision, schools, medical aid, land and buildings, and some help for the aged and infirm. To induce these work-shy classes to become self-supporting has been no easy task, but we have been singularly successful in this respect, and it may now be said that every family under our care has the means of self-support placed within their reach, and the great majority are now comfortably self-supporting. To make a thief into a property owner is perhaps one of the best guarantees that he will respect the property rights of others.

But this has been by no means as simple a business as might from our present position appear. There were strenuous objections to almost anything we might suggest.

They were *not coolies*, and they resented the idea of being regarded as such. Most of them were blissfully ignorant of agriculture, and cordially disliked it. For one thing it spoilt the delicacy of finger touch so desirable for their favourite occupation of thieving.

The women regarded sewing as the hereditary occupation of the *darzi*—a caste to which they did not belong. Moreover it was *men's work*, as everybody knew, and therefore not suitable for women. When induced to start they held their needles like pokers!

They had no objection to silk and weaving, except that they knew nothing about it, and had no desire to be regarded as belonging to the weaver caste.

Many of them objected strongly to washing their clothing, because they were not *dhobis*, and it would spoil the taste of their food if their women did it. A little diplomacy gradually overcame this objection. Special prizes were offered to the cleanest and best-dressed women, and bazaar passes were refused to those who presented an untidy and dishevelled appearance. We could not allow the Settlement to be disgraced by such conduct.

To these freedom-loving, roving Ishmaelites, the restrictions of a Settlement appeared irksome and intolerable. They were accustomed to wander at will wherever they liked, whenever they chose. Now they had to keep within bounds, unless granted a pass for some legitimate object. But we explained that in shutting them in we had made a condition that the police—their natural enemies and oppressors—should be shut out. This tickled their imagination, and appealed to their keen sense of humour.

With their harmless preferences and customs we in no way interfered. They could settle their internal disputes by means of their panchayat, or could even have a sort of small cause court of their own, with a final appeal to the Settlement Manager, if desired.

When problems arose which puzzled even the Manager, the Headmen were freely consulted and made to feel the importance of their position.

One day a party arrived from the Police Headquarters, five miles distant. The Indian Inspector—a very important official—accompanied by several constables and witnesses, had come to arrest three of the settlers on a charge of committing a burglary, when 3,000 rupees had been stolen. The Manager listened patiently to the story, and produced his register to prove that he had himself been round the Settlement on the night when the robbery was committed, and had seen the men in their homes, so that they could not have been six or seven miles away. To this the Inspector replied, that he was not there to hear evidence, but to arrest the men.

The Manager said he must consult his panchayat, who in turn asked for an hour to talk over the matter. They then made a counter proposition through the Manager, that the arrest should be postponed for a week, and that the Inspector should then come and bring with him three men, whose names our settlers gave, and whom they believed to be the real culprits. The Manager undertook to see that his three men should not abscond in the meanwhile.

The Inspector agreed to the proposal and returned on the appointed day with the three others who had been named. Our men were also present and had brought with them six coconuts. They suggested that the six men against whom the charges and counter-charges had been made should each choose one of the coconuts, the newcomers having the first choice. After prayer by the Manager that God would point out who were the real offenders, the coconuts should be set on fire, and those whose nuts burnt out most quickly should be regarded as those who had committed the crime, and suffer the necessary consequences.

To this proposal the newcomers would on no account consent. They, too, had a profound faith in the Manager's prayers, and in the interposition of God on behalf of the innocent. They asked for time to consider what they might themselves propose. A little later the Inspector informed us that the money had been "found" and that there would be no necessity for the arrest of our settlers. They were obviously innocent of the offence.

The position of a Manager and his wife was sometimes difficult and even dangerous, especially in the case of gangs who had been newly brought in. There had often been long-standing blood feuds, or desperate murders which could not be extenuated or overlooked. Indeed, the first great danger with our Settlements was that the police would treat them as rat-traps for the O.V.s (Out of Views), who had escaped their vigilance.

In one case a particularly dangerous gang had been committed to our charge. Before we had time to exert our influence over them, news came soon after their arrival that a strong body of armed police and village watchmen were approaching the Settlement in order to arrest one of their number. Before the Manager had any idea of the trouble, about a dozen picked men rushed out of the Settlement to meet the enemy. They attacked and routed the police force, who were said to number over 100, and drove them

from the field. Ultimately the gang surrendered—not to the police, but to our *Manager*, and without the necessity for any show of force the required submissions were voluntarily made.

In process of time the influence of our Managers became such that incidents of this kind never occurred, and newcomers to the Settlement were effectively dealt with and brought into line by the earlier settlers.

"What can Government be thinking to send such a set of scoundrels among respectable people like us!" remarked the wife of one of our settlers, as she watched a new gang being brought in by the police, forgetting that it was not so very long ago that her own gang had presented a similar appearance.

Although the criminal tribes are perhaps without exception non-agriculturists, some of our most successful Settlements are mainly agricultural. In these cases we have found it necessary to place an expert agriculturist in charge as Manager. The most flourishing of these is named Stuartpuram after the late Sir Harold Stuart. Here we have some 2,000 settlers whose conduct has been so good that Government has offered to release many of them from supervision. But they prefer to remain settled in their homes and allotments under our care.

In this community the daily work is preceded by a voluntary prayer-meeting at break of day, attended by the entire community.

In Bihar we have another tribe, who for more than thirty years resisted every attempt of Government to persuade them to take up agricultural pursuits. When given bullocks they neglected and starved them, and their only idea of cultivating land was to get somebody else to do it for them. In recent years our Managers have succeeded in settling them on the land and making them into enthusiastic and successful farmers. Crime has disappeared, and a happy contented community of Christians shows no trace of its evil origin.

At Moradabad Government granted a tract of sandy

barren land which had previously been used as a rifle range. An enterprising Manager found water near the surface and installed an oil engine and pumping plant, with the result that the land soon assumed a garden-like appearance. Numerous industries were likewise introduced with great success.

One of the most pleasing features of the change that has taken place is the revolutionized lives of the women and children. Day schools and industrial schools have been established in or near every Settlement, and the children have readily responded to the kindly treatment.

The weaving industry has proved highly successful. The Salvation Army has a fast handloom, the invention of one of its English officers, which has won gold and silver medals as the best and fastest handloom, capable of weaving any breadth from a ribbon to a ten-foot sheet. The boom in hand-made home-made cloth encouraged by Mr. Gandhi has resulted in the sale of many of these looms all over India, and they have also been sent as far afield as Kenya, Uganda, and Labrador. We have our own factory in Bombay.

For the sale of the produce of our weaveries a special department has been organized, and from a recent price-list I quote the following interesting extract regarding the quality and durability of our goods:

THE STORY OF A SHEET (ACTUAL FACTS)

"My Mem Sahib bought me in February, 1915, and took me home with her in the following month. I had plenty of work to do in my ordinary vocation as a Sheet, but my Mem Sahib went on war work and in the huts amongst the boys she found other use for me and I soon found myself hanging up over a doorway with my face all dyed green, and although I would much prefer to be a Sheet, seeing I was made a sheet, still during the war everybody seemed to be doing something they were not cut out for, so I did not grumble,

but stood, or rather hung, to my guns, and from England to Scotland and Scotland to France I followed my Mem Sahib and did my bit as a curtain, although as I said before I am really a Sheet.

"Wars don't last for ever, and although this was a pretty long one, it came to an end, and my Mem Sahib turned her mind back to India, my native country. So in January, 1920, I returned, but I still had a green face, until one day my Mem Sahib wanted some more sheets, and taking me up she passed me to the dhobi, and, although he tried hard, he failed to break the stone with me, and returned me to my Mem Sahib with a nice white face, and I was restored to my natural vocation once more.

"A young lady took me out one day in 1923, and sold me for a new sheet in error, but Mem Sahib soon got me back again, although the other lady wanted to keep me. Since then I have continued to fulfil the laws laid down for a sheet, and at the present time I am in the dhobi's basket waiting for another attack on that stone.

"I was made on a Salvation Army Settlement in January, 1915, and I am as good to-day as many a chap that is younger than me.

"All the sheets in this price-list are made of the same sort of stuff as I was."

While this paper deals exclusively with our own Settlements, I should state that the Government has in some cases run Settlements itself. Some of these have been undoubtedly successful; but, owing to the peculiar character of the work, it has been generally felt that it could better be accomplished by outside charitable and religious associations, with the help of subsidies from Government. In some cases missions have been entrusted with the work, but the chief agency employed has been that of the Salvation Army, and we venture to say that the results have justified the choice.

Speaking recently on the subject, Sir John Hewett,

former Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces, and the organizer of our first Settlements in India, has said:

"The subject is an enormous one, and the fringe has only just been touched. I am, however, convinced that in time the Salvation Army will succeed in the object it has in view—namely, the absorption of the criminal tribes into the ordinary population. When that has been done, the Salvation Army will have achieved one of the greatest moral reformations the world has ever seen."

On the same occasion, the late Lord Pentland, the former Governor of Madras, said:

"I agree with what Sir John Hewett has said . . . and I do not think that Government could be too grateful to the Salvation Army for the admirable work it is doing in that and other respects."

What the criminals themselves think about us may be summarized in a little incident which occurred shortly before we left India, when they presented us with the little silk handkerchief which I hold in my hand, inscribed with the motto

"AMOR MIO!"

We have sought to be worthy of their love and confidence and have no greater ambition than to live in their hearts.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, April 19, 1926, at 3.30 p.m., at which a paper was read by Commissioner F. Booth-Tucker, entitled "The Criminal Tribes of India."

Colonel Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.S.I., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Selwyn H. Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Stanley Batchelor, Lady McMahon, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Lady Kensington, Mrs. Booth-Tucker, Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-I.H., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel A. D. Bannerman, C.I.E., M.V.O., Colonel T. F. Dowden, Colonel A. S. Roberts and Mrs. Roberts, Mr. T. G. Sykes, Mr. and Mrs. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. D. J. M. Dove, Mr. A. F. Gray, Mr. Edward Valpy, Mr. E. C. Emerson, Mr. R. J. M. Knaster, Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Sale, Mr. Alfred L. Emanuel, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. C. A. Silberrad, Mr. Mohan Sinha Mehta, Mr. D. S. Batchelor, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Colonel Warliker, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. M. A. J. Noble, Mr. H. C. Mason, Dr. Shah, The Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. F. W. Wright, Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Richards, Mr. J. R. Martin, Mr. H. Shulldham Shaw, Mrs. Burton, Mr. Guiterman, Mrs. Fergusson-Smyth, Lieut.-Colonel H. Smith, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with very great pleasure that I come here to-day to preside at this meeting. It is to introduce to you a very old friend, Commissioner Booth-Tucker. (Applause.) I feel that to most of you here in this room no introduction is necessary; but there may be some to whom perhaps a few words may be instructive. It is about fifty years ago that Commissioner Booth-Tucker first went to India. He went out there as a member of that distinguished body, the Indian Civil Service. (Hear, hear, and applause.) After some years in that Service he left it, and in doing so voluntarily forfeited the chances of the rewards and distinctions which that Service brings to so many of its members. He left it to take service in what was then a very unknown body—namely, the Salvation Army. He might tell you—he will not do so to-day because his paper deals with other subjects—some rather thrilling tales of the early days of the Salvation Army in India. I see he is already laughing. However, that is not the subject of his paper to-day, but some day we must get him to tell us what he went through. The Salvation Army, when it began in India, was regarded with a certain

amount of astonishment by the natives of India, and with grave suspicion by the Government. I am not going into the lurid history of the past, but I will just let you into one secret. He had not been working in the Salvation Army in India very long when, following the footsteps of St. Paul, he found himself in prison. (Laughter.) I know it is a fact, so he cannot contradict it. He was in jail in Bombay. I do not know whether it was due to that circumstance, but he has always had, as we his friends know, ever since then a strong tendency towards association with criminals. (Loud laughter.) His sympathy with them has been a deep one, and it is due to that sympathy that, after some years of work with the Salvation Army, he started that great work of his—the reclamation of the criminal tribes of India. (Applause.)

To many of us here in this room the phrase "the criminal tribes of India" is familiar; but for the benefit of those who do not know of them, may I just say very briefly that the criminal tribes are people who not only take up some or other particular form of crime as a profession, but do so as a caste and as a religion. They work under a strict code of tribal law, and recognize grades of precedence between tribes. The special criminal occupation of each tribe varies widely—e.g., from that of the pickpocket to the cattle thief. Each tribe follows its special form of crime, and among them is included that horrible tribe whose profession and religion and caste it is to steal, deform, and dwarf children for the purposes of begging. It is a big thing to try and reclaim those tribes. Commissioner Booth-Tucker and his brave people not only started to work at it, but they have made it a success. (Applause.) He will tell you something about that work now, but I fear that he will not, through the modesty with which I know he is endowed, tell you the full amount of success that the work achieved. As a Government official, who watched the work with great interest, I can tell you with some authority that it has been a great success. Ladies and gentlemen, with these few words I introduce to you Commissioner Booth-Tucker. (Applause.)

The lecturer then read his paper.

SIR LOUIS DANE said that just seven years ago he had the honour of being in the same position as Sir Henry McMahon was now in, when he presided at a lecture delivered by Lieut.-Colonel James Bedford (Salvation Army). He then said what he had to say on the subject and would only now add that he had been a persistent supporter of the Salvation Army since the year 1882, when the first party of Salvationists was taken out to India by Commissioner Booth-Tucker. He and Commissioner Booth-Tucker passed for the Civil Service in the year 1874, and went out together in 1876. Commissioner Booth-Tucker chose the better part, resigned the Service, and was what he was, but he (the speaker) married a wife, and therefore could not join him. From Bombay, Commissioner Booth-Tucker sent him a postcard and requested him to go down to Bombay, where they were having glorious times. He supposed that was just before the lecturer went to jail. Sir Louis went on to say that he was then in Kulu, thirteen days' march beyond Simla, and had just married

a wife. They had been told that the wives were the people who controlled the criminal tribes. They certainly controlled the officials, and he was therefore not allowed to go to Bombay. However, he did his best to help the Salvation Army throughout his service. A party came up to Kulu and for some time was in want and he was of some use. As Commissioner Booth-Tucker had said, he was instrumental in handing over the criminal tribes in the Punjab to the care of the Salvation Army. The officials thought it was a most dangerous thing to do. His answer was that for thirty-five years they had tried to restrain them by shutting them up in forts and putting them under police guards without any opportunity of their making a livelihood or reforming them in any way, and it seemed to him about time that they should try another system. He believed that the Salvation Army had done very good work with the tribes in the Punjab. He was rather sorry to hear that now, owing to the extreme jealousy of what was called the more democratic Government in India, they were not allowed to do so much in this matter. The Government were endeavouring to do that work themselves; he did not think they would be successful. The work had not been restricted to the Salvation Army. Any community that was willing to undertake the duty had an equal opportunity of dealing with other criminal tribes or with prison gate deliveries. Some communities had taken them up, but none was so successful as the Salvation Army. He desired to congratulate Commissioner Booth-Tucker on the results achieved by his organization which had been so favourable to the people and in the interests of the Government (Applause).

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said he would like to endorse very heartily what Commissioner Booth-Tucker had said. He entirely agreed that far and away the best agency to undertake work of such a kind was a voluntary agency. For that reason, as Sir Louis Dane had pointed out, they set to work to try and raise the criminal tribes in the Punjab by providing them with the means to make an honest living. The first people in the field were the Salvation Army, who had had experience in other places. In 1916, in the Punjab, powers were given to the Government to deal with the criminal communities on certain lines. First, they were to register the most dangerous criminals, and then certain of them were to be placed in (1) reformatory settlements. Those who had shown some desire to reform were later advanced to (2) industrial settlements; and the final result was that those who successfully passed through the preliminary stages were to be settled on the land in (3) agricultural settlements. Naturally they had to look round for some responsible agency to carry out the various stages. The first agency was the Salvation Army. The next agency in the Punjab was the Belgian Franciscan Friars. There was a great irrigation scheme being carried out in the Punjab, and under that scheme he set aside 20,000 acres on which to plant these tribes. It took a period of probation before they were able to qualify to settle on the land. Commissioner Booth-Tucker came to him and asked for a couple of thousand acres. The Commissioner was a very hard man to drive a bargain with—(laughter)

—and he (the speaker), as they all knew, was a very easy-going man. However, after a little haggling and bargaining, they came to a mutual agreement, and he gave him land for two villages—at a price—and told him he was coming down in the next year to see how they were getting on. At the same time he gave 2,000 acres to the military authorities, who settled two villages supervised by the Franciscan Friars. He saw the villages a year later, and was astonished at the amount of work which had been done. He could hardly believe that those men, who had had no previous knowledge of agriculture, had, under the training and example of the Salvation Army and the Franciscans, built model villages, each with a splendid village hall and a little church; there were magnificent crops growing around, and all the signs of prosperity. There were some complaints from the Salvation Army villagers, and he asked what their troubles were. They said they had come among strangers and were in a strange land: "our neighbours are Muhammadans; they resent our being brought in. They look down on us as inferior Christians and as criminal tribes, and they feel that if we were not here they would have this land for themselves." He (Sir Michael) said he would see what he could do for them, and spoke to some of the leading Muhammadans. On Christmas Day, when the Salvation Army were having their Christmas dinner—he did not know whether it was a dry dinner—(laughter)—they heard that the cattle of their Muhammadan neighbours had been let loose again on their crops. They sallied forth, full of spirit, or, at least, full of good food, to seize the trespassing cattle and take them to the pound. The Muhammadans rushed forth to rescue their cattle, and there was a free fight. The Salvation Army settlers laid out several people, and killed one, and several of the Salvation Army were also laid out. The case went into court; some of the Salvation Army, as a result, got from three years' to six months' imprisonment, and some of the other side got six months. But he wished his audience to mark the result. It was an extraordinary illustration of Indian psychology. He went down there later to tell some of the local people how sorry he was to hear of the trouble between the Salvation Army and their neighbours, and asked if it would create bad blood. They assured him there would not be further trouble; that, on the contrary, as the Salvation Army had killed their man, their credit (*izzat*) had gone up, and they would have no trouble in future. A few months later both sides came to him and said: "We will shake hands and remain friends, and we hope Government will let them all off." He did so, and thus sealed the bargain. He mentioned that instance of a particular community drawn from the criminal classes to show what marvellous work had been done for their improvement by the Salvation Army and the Belgian Fathers; first, by knowing the people, and then by living amongst them and showing them they were not afraid to do themselves anything which they asked their people to do; by showing human sympathy, and, above everything, a sense of humour. When he made these grants of land the other communities—Hindu, Sikh, Muhammadan—were a bit suspicious that he was showing some racial or religious preference. He told them straight that land was

available for any religious body, Muhammadan, Hindu, Sikh, or any individuals who would come forward and undertake to do for their criminal tribes what the Salvation Army and the Franciscan Friars were doing. Government would give them land on the same terms, and say "God bless you." Some had come forward. They were much later in the field, and they had very much more to learn; they had not the same experience in dealing with these people as the Salvation Army and the Franciscans had, but they had made a beginning when he left the Punjab. Sir Michael O'Dwyer concluded by saying that Government agency could not do these things as cheaply and efficiently. It could and did undertake a share in the reformatory stage, but it could not perform the industrial and agricultural settlements in anything like the same human and sympathetic way that voluntary agencies could—especially religious agencies. Government had not the enthusiasm behind it which the organization of the Salvation Army and similar voluntary agencies had in the work which had to be done in India. (Applause.)

MISS MARY SORABJI expressed her profound gratitude for the splendid work that the Salvation Army and similar organizations are doing in India among the criminal tribes, mentioning the service rendered by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in South India. It was absolutely true that the *best* Government in the world was powerless to touch the heart. *That* could be done only by the Faith of those who believed as Commissioner Booth-Tucker believed.

DR. SHAH said he would have preferred that the religious question should be left out altogether, because it had brought no end of trouble to his unfortunate country.

MR. EMANUEL said he was in charge of a district where there was a settlement. The people there were very happy, and were improving rapidly. Any student of ethnology could write an essay on what he saw there. One unfortunate child was in disgrace because he had been detected eating a rat. Perhaps that was a reversion to his old tribal proclivities. The only way to get hold of these people was by means of such organizations as the Salvation Army.

SIR CHARLES YATE.—The lecturer has told us that Rajputana and Central India are the happy hunting grounds of the criminal tribes and it was in those districts that he first made their acquaintance. It was some fifty years since he was in charge of a branch there of what in those days was called the Thuggee and Dacoity Department, and he could remember, young as he was then, how dissatisfied he was with the way the Government subordinates carried on the work, so much so that before long he put the heads of the office staff under arrest. Since then he had been employed on frontier work and he had not had much chance of being in touch with the criminal tribes, but was glad to see that the lecturer had brought out so clearly how much better the establishments for the control of these tribes were managed by charitable and religious associations, and also how much cheaper they could do the work than Government. The lecturer had pointed out that the aim of the Salvation Army was to make

each settlement self-supporting and that the work which Government did in connection with their establishments was to contribute supervision, schools, medical aid, land and buildings, and help for aged and infirm, and that private Associations could best deal with the other part of the work. In this he entirely agreed, and he congratulated Commissioner Booth-Tucker on the success of his work.

MR. HARCOURT said that while he agreed absolutely that reformation of character could only be achieved through some Society of a religious kind, he did feel there was just a doubt as to whether there was not an implied violation of the clause in the Proclamation of 1858 which enjoined that none of those who were working under Government should in any way interfere with the religion of those among whom they were working. He thought that here some modification of the Proclamation was needed. If the Proclamation was to be strictly followed, he could not quite agree with the way in which the matter had been approached by the Government. They were no doubt throwing the whole of the field open to the competition of all religious societies, asking them to come in, whether Mohammedan, Hindu, Christian or anything else, to see if they could achieve an object which the Government wanted carried out. Even so could it be said they were abstaining "from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any Our Subjects"?

MR. M. MEHTA desired to know whether the lecturer advocated the separation of the children and younger folk from their parents in the settlements. He had an opportunity of seeing a settlement on behalf of a social body in Upper India. He understood from a report he had that the Government did not support that policy. He concluded by saying he would like to join in the admiration of the work of the Salvation Army in reforming the criminal tribes, and to pay his humble tribute to the lecturer. Although he did not agree with the lecturer that for the work of reformation of the criminal tribes it was indispensable to work on a religious or denominational basis or that Christianity alone could give the motive power of the success achieved so far in that reformation, yet that difference did not prevent him from joining in the tribute of praise which is rightly due to the Salvation Army for their noble efforts.

The LECTURER in reply said he was sure that Sir Michael would excuse him for saying that the grant of land was not in any sense a *gift*, but was sold to the Salvation Army at the full market value. He thought there might be a little misunderstanding on that point. Previously to the date when this land was acquired land had been given free of charge to various missions. But we were informed by Government that no more land would be given away, and that if we wanted any we must pay the full market value. We had asked Sir Michael at the time whether Government was in any hurry for the money, and he said it was not. The Government gave them thirty years, but that particular settlement was not for the criminal tribes. They had paid the then market value, which was 240 rupees an acre, payable in thirty years in three instalments—at the end of ten years, twenty years, and thirty years. As the settlers paid

them annually they put the money into the bank and got the interest. He was glad to say there had not been a single arrear. It had been running then for twelve or thirteen years, and the settlers had paid a year in advance. The value of the land had gone up considerably, from 240 rupees to between 600 and 700 rupees, so that it would be quite easy to pay it off straight away. They had made an agreement with the settlers that at the end of thirty years the land should become their own. At this place there were about 2,000 men, women, and children settled, and it had been a wonderful success. There was not a stitch of work done on a Sunday, and fortunately they were free from the cinema difficulty. They were as beautiful a set of people as one could find anywhere in the world. Sunday was really God's day there.

With regard to the question put by one of the speakers, he said that he did not advocate the separation of the children of the criminal tribes from their parents. Most of the schools were on the settlement, where the parents could see the children; but he would remind his audience that there were parents and parents. Some of the older people were really soaked in crime: and it had really tried them a very great deal in some cases when they had to send young people back to absolutely wicked parents with whom you would not trust a dog, and who only wanted to make money out of them. Someone had referred, he said, to certain people who would mutilate children for begging purposes, and who would torture them and ill-treat them. He thought there ought to be some measure of enquiry before a child who had been separated, perhaps, because the father was in one jail and the mother in another for crimes of absolute wickedness, was sent back to unreformed parents. He really did think there ought to be some consideration in those cases. One sweet little girl had been with them nearly a year. She was only eight or nine years old. They had an order from Government that she must go back to her parents. They knew the parents, and they knew that they were saturated in crime. They were unreformed, and did not want to reform. We had objected and raised every possible protest. When she did get home her father thrashed her again and again until he killed the child. That little child prayed to the very end, and he hoped one day to meet her in heaven. He said, however, that there were exceptions to every rule, and his answer to the inquiry was: Do not separate them as a general rule from the parents. When the latter are committed to our charge we can usually get hold of the father or mother, preferably the mother, and secure the safety of the children; but there are cases where exceptions ought to be made in the same way that they are in this country in the prevention of cruelty to children or animals. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have had a very interesting paper from Commissioner Booth-Tucker and an interesting discussion. I do not propose at this late hour to review the details of that discussion. I will sum up by asking you to accord a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer. One of the later speakers has referred to the

powerful influence of women in works of reform. I speak from personal knowledge when I say that no small portion of the success of the work among the criminal tribes of India is due to a lady who is in this room to-day—I refer to Mrs. Booth-Tucker. (Applause.) If there is anyone more energetic in good works than Commissioner Booth-Tucker it is Mrs. Booth-Tucker. Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you for a hearty vote of thanks for Commissioner Booth-Tucker. (Applause.)

On the motion of the HON. SECRETARY a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the lecturer and himself, the proceedings then terminated.

THE LAY WORK OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN INDIA

THE CONTRIBUTION WHICH THE MISSIONARY SOCIETIES HAVE
MADE AND ARE MAKING TO THE LIFE OF INDIA, APART FROM
THEIR SPECIFIC RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

BY REV. C. E. WILSON, B.A.
(*Foreign Secretary, Baptist Missionary Society*)

LAY OR SECULAR.—By that long and roundabout form of words I seek to avoid the use of the words “secular” or “lay.” For the distinction between religious and secular is one which I dislike. I believe that if we have a right view of religion it touches all life, and nothing can be altogether separate from it. It is obvious that the very existence of 12,000 Christian missionaries in India being due to their religious purpose, they are not likely to make any substantial contribution to its life which does not partake of a religious character to some extent.

I have undertaken not to introduce any note of religious discussion in this paper, but I cannot proceed to deal with all those activities of missions which I suppose many people would classify as “lay” or “secular,” or not specifically religious, without a very clear and emphatic claim for them that they are really an expression of that humanitarian spirit of social service which is inculcated by the Christian religion. I do not see how people can be Christians without engaging in these activities. At least it will be clearly evident, I trust, that Christian missionaries in India have not been impractical visionaries.

It is interesting to note, for example, that the missionaries actually engaged in the various kinds of educational service outnumber those who are appointed to exclusively religious ministry in the ratio of 26 to 21. I am bound to add that to many of my friends that proportion is looked upon with some misgiving as indicating a somewhat dangerous

tendency to subordinate the more directly religious to what may be called the indirect forms of service.

THE MISSIONARY BODY.—At the outset may I remind you that the modern Christian movement came into Indian life less than a century and a half ago, and was then represented by a very small and insignificant section of the foreigners resident in the country. The proportion is now much higher, and the influence exercised is very considerable.

In computing the amount and the value of the missionary contribution to the life of India, it is well to recognize their relation to the other foreign elements in the country :

Firstly, the representatives of the Government, both civil and military.

Secondly, the commercial community—bankers, merchants, traders, and organizers of industry.

These two sections together number only about 100,000.

Thirdly, the large body of 112,000 domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

According to the latest data that I have been able to gather, there are about 6,000 European and American men and women missionaries belonging to the Protestant Reformed Churches. There are 3,000 Roman Catholic priests, and probably as many other Roman Catholic missionaries of other ranks, including nuns and sisters of different Orders. We may say, therefore, that there are 12,000 men and women Christian missionaries altogether in India. This takes no account, of course, of the families of married missionaries.

ITS CHARACTERISTICS.—What are the special characteristics of this missionary body ?

(a) They are working avowedly for India and not for any personal profit or advantage of their own. Their expenditure in rupees is mainly, if not entirely, from imported funds sent to them by their supporters overseas, and to that extent, therefore, their presence in the country is financially profitable to India.

It is not possible to state with any assured accuracy what

is the total amount of expenditure in India of all the missionary societies, but probably it is in the neighbourhood of four million pounds sterling annually.

(b) Being unofficial and dependent for all their influence and success upon winning and holding the goodwill of all classes of the people, missionaries have every reason to induce them to get into intimate touch with Indian life and thought. I do not claim that the average attainment in the knowledge and use of Indian languages reached by missionaries is as high as it should be, but it will hardly be denied that it is generally much higher than that of other foreigners.

LINGUISTIC WORK.—Throughout the past century there has been produced a very noteworthy amount of linguistic material, the result of painstaking investigation and research by missionaries in the great Oriental languages, especially in India. And to many of the lesser languages—*e.g.*, the hill tribes and aboriginal languages—they have been the first to give a written form, and to provide the forms of grammar.

The Government and learned societies have been generous in their encouragement of these scholarly efforts, and in many cases have undertaken the cost of issuing the first dictionaries and grammars. The astonishingly rapid spread of Christian education among such animistic tribes as the Lushais, Khasias, and Jaintias, which is noted in the last Census report, was made possible by the successful linguistic labours of the pioneer missionaries.

And coupled with this study of Indian languages must be put the development of vernacular literature, both by translation from other languages and by the encouragement of native talent. Against the overpowering and not altogether beneficial effect of education in the English language is being set, to some extent at least, the quietly increasing output of Indian vernacular literature from the mission printing presses of India, and there is much European literature of an undesirable sort that gets into circulation in

India. Education stimulates mental hunger which craves food.

THE PRESS.—The pioneer leaders in the European study of Indian classic literature were the early missionaries. Dr. William Carey, a professor of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marathi in the Fort William College more than a century ago, and his colleague, Dr. Marshman, not only issued from the Serampore Press the “Mahabharata” and the “Ramayana” in Sanskrit and Bengali, but published the first printed volumes of Bengali prose and the first vernacular Indian newspaper, the *Samachar Darpan* (*News Mirror*), issued on May 31, 1818, under the patronage of Lord Hastings.

They also established and maintained for many years the journal, the *Friend of India*. I am far from wishing to claim that the newspaper press is an unmixed boon to the public life of India or any other country, but there is no doubt of its potent influence as a means of quickening the common thought and of disseminating ideas widely and rapidly. Its introduction, therefore, is an important contribution to the life of the country.

Some of the best workmanship to be found in printing in India is in the well-managed and fully equipped missionary publishing institutions.

FRIENDSHIP.—There is still too little close friendship between Indians and Europeans. For the best welfare of both India and Britain it is much to be wished that there were a greater sense of common interests and a wider cultivation of understanding and mutual trust. At least it may be claimed that Christian missionaries by the very fact that they are actively endeavouring to promote the establishment in India of really indigenous branches of a world-wide fellowship, self-governing and self-propagating religious societies of a socially comprehensive character, in which racial or national distinctions ought not to be recognized, are making some real contribution to the higher life of India.

We all gratefully recognize that the desire of every high-

mindful British official and of every loyal British resident in India is to win and retain the respect and trust of his Indian fellow subjects, and it is no small reinforcement of this worthy purpose to have widely scattered in all the great cities, in many of the district towns, and even in out-of-the-way village stations, a body of friendly people from Europe and America, whose daily efforts are all directed to the gathering about themselves and the institutions they represent of an increasing number of Indians who will recognize them as true friends and kinsmen.

EDUCATION.—For, apart from any question of its changed religious beliefs, there are certain features about the rapidly growing Indian Christian community, recorded in the last Census as over 5,000,000, which are exceedingly important as evidence of the work by missionaries on its so-called "secular" side.

The standard of literary education in the Indian Christian community is notably high as compared with the rest of the population. In all communities throughout India, literacy (that is, the power to read and write in their own vernacular) is recorded, for men, as 139 per 1,000; for women, as 21 per 1,000. For the Indian Christians it is, for men, 355 per 1,000; for women, 210 per 1,000; that is to say, there are about three Indian Christian men able to read and write for every one who is not a Christian, and ten Indian Christian women for every one Indian woman who is not a Christian. This proportion is becoming difficult to maintain, and promises to be in future still more difficult to maintain by reason of the rapid absorption of large numbers of converts from the illiterate classes. But a determined effort is being made to maintain and improve it all the time by the 20,000 missionary schools of all grades which have been established and are being carried on under the supervision of the missionaries, with the generous encouragement of the Government and financial grants in aid.

These mission schools are of all kinds, from the village primary schools with their 500,000 children, through the

middle grade schools, up to the 400 high schools and 65 Christian colleges of University status. An additional service to the great student community of India is rendered by missionaries in their hostels and institutes for students of the great non-residential colleges.

There are about 3,500 teachers being trained, over 500 medical students, 108,000 high-school pupils, and 22,500 college students (of whom 1,000 are women). This means that missionary college teachers have under their tuition more students than there are in Oxford and Cambridge and all the four Scottish Universities put together.

TECHNICAL TRAINING.—It is not merely a literary training which is being given by missions, for there are now 99 agricultural settlements, 170 industrial schools, 11 homes for the blind and for the deaf and dumb. 340 orphanages are being maintained by missions. These are in most cases the later results of relief works in time of famine, and in connection with most of these orphanages various industries are in operation. The social uplift of the great non-caste masses of India and the efforts to reform the criminal classes owe very much to organized Christian missions.

Only those who have had actual experience of the complicated social conditions of Indian life can realize how many and baffling are the problems to be dealt with in devising and conducting the technical training of Indian youths and girls, so as to make it possible for them to follow the craft they have learned as a means of livelihood, as independent members of their own communities.

The problem of vocational education is being studied in a practical and experimental manner in missionary institutions at Moga, in the Punjab, and elsewhere, and if complete success cannot yet be acclaimed, the real value of the efforts that are being made is fully acknowledged by the educational authorities.

AGRICULTURE.—It is a matter of real interest to me to recall that the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of

India was founded in 1820 by a missionary, Dr. Carey, whose marble bust may be seen to-day in the Society's hall in Calcutta. Inasmuch as 72½ per cent. of the population are cultivators and live so poorly by their toil, there can be no subject more important to the prosperity of the country than the fostering and improvement of this basic industry. Agricultural education, co-operative farming societies, and agricultural banks are being to some extent assisted by the missions, but not nearly in the degree that the poverty of the peasantry calls for.

Missionaries who are solicitous for the welfare of the village communities in which they are specially interested are very conscious of the disadvantage of the constant drift away from the village to the city which occurs as ambitious youths set themselves to win advancement in education; but a high price is set upon a University degree and the teaching profession, among Indian Christians, and the demand seems likely to increase yet more quickly in years to come. Especially is this true in respect to Christian women, for whom there are many attractive opportunities for employment as teachers, nurses, and doctors. No doubt vocational education in the earlier stages will do something to stabilize things.

MEDICAL MISSIONS.—The public health of India is cared for by one of the greatest and most honourable of public services in the world—the Indian Medical Service together with the civil medical profession and the great body of private practitioners.

Yet so great is the physical suffering of India that there is abundant scope for the philanthropic ministry of medical missions, and there are at present 221 mission hospitals with 5,000 beds, besides 187 dispensaries, 8 tuberculosis sanatoria, and 68 leper institutions.

These medical missions are staffed with 100 European and 600 Indian men physicians, 195 European women and 261 Indian woman physicians—a total of 1,152 qualified doctors and 820 trained nurses.

The yearly attendances in the dispensaries are over 3,000,000. That surely is no inconsiderable lay service to the Indian Empire.

The peculiar need of *pardah nashin* women has led to the development of zenana hospitals and the training and employment of a larger number of women medical mission workers than of men in India. Yet the tremendous need of the sick multitudes of India is by no means met, as all who know will agree. This body of devoted physicians and nurses are exercising a very real and widespread influence in promoting public health by preventing the spread of disease, and their monumental labours in times of plague and other dire epidemics are well known to all.

ANGLO-INDIANS.—There is one element of Indian life which has its own very peculiar claim upon the consideration of both the British Government and Indian patriots, and it is the Anglo-Indian community of 112,000 people.

The importance on the one hand of prevention of their degeneration through poverty and lack of education, and the proved possibility of their strength and usefulness to the country on the other, fully justify the utmost endeavours on their behalf. And it may fearlessly be claimed that a great deal is owing to Christian missions, as well as to the Government and charitable endowments, for what is being done, not only in great institutions like St. Andrew's and St. George's, but in the many smaller institutions throughout the country.

SOCIAL SERVICE.—I do not know how far I may go without treading on tender sensibilities if I refer to the activities of Christian missionaries in their public advocacy of the cause of temperance, the suppression of the drug excesses, and the cure of public immorality. But at any rate it must be reckoned as one of the contributions to Indian life and modern movements of thought which Christian missionaries are making, that they are trying to encourage the desire for greater control and gradual suppression of the trade in alcoholic liquors and the use of

opium, hemp, cocaine, and other dangerous narcotics. It is even considered by some that India may be the first great section of the Empire that will adopt prohibition, and, if it should be, the missionaries would have a share in the praise or the blame, as the case might be.

And in the crusade against public indecency and organized sexual vice which is unhappily becoming more obviously needed in the great centres of population it would be a very serious loss if the share taken by the missionaries were removed.

Similarly, in the protection of friendless and unwanted children and the assistance of destitute women in moral peril it very frequently falls to the lot of the missionaries to take a responsible part, even though it may not be recognized as within their regular course of appointed duty. There are eighty Christian missionary homes for girls and women in need of moral protection and help, and in these homes both ordinary education and technical instruction are given.

Very many women missionaries are engaged constantly not only in zenana nursing, but specially in child welfare work in the populous centres, and with notable benefit to the country in the training of Indian midwives. The large number of girls' boarding schools under the personal management of highly trained and qualified European women educationists are undoubtedly making an enormous difference not only to the standard of women's education in the narrower sense, but to the position of women in the home and society.

A good many missionaries are serving the Indian public as members of Municipal Councils and committees for philanthropic purposes. The value of their service to the general community has from time to time been graciously recognized in the Honours' List. Though it is no part of their duty to engage in political controversy, they often have opportunities of interpreting Indian thought to the European community, and explaining, if not justifying,

European ways and ideas to their Indian friends and neighbours. And seeing that the only real medium of cohesion in human society is peace and goodwill, it is no small benefit even to the so-called secular life of any country to have living within it a body of men and women who, however imperfect they confess their attainments to be, are yet pledged to cultivate and to spread the Christian spirit of peace and goodwill among all classes and all races of men.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, May 31, 1926, when a paper was read by the Rev. C. E. Wilson, B.A., entitled, "The Lay Work of Missionary Societies in India."

Sir Frank Dyson, F.R.S., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, BART., C.S.I., C.M.G., Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Philip J. Hartog, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Colonel T. F. Dowden and Miss Dowden, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Colonel Warliker, Colonel G. V. Holmes, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. F. J. Richards, Mr. F. G. Butler, Rev. A. C. Burley, Miss M. Sorabji, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. Y. A. Irfani, Mr. M. L. Chandra, Mrs. Herron, Professor and Mrs. Bickerton, Mr. J. H. West, Commissioner and Mrs. F. Booth-Tucker, Mr. E. S. Summers, Mrs. Collis, Mrs. Martley, Mr. E. C. Emerson, Mr. G. Hillyer, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have rather a small audience to-day for various causes, for which I am sorry, because Mr. Wilson has a very interesting subject on which to address us. As you know, he is going to speak on the secondary aspects of the work of Christian missions in India. Of course, their primary object is to introduce Christianity into India in all its aspects, including that essential part of religion—namely, to visit the widows and fatherless in their affliction, and to keep themselves unspotted from the world. We know quite well of the great extent of their efforts in education, in medicine, and in various kinds of social and philanthropic work. For myself I know a little about it by reason of the fact that I had a sister in India engaged on missionary work, and with regard to her school, which was an orphan school, she has said with pardonable pride that they had never turned away any child who was brought to them during a famine. I am rather at a loss in one respect, because I have no acquaintance with Indian problems, although I have seen students in England, and I have met and read and heard of Christian missionaries and their work. I am very glad indeed to have this opportunity of listening to Mr. Wilson, because he has had personal experience in India, and knows all about it. As Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, he has a general and wide knowledge of the activities of missionaries, and their different ways in all parts of India. I am sure he will give us a very interesting address, and I repeat I am only sorry there are not more of us here to listen to him. I have great pleasure in calling upon Mr. Wilson to address us. (Applause.)

The lecturer then read his paper.

Sir PHILIP HARTOG said he had great pleasure in adding his own testimony to that of the lecturer on the value of what might be briefly designated as the "lay" work of the missionaries in India. When he went to India on the Calcutta University Commission his interest in missionary work was nil, as he himself belonged to a non-Christian community, but when he saw what was being done in the colleges at Bengal, and elsewhere in India by the missionaries, his interest and admiration grew, and had grown ever since, as he had become more intimately acquainted with their educational and social work.

When travelling about Bengal he came into contact with a great number of parents of boys in secondary schools, and he often asked the parents where they were going to send their boys when they went to college. Again and again the answer was "To St. Xavier's College," or to "St. Paul's Cathedral College," or "The Scottish Churches College." He then asked them: "Do you wish your boys to become Christians?" They replied, rather shocked: "Oh no, but we want them to come under Christian influences." That was the attitude of the educated Bengali. They wished their boys to come under the influence of the Bible. The missionaries in Bengal had influenced Indian thought and feeling far more widely by their personal example and by their lay work than by what was generally called "evangelization." It was no indiscretion now to repeat what was said by one of his colleagues on the Commission, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, one of the most remarkable men in India and a staunch Hindu: "One thing we must not do; we must not do anything which will damage the work of the missionary colleges." He thought if any one of those present had come into contact with the missionaries working in India, they must feel that this country could not be better represented in India than by the men and women who were doing this work. The wives of the missionaries and other women members of the missions performed most important functions, especially in social work. He had seen much of that work at close quarters, especially in Dacca. Any piece of public work which could not easily be done by higher officials, the English missionaries were constantly asked to do. In conclusion, he would like to impress on those who were connected with missionary societies, and who might be disappointed by the result of the efforts of proselytization, that the lay work of the missionaries was really a great work for India and for the Empire, and those who knew it best must wish it most success. (Applause.)

Sir CHARLES YATE said he desired to thank Mr. Wilson for his very instructive lecture. He had brought home to them the great work that was being done by the missionaries in India. For himself he had no idea that there was such a large number of missionaries in India. He had been greatly impressed by the mission work amongst the Bhils of Rajputana, and the medical work on the frontier had an enormous influence for good. With regard to "linguistic work," he thought the lecturer had put it rather mildly when he said it could hardly be denied that it was generally much higher than that of other foreigners. He considered the linguistic attainments of missionaries in India worthy of all admiration, and he wished all English members of the Indian services could speak the

language as well as the missionaries did. Mr. Wilson had said he was far from wishing to claim that the newspaper press was an unmixed boon to the public life of India. Sir Charles confessed he would put it much stronger. He would say the newspaper press was a curse to the country. (Laughter.) In his opinion the repeal of the Indian Press Act, which their ancestors in their wisdom had considered necessary for India, was a mistake. The cheap vernacular press of India lived very largely by vilification and blackmail, and inflicted great damage on the country. The Government of India had already been obliged to pass an Act to protect the Indian chiefs, and he should like to see another Act passed to protect the Indian officials.

As regards the question of the Anglo-Indians in India, it was his opinion that the missionary bodies should take more charge of them than at present. Generally speaking, they were neglected. The Government chaplains had the troops and other English officials and people to look after, and the Anglo-Indians he feared were rather left out in the cold.

Mr. Wilson had said that it was not at all impossible that India might be the first great section of the Empire to adopt prohibition. In his opinion it was absolutely impossible to press prohibition in a country where you had the material growing from which anybody might distil their own liquor at their own doors. The mhowa-tree, from which liquor was so readily distilled, grew generally in many parts of India, and any attempt at prohibition must inevitably lead to illicit distillation.

Mr. HARCOURT said he desired to refer to the note of caution with which the lecturer began. He thought that caution as between Government and missionaries had been over-emphasized.

With regard to the educational question, he remembered on one occasion having before him a number of pleaders, and he asked them: "Are you not frightened to send your boys to mission colleges? Surely they will become Christians." Their reply was that they would not. The fact was they liked their boys to be brought under religious influence; they liked them to come as near to becoming Christians as they could without becoming Christians. However, if a boy or girl did step over the line and become a Christian, it was treated as a family misfortune.

Further, he would like to add a word on the subject of prohibition. Sir Charles Yate, who had had long experience in India, regarded the thing as totally impossible. He, the speaker, would like to say, whatever was the value of his twenty-five years' experience in India, that he was profoundly convinced that it was not impossible. He believed that a very large percentage of the people in India would support an attempt. No doubt many people would try to evade any system that was introduced, but he seemed to remember that in a country which was supposed to be more civilized and advanced than India, and where prohibition had actually been introduced, on the question of evasion accounts differed.

In conclusion, he said that in his opinion the spirit of India was distinctly religious, although we may not like particular religions; and whether people were Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians, or anything

else, if only the courage was shown to indicate prohibition as its ultimate ideal, he believed the Government would carry them with it.

Mr. F. H. BROWN said that he thought that it was fitting that the lay work of missionaries in India should be put before them by one who occupied a prominent position in the Baptist Missionary Society, of which the great William Carey, the "Father" of modern Protestant missions, was the founder. Mr. Wilson had filled his present appointment for twenty-one years, and was previously an agent of the Society in India. His paper had been marked by a restraint in statement which must be recognized by anyone who had looked into the question of the missionary contribution to educational and social work in India.

There was one point that seemed to require some elucidation. He asked the lecturer to say whether the figures he gave with regard to the literacy of the Christian community in India referred to the Indian Christians alone, or whether they also comprised the European and Anglo-Indian elements in the population. The matter was of some practical consequence, for the proportion of Europeans and domiciled persons literate for census purposes was, of course, high, and their inclusion would raise the percentage. It was a matter for great satisfaction that the figures of literacy among the Indian Christians were so good in comparison with those of other communities and of the country as a whole. But he was sure Mr. Wilson would agree with him when he said that great further advance was needed. The ideal of the missionary workers in India was to have a much larger proportion of literacy among Indian Christians than 355 per 1,000 of males and 210 per 1,000 of women. A difficult problem was that of making provision for the education of the large numbers of rural dwellers brought within the community by mass movements towards Christianity. This raised the question in the minds of some not unsympathetic observers whether it was desirable to use any portion of the relatively limited resources in money and in workers of the missionary bodies for the higher education of Hindu, Muhammadan, and other non-Christian youths instead of concentrating upon the education of those who were already Christians, large numbers of whom were not provided for educationally. There were authorities, headed by Bishop Whitehead, who advocated the view that the time had come when the primary, if not indeed the only, obligation of missionaries in reference to educational work was towards those who had already accepted the Christian faith. He mentioned this point not in any critical spirit, but to elicit the views of Mr. Wilson on an issue he had not dealt with in the paper.

To the value of the educational work carried on among the Hindu, Muhammadan, and other non-Christian youths in colleges, remarkable testimony had been borne by Sir Philip Hartog, who spoke with the detachment of a non-Christian and with the knowledge of an expert. His testimony confirmed that of a long succession of competent observers among European writers and administrators. It was also borne out by the warm appreciation of many prominent leaders of Indian thought, of whom a good proportion came from missionary colleges. A notable instance

was the frequent testimony of the late Sir Narayen Chandravarkar, and many other names could be mentioned.

Mr. RICE said that for the work of the missionary societies he had the greatest admiration. He had himself benefited by the medical work of the women, to whom he could never be too grateful. But what struck him was, how far could this work be called "Christian," and how far was it merely "Western"? How far were we inheritors of really Christian ideals, and how far were we inheritors of Greece and Rome? He did not deny that the driving force to those men and women missionaries who went to India might be Christianity, but he thought that the methods they were adopting were very largely the methods of Western civilization. He believed very strongly that both Hindu and Islam had their ideals, but he did not want to draw any invidious distinction by saying which was better and which was worse. Social service was not the monopoly of Christianity. If one read Muhammadan or Hindu books, it would be found that fundamentally they had very much the same ethical ideas. The real fact was rather that in the West we had known better how to organize than that we had any special ideals of social service. People in India would rather give to the beggar than, for example, subscribe to a *Times* Police Fund—they did not quite know how the money was to be spent. That brought him to what might be called the Departmental point; as Secretary he suggested that somebody should let them have a paper on the "Social Service Activities of Hindus and Muhammadans."

One other point he desired to mention on the question of the elucidation of the figures with regard to literacy in India. He had just been reading a rather elaborate work on education in India, and the author admitted that the general standard of literacy was much higher among Indian Christians and missionary educated people than it was generally throughout India. It showed them that private enterprise would always be better than Government management. In fact it was the complaint of this particular educational authority that there was a great deal too much Government interference. The missionary as a product of Western civilization was working for love and not for money. He was anxious to keep up his school to a certain standard in a way that a very large number of schoolmasters were not; he did not wish to blame them; they had to earn a living, and their own limitations prevented any large scope for ambition; he thought, as far as possible, Government should be relieved of the burden of education. That he thought was one of the lessons of missionary work in India, and the same thing applied to hospitals and medical work generally. (Applause.)

Miss SCATCHERD desired to know whether the lecturer had found any difficulty with regard to social habits of missionaries. Mr. Gerald Gould, when writing criticisms on a very interesting collection of stories by Rabindranath Tagore, quoted how a certain man was deemed by his neighbours to be a very bad person, worse than a murderer, or worse even than a beef eater. Mr. Gerald Gould said: "What can we say of the intellectual capacity of a writer like that?" Apparently Mr. Gould did not realize that in that country the cow was regarded as a sacred animal, and

that there was sense in the story, since those who ate the flesh were deemed guilty of sacrilege.

On the question of Western civilization, and the so-called humanitarian spirit inspired by Christianity, Miss Scatcherd said she had been watching Western civilization very closely, especially modern civilization, which was based mainly on the Darwinian theory, and so on. For herself she believed that there was a distinction between the humanitarian spirit of Christianity and the modern Western civilization. (Applause.)

Mr. F. J. RICHARDS desired to know what precisely the lecturer meant by the term "Anglo-Indian," as the strength of that community was reported differently by him in two different contexts. He strongly supported what had been said regarding the importance of the secular side of missionary work; he considered it the most important side, for, if lay work is well done, spiritual influence is bound to follow; if it is not well done, spiritual influence must wane. (Applause.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said: May I most unreservedly and sincerely thank those who have taken part in the discussion for the extremely generous way they have treated me. It was with some fear and trepidation that I appeared before this Association to deal with such a subject. I hardly knew what to anticipate by way of reception or refutation of what I might put before you. That accounts for the modest and reserved, and I might almost say timid, manner in which I addressed myself to some points in my paper. But I am very grateful indeed for all the comments which have been made. Your time is precious, and I will refer at once to the points which have been raised. First of all, I will apologize for the mistake and inconsistency with regard to the figures of Anglo-Indians. It is a misprint which I had failed to observe. Will you please take the first figure of 112,000 as domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians—by Anglo-Indians I mean Eurasians; that is a term which is more in favour nowadays.

Then with regard to the Western character of missionary work, of course, being Westerners we must work in Western ways. We can only work according to the methods by which we have learned to work. It would have been improper for me to have claimed at every point that it was the Christian motive that drove missionaries to their particular activities, though I believe that myself. Our methods are no doubt English methods. American missionaries work in American ways; they are somewhat different from ours, and we must allow them to do it. (Hear, hear.) I quite agree that a missionary may be at fault sometimes in being too Western and not in sufficient sympathy with the people among whom he works.

Now with regard to what your Secretary said, there is no doubt that a great part of the progress that is made by Christian schools is due to the fact that they are carried on by those who are doing that work for sheer love of it. It is because so many of our highly-trained educational men and women are expressing the true devotion of their hearts that the schools are so successful.

As to the progress of literacy in the Christian community, I do think

there is some connection between the motives and high ideals which are held by the Christian educationists, especially with regard to women, which accounts for the comparatively high literacy of the Christian population. These figures are taken exactly from the census return. I believe they apply to the Indian population and not domiciled Europeans.

On the question of the comparative strength which should be given to the education of the masses, or to the higher education of the more privileged classes, a great many missionaries are exercised in mind about it, and a great many of the missionary societies are adjusting the distribution of their efforts and their funds. It is an appalling thing from one point of view if with great rapidity your Christian community is being continually enlarged by accessions from the illiterate masses, and the Indian Christians are particularly sensitive about it. I think much more attention and much more labour must be devoted to the education of these unprivileged masses, but at the same time I should be sorry to see Christian educationists withdrawing their attention from the higher educational work. Not only have we to think of the good of the Christian community itself, but of the supreme importance that the Indian Christian community should be prepared to take a position of real influence and service for the country, and that you should have men and women who are Indian Christians and are capable of taking positions in the great professions which will be of real value to their own community and to the Empire. I also think that it is a matter of great importance for Christianity in India that it should be related to the best intellectual life of India. Undoubtedly there is going to be a mutual reaction of the West and of the East together, and where can we expect that effect to be more real and more valuable to the life of the Empire than in the University communities? We are often presented with the challenge of so many things to be done at the same time, and I believe that in general life proves that the more numerous are the challenges, the greater are the opportunities and the more hopeful is success. Ladies and gentlemen, again with much appreciation I wish to thank you for your kindness and courtesy.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure we should all like to thank Mr. Wilson both for the address he has given us and also because it has initiated such a very interesting discussion. He must have been very pleased to hear what Sir Philip Hartog said as to what he found with regard to the education given by the missionaries.

There was one point as to which I do not know whether either of them meant what they said. Both Mr. Wilson and the Secretary thought that the missionary who taught did so from love of his work, but that the Civil Servant, who may be a schoolmaster or a professor at a University, only did it for the sake of the money he got. (Laughter.) I think Sir Philip Hartog would bear me out that that is a proposition which we could not leave uncontradicted. From what I have seen of the students who have come from India, I am sure that in Indian colleges—Government colleges as well as missionary colleges—there is some very good tuition, and this is only done by people who do teach because they love it.

However, perhaps I am making a little more of that point than was intended.

There is another point which was touched on by some speakers, but Mr. Wilson did not tell us in his reply exactly how he regarded it. It was with regard to that thorny question of prohibition. I have spoken to several Americans I know on the subject. One says one thing, and the next says another, and so it goes on throughout. One says the younger generation is growing up without any temptation to drink, and another says the younger generation in the Universities are drinking out of pure bravado. So that I am totally unable to make up my mind as to whether it is a beneficial thing, or whether it is trying to do the right thing by a short cut which has not been successful. However, ladies and gentlemen, that is really rather apart from what I got up to say, which is simply, on your behalf, to thank Mr. Wilson for the very interesting and illuminating address which he has given this afternoon. (Loud applause.)

Professor BICKERTON, in seconding the vote of thanks to the lecturer, said he did it because he had listened with extreme pleasure to what had been said to them that afternoon. Some time back a lady had given them an address on the subject of social service in India, and he was particularly struck then by the idea of social service. It would be better if we could get a Britannic social service; it would be still wider and still better if we could get a humanitarian social service. Only that week he had been listening to a remarkable address by wireless on Buddha, and a lady who had heard it said it was the most "Christian" address she had ever heard of; so when one looked at India there could be no doubt that a great deal of good could be got by the Western idea uniting itself with the Eastern idea. Two great religions—Hinduism and Buddhism—were both developed in India, and perhaps the most flourishing period of Muhammadanism was during the reign of Akber at the time when Queen Elizabeth reigned in England. There was the same fundamental and basic ideal in all these religions. It was desirable that it should be known that men like the lecturer were teaching in India, and showing that same Christian ideal to Buddhists, Hindus, and Muhammadans, that they should feel that that was exactly their teaching with a Western trend. That was what we wanted to show, that the fundamental teaching of every great religion is identical—that was to say, the appreciation of the wonders of nature that showed the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. (Applause.)

The proceedings then terminated with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE POSITION OF THE INDIAN STATES

THE following note on the above paper by Mr. K. M. Panikkar has been received from Mr. C. A. Silberrad (I.C.S. ret'd.):

"In the paper on 'The Position of Indian States,' by Mr. K. M. Panikkar, at the reading of which I was unable to be present, and in the discussion thereon, there were several remarks on the attitude of the inhabitants of areas whose transfer from British to Indian State administration or *vice versa* was under consideration. May I add my own experience? A good many years ago I was engaged in discussing proposals for the interchange of territory between British India and some half-dozen Indian States, and made specific inquiries into the attitude of the inhabitants of the British areas concerned. The reputations of the States as regards administration I may say were various, and might be classified as good, bad, and indifferent. These varying reputations were vividly brought out in the result of the inquiries. The persons whose territory was proposed for transfer to the State with the worst reputation bluntly said they would prefer to be transported to the Andamans (the convict settlement)! The opposition in other cases was less strong, but quite decided save in one case only, where there was no opposition, merely willingness to accept the change—that State had a good reputation.

"As regards the opinions of the residents of the States I had little opportunity of ascertaining anything, but I remember on one occasion when riding near the portion of

one State proposed for transfer, I was surrounded by a crowd of residents of that area, who eagerly asked me when the transfer was to take place, urging that it be carried out, but pleading that they dared not say so overtly. That was a State with merely an indifferent reputation."

TWO INDIAN SONNETS

By J. CALDWELL-JOHNSTON

I. PURDAH NASHIN

To be behind the curtain all one's life ;
 Never unveiled to look upon the least
 Common wayside thing ; at life's rich-garnished feast
 Never to sit ; watch lamps, hear distant fife,
 Smell marigolds and rose-garlands ; let the strife
 Of tongues pass by unheeded—surely priest
 Self-mutilated, surely jungle-beast,
 Were happier, wiser than the Hindu wife !
 And yet, as some, for whom the garden glows
 With myriad blossoms, find but the tulsi sweet ;
 Vain beckons jasmine, vainly flaunts the rose,
 Vain lotus calls—let these in field or street
 Dream dreams of love ! the Hindu woman knows :
 " I wrap the robe about my Master's feet ! "

2. GREATHEART

(SRI RAMAKRISHNA PARÂMAHÂMSA)

A WHITE flame burning in a swampy place,
 Mere squelchy wilderness of reed and briar,
 Tussocks and rotten turf-stuff, and the mire
 That sucks and slavers round each planted pace ;
 The wide, unwinking sky's blind-seeing face,
 Moonless, unstarred, where now and then mock fire,
 Dancing, deludes wan hearts and feet that tire,
 Yet deeper, deathward, lures into the maze—
 God made of thee a beacon. We to thee
 Tend not, but circling keep upon our road.
 Thou givest us the light, wherewith to see
 Our stumbling-stones, and our too-heavy load
 Thou eatest. Yea, thou, standing steadfastly,
 Smilest on us the sure, sweet Smile of God.

RELIGION, MYSTICISM, FOLKLORE

By F. R. SCATCHERD

- THE MIGRATION OF SYMBOLS, AND THEIR RELATION TO BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS. By Donald Mackenzie. (*Kegan Paul*.) 12s. 6d. net.
- PSALMS OF A SAIVA SAINT. By T. Isaac Tambyah. (*Luzac and Co.*) 7s. 6d.
- RAMAND TO RAM TIRAH: LIVES OF THE SAINTS OF NORTHERN INDIA. (*G. A. Natesan and Co.*, George Town, Madras.) Rs. 1.8.
- MAÎTREYA, LE BOUDDHA FUTUR. By Louis Latourrette. (*Librairie Lemercier*, 5, Place Victor Hugo, Paris.)
- GLIMPSES OF MASONIC HISTORY. By C. W. Leadbeater. (*Theosophical Publishing House*, Adyar, Madras.) Rs. 7.
- TU REVIVRAS. With preface by Edouard Schuré. By Henri Regnault. (*Les éditions Georges-Anquetil*, 39, Boulevard Berthier, Paris.) 15 francs.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS will welcome Mr. Donald Mackenzie's valuable and painstaking study on the migration of symbols. The volume forms one of a series which is to embrace the entire "History of Civilization." Mr. Mackenzie is frankly on the side of the Diffusionists as ranged against the Evolutionists, and brings forward fact after fact in support of the contention that the knowledge possessed by advanced peoples is gradually acquired and assimilated by those more backward.

Modern psychology is slowly but surely justifying many of the so-called superstitions of the past, and showing that ancient customs and practices were often based on natural facts since lost sight of. Reviewers frequently fail to give full justice to this truth, and therefore would overlook Mr. Mackenzie's numerous illustrations of the fact.

"The birth of the year is promoted by human magic. The function of the Great Bear constellation can be

stimulated by spiral movement to the right. Evil can be rid away or invoked by the inverse movement. *Mr. Mackenzie once having secured a start with shells and spirals is at no loss to discover connexions with ears and all winding things, with plants and trees that yield life-sustaining wine, milk, fire.*"*

The lines we have put in italics tend to obscure the issue and to imply that Mr. Mackenzie brings forward little or no valid evidence in support of his statements. Take only his careful study of movements to right or left. The different effects of right-handed and left-handed movement are to-day being re-discovered, as it is ascertained that right-hand passes stimulate growth in organic tissue, while left-hand movements arrest growth and may disrupt or even destroy. Such facts based on man's natural physical constitution lend weight also to the Evolutionists who insist on the psychical oneness of humanity, and, as usual, the theories of the rival schools are of less value than the truths they respectively discover.

"Psalms of a Saiva Saint" is a translation by a Tamil scholar, of selections from the writings of St. Tayumānaswāmy. It consists of 366 out of the 1,452 found in most Tamil editions. It is a monumental work, and one is surprised, not that it occupied fifteen years of the author's time, but that a professional man could achieve such an exacting and stupendous task in addition to his other duties.

As a Christian layman, it might be thought that Mr. Tambyah was not the best conceivable interpreter of the great Hindu mystic, saint, and poet. But the translator's profound scholarship and deep personal knowledge of Christian mysticism enables him to do justice to Hindu mysticism, such as a Hindu, knowing only his own faith and scriptures, could not possibly render. As Max Müller has

* *The Times Literary Supplement*, April 29, 1926, p. 315.

said, he who knows only one language, or one religion, does not even know that one.

The average reader might be alarmed at an "Introduction" of one hundred and eighty-nine pages, but every page is invaluable, displaying encyclopædic knowledge of the literature and practice of mysticism.

The problems dealt with are of every conceivable kind, solvable and unsolvable—*e.g.* :

Why was I born?

Why am I subjected to sin?

Why am I compassed about with fate and frailty?

Is it just that I should be left alone?

Is there no means of curbing my mind?

How can I be saved, if desire is strong?

To these and similar questions answers are attempted, and in many instances the reply suggested is the best conceivable. An admirably complete bibliography and copious index merit the best thanks of all earnest students.

I append a specimen of the author's translation, chosen at random :

A LIVING SACRIFICE

My undiscerning mind and restless
 In sacrifice I've seized and slain;
 My deeds the demons of my making
 Shall never trouble me again.
 Thy servant's love shall be th' anointing,
 O God, divinity benign;
 My life shall be Thy full libation;
 My spirit incense at Thy shrine;
 My senses lights devoutly burning.
 This worship not at times shall be,
 But ever; and oblation living,
 O God, I give myself to Thee.
 O nectar of the Veda's essence,
 Be gracious, O Thou honey-sweet,

Sweetness in which divine, delicious,
 The many sweetnesses all meet
 And mix, O bliss of bliss uncloying,
 That seekest with my sense to blend
 By little and by little, openly
 At last as this poor sinner's friend
 In closeness of good-granting kinship,
 O Source of Grace, gracious to all,
 O Lord in bliss beyond all thinking
 That dancest in high Wisdom's Hall.

The publishers of the *Indian Review* are to be congratulated on their enterprise in making available to the English-reading world so interesting and illuminating a volume as the "Lives of the Saints of Northern India," including the better-known Sikh Gurus; it will prove a valuable help to those anxious to do justice to Eastern religion and mysticism. Kakir, Nanak, and the Sikh Gurus are familiar names, but few know anything of Mira Bai, the ascetic Queen of Chitor, whose life from birth to death is one chain of legends and mystical happenings.

The reformation effected by the holy ones of Northern India has been compared to the Protestant movement in Europe, but its leaders, souls like Kakir and Mira Bai, were in no sense militant theologians, as were Luther and Zwingli. They confined themselves mainly to freeing their countrymen from the superstitions of caste, and left the institutions of religion and government unattacked.

"Maitreya, le Bouddha futur" is a most curious and interesting work. The almost fanatical enthusiasm of the writer, though it lends a certain bias to his work, does not materially detract from its interest.

All that was inspiring in the past, all that is worthy in the present, all that shall render the future of humanity

precious and desirable, is to be found in the light emanating from the Far East.

"Et c'est par la plus humaine, la plus radieuse, la plus complète des expressions de cet esprit Oriental, par le Bouddhisme, que l'action la plus efficace nous paraît pouvoir être exercée."*

The illustrations by Andrée Sikourska are inspired by Buddhistic documents, and lend an artistic and authentic value to the text.

"Glimpses of Masonic History" really forms the second volume of "The Hidden Life in Freemasonry," by the same author, which appeared a few months ago. The object of both efforts is to explain—

"The mighty force in the background, always at work yet always out of sight, which has guided the transmission of the Masonic tradition through all the vicissitudes of its stormy history, and still infuses the utmost enthusiasm and devotion among the Brethren of the Craft to-day."

The academic historian will be pardoned some mental confusion as to historical values when he reads that the form and meaning of the Freemasonry described is as the author knew it from his personal recollections some *six thousand years ago in Egypt*.

Spurious Masonry is the working of a form "from which the life has long since been withdrawn, or to which it has never been linked." Rites that are genuine transmit spiritual power.

The book is well printed and illustrated. The frontispiece represents the Very Illustrious Brother C. W.

* "And it seems to us that the most effective action can be exercised only by the most human, radiant, and complete of the expressions of the Oriental spirit—namely, Buddhism."

Leadbeater, 33°, in full regalia. The last portrait is that of the Very Illustrious Brother Annie Besant, 33°, in similar vestments. Of this mysterious 33° we are told that—

"The highest and last of the great sacramental powers of the mysteries which have been transmitted to us is that which is now conferred in the 33°. . . . In Ancient Egypt at the time when I knew it there were only three who held the equivalent to that supreme degree, the Pharaoh and two others."

We are left in the dark as to who is the third to-day, or are there many on whom these powers have been conferred?

"Tu revivras" is a philosophical work of the utmost interest, dealing with the past, present, and future of the human soul. It is preceded by a preface from the pen of the venerated Edouard Schuré, in which he writes that among the ideas which experimental psychology has restored to value, that of reincarnation and progressive lives is of the first importance. "This idea is the hidden spring of our interior life and the pivot of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul." In the opinion of this illustrious writer, M. Regnault, a "spiritualist militant," generous-hearted and of rare courage, has succeeded in bringing experimental proofs to support the contentions set forth. His work has a twofold aim: (1) The furnishing of incontestable proofs of the reality of successive lives; (2) to set forth the moral and social benefits of this doctrine.

M. Regnault has devoted the greater part of his life to the propaganda of these ideas among the middle and working classes, in the former of which faith in a future life is becoming daily more remote, while the latter are being more and more demoralized by ferocious hatreds and egoisms.

"*Tu revivras*" is a brilliant exception to most similar treatises, which, it must be confessed, for the greater part, form but dreary reading. This work, however, is, as testified to by M. Schuré, one that deals with its subject in a most vital and informative manner, and merely regarded as a literary effort, even the reader of romances will find it of the most thrilling interest.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

SEEDTIME AND HARVEST IN INDIA*

BY SIR HENRY SHARP, C.S.I., C.I.E.

THE broad outlook of this book is indicated in its secondary title, "A Study of British Educational Policy in India, 1835-1920, and of its Bearing on National Life and Problems in India To-day." Education is its central topic; but religion, social reform, politics and industrial development find their place in its suggestive pages. Mr. Mayhew is well fitted for the task by his wide experience in Madras, Hyderabad, the Central Provinces, and with the Government of India, no less than by the depth and originality of thought which he has brought to bear on the subject. It is a volume which all who are interested in India would do well to read.

A hasty perusal of the book, especially of its opening chapters, might leave the impression that it is a severe indictment of our educational system in India. But, in truth, Mr. Mayhew finds that the seed sown has produced much useful grain, though not unmixed with tares. In this connection he explodes some common fallacies. How often does one hear the criticism, even from those whose business it has been to make themselves acquainted with some of its aspects, that our system has encouraged literary, at the expense of more utilitarian, studies! The author assures us that in reality our education has been "essentially vocational, grossly utilitarian," and that it is in the sphere of general culture that it is defective. The humanities have been elbowed out. True, the range of vocations for which the higher schools and colleges prepare is limited and mainly comprised of certain learned professions. But this is due to dearth of employment in other vocations and to an

* "The Education of India," by Arthur Mayhew, C.I.E. Faber and Gwyer, 1926. Price 10s. 6d.

insistent demand; and, within this narrow range, the institutions "have succeeded remarkably well." In addition to this, science-teaching has been developed in the schools. Tutorial supervision and well-equipped seminars and laboratories are turning out students qualified for valuable work in large industrial concerns and departments. Apprentices are being trained in workshops and factory schools. Higher industrial research is pursued in special institutions. Agricultural colleges, though not yet popular, are producing a class of men well fitted for experimental and demonstration work. Nor is this all. In a far wider sphere the development of healthier courses in the Universities, of sports, of hostels and of societies, has had far-reaching and beneficial effects. The system has produced some politicians who "yield to no Europeans in their sense of literary and intellectual values, in sound judgment and humour, in simplicity and straightforwardness of language." It has also produced a class of officials honest, industrious and public-spirited.

But the task of education is fraught with difficulties. How is the heart of an Oriental people, with its own ancient civilization, its own deep-rooted religious ideals, to be reached by a training on Western lines and devoid of religious instruction? Yet how could Western training be refused when it was strongly demanded, or religious instruction prescribed without incurring charges of favouritism or of proselytization? Education, to be fully effective, must influence home life. But this result is unattainable so long as social custom largely forbids it to the female population. A surprising numerical expansion of higher education among the middle class, faced by appalling ignorance among the masses, can only produce an artificial situation. Yet the demand of the middle class is insatiable, while the masses are largely apathetic, often even hostile, to education. With such problems to encounter, the work of the educationist in India, even if not foredoomed to failure, could achieve only a limited success.

Mr. Mayhew shows how, at the outset, these problems were not fully envisaged, with the result that the lines laid down in 1835 and 1854 were faulty. He suggests certain directions which those lines might more appropriately have taken, and certain methods by which even now they might be improved. It was the aim of Macaulay and Duff to substitute one culture for another, to set up the Western ideal as the proper object of adoration by peoples whose spiritual home is to be found in other temples. The vital spark was missing. Hinduism and Islam, essentially different in outlook, resemble one another in the extent to which they pervade home and communal life and in the passive strength which they oppose to external influences. The educated Indian must live in two worlds—the real world of absolute values where the communal life proceeds undisturbed, and the occupational world where ideas, whose values are only relative, can do no more than ripple the face of the waters. Synthesis should have been the aim rather than substitution. And, if the goal was a mistaken one, the machinery for attaining it was no less ill-devised. The psychological bases on which sound educational methods should rest were unexplored in an age which, regarding all minds as built alike, sought to impose upon them uniform principles dictated by pure reason. The "classical" side was neglected. Religious teaching was largely excluded. English was established as the medium of instruction in higher institutions. Reliance was placed upon a system of filtration downwards to the masses. The State became the main controlling authority in education.

Some of Mr. Mayhew's views will not meet with universal acceptance. The question of the medium of instruction is highly debatable. The extent to which Government sought to control education is capable of exaggeration. The State could not choose but initiate, if anything was to be accomplished in a country where practical initiative is not a strong point, and where at the moment a century of anarchy had destroyed the old educational organization and

had deepened apathy. But the big lesson is unquestionable—in education as elsewhere. It is the same lesson which, in another sphere, was preached last year by Professor Dodwell when he assured us that political reform in India had proceeded on a wrong basis, and would have had better chances if pursued on lines more congenial to the traditions and temperament of Indians. So, also, Mr. Mayhew, in his admirable chapter headed "Education and Politics," speaks of the semblance of the English parliamentary system which has been established in India because we lacked the imagination to conceive of any other, and assures us that it contains nothing which is sacrosanct to the politically-minded among Indians. The over-stressing of Western ideas has actually impeded their penetration; and, while economically we have led the country perhaps too far along the Western track, on the cultural side we have produced a reaction, and "have unconsciously developed a strong Orientalism." Men who failed to understand those ideas, and questioned their superiority, were drawn into hatred of them and into "love with a motherland which was largely the creature of their imagination."

Though Mr. Mayhew is freely critical, and though he disapproves the recent transfer of education to the control of Indian Ministers, he sees much good in the past, and by no means despairs of the future. Some may be sceptical of the practicability of such recommendations as effective compulsion in elementary education, or the concentration of Government efforts and expenditure for women solely upon higher institutions. But present-day opinion, broader and more tolerant than that of the first half of the nineteenth century, is unlikely to quarrel with the suggestion that a less ostentatious imposition of Western principles and methods is necessary, and a more historical and analytical treatment of the civilizations of Europe and of Asia is desirable, if the best results are to be obtained in social, political, and intellectual progress. Specially important is the recommendation that the stability of the board school

system ought to be combined with efforts to make the elementary school a real and integral part of the life of the village, to obtain a local man as the schoolmaster, and to secure for him a recognized and useful position in the community which he serves. It is the author's firm belief that, with sympathetic guidance by Europeans, much of what was good in British educational policy will be strengthened and built into the fabric of Indian life.

HISTORICAL SECTION

THE LAST DAYS OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS
IN INDIA

BY HARIHAR DAS

SOME articles have already appeared in this magazine relating to the embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzib. He was commissioned by King William III., in 1698, to conduct a mission at the Court of the Great Mogul. This he found a most difficult task on account of his peculiar position, for he was not only the Ambassador of the King, but also the representative of the New or English Company for obtaining trading privileges on their behalf. After landing at Masulipatam, he spent several months of fruitless effort in preparation for his journey to the Mogul's Court, and became involved in endless conflicts with the agents of the Old Company, who defied his authority as Ambassador. He then sailed for Surat, and from thence travelled to the Mogul's Court, where several months were spent in fluctuating negotiations. Notwithstanding reckless expenditure of money, he was not able to bring the mission to a successful conclusion. He finally left the Mogul's Court and reached Surat on March 12, 1701-2. On arriving there, Sir William, no doubt, imagined that this would mean the end of his troubles in India. Events proved that they were not yet over, and six more disappointing weeks were to elapse before he could embark. Scant courtesy was shown him by his fellow-countrymen, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that the President and Council of the New Company could be made to show even bare civility. As the King's Ambassador he summoned them to attend at his quarters, and demanded either their compliance or a refusal signed in Council. His

own friendly courtesy produced no response. And he was compelled to ask five times for a ship in which to proceed to England before it was given.

Even in the Embassy staff there were trouble and disloyalty. Mr. Paget, the Chaplain, resigned his appointment under unpleasant circumstances, added to which his health had been ailing for some time. It would appear that he had privately married Sir Nicholas Waite to the niece of his own wife while Lady Waite was known to be still living. Sir William was horrified by the event, but Mr. Paget seems, at least, to have been assured that Lady Waite was dead, and Sir Nicholas, in consequence, free to marry again. Nevertheless, the resignation was accepted by Sir William, but he demanded that Mr. Paget should leave a signed statement that he had performed the marriage ceremony. This was accordingly done, and was attested by Mr. Adie Mill and Mr. Josiah Hale in the presence of the Ambassador.* Sir William certainly believed that the ten commandments held good even "East of Suez"; but to Sir Nicholas Waite he must have appeared an impertinent meddler. The consequence of this marriage was that "he and his new married niece is at great variance, one exclaiming against the other for being instruments of drawing each other into that wickedness they have so vilely practised." Mr. Paget, later on, embarked on the *Albemarle* for Bosorah, and intended to travel to England via Aleppo. This, however, he was destined not to accomplish, as he died in Persia on the way home.

On the 14th the Council wrote Sir William to the effect that they were requesting leave from the Governor to visit him. This they assured him was necessary, as the Governor had put restrictions on the movements of all Europeans, and had even prevented Sir William from being supplied with provisions. After three days the gates, which had been shut for some time, were opened and all allowed to go freely, likewise the doors of the Old Factory opened

* P. & C. O. 77/51.

and all permitted their freedom except Sir John Gayer, Mr. Colt, and Mr. Bendall. Apparently disregarding this message, Sir William on the following day summoned the Council for the third time. He did so in conciliatory terms. They did not obey, and sent back an evasive reply that no ship could be provided for him before October or November. At the moment of their so writing there were several ships on the river near Surat. On the 18th he wrote again—in the King's name—urging the importance of his immediate embarkation, and requested that the *Albemarle* should be got ready for that purpose. To this the Council replied that the President would call on him the following morning. Then on the 19th Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council dined with Sir William. A bond was then signed indemnifying the Council for any claims for damages that might be made against them in respect of their assigning a ship for his use. By this time apparently our unfortunate Ambassador was feeling himself in sore straits, unable to command, and glad to compound for facilities that were his by right as the King's representative.

Finally, there was offered him for the voyage home the *Rebow*, a small vessel of 150 tons. Sir William at once accepted. The ship commanders then in port seemed more loyal and considerate than the Council, as Captain Symmonds, one of them, pointed out that the *Albemarle* or the *Susannah* would provide more fitting accommodation. On the 23rd the Captains of the New Company's ships then at Surat dined with Sir William—an event that suggested relations of the most cordial kind.

Three of the retinue died at Surat and were buried in the English cemetery. Sir William ordered their effects to be paid to the nearest of kin in England.

On April 1 the *Scipio*, on which Sir William eventually sailed, was reported to be a pirate. The date would almost suggest that such a report was no more than a hoax in very bad taste, and the brokers of the New Company were blamed for it. Sir Nicholas Waite, however, put it down

to the agents and friends of the Old Company, who for some not very apparent reason wished to delay embarkation.

The *China Merchant*, of 180 tons, commanded by Captain Hosier, arrived at the river's mouth on the 7th. She eventually formed part of the escort of Sir William. This ship was engaged in the trade with China, at that time very valuable, and was "much followed by all Europeans here & reckond y^e most beneficiall voyage from Suratt. No moores ever struck into it yet till now this season a ship sett out wth a chargoe [cargo] value a Leck & $\frac{1}{2}$ of Rupees managed by an Englishman y^t goes super chargoe w^{ch} will greatly prejudice y^e Trade for y^e future to all Europeans when once y^e moores find y^e way thither & y^e suces [success] of it & indeed early care should have been taken to have prevented if possible any Englishman to have shewd y^m y^e way & method of carryinge on y^e Trade: The Europeans till of late usd to be employed in carryinge all y^e moores Goods in their ships w^{ch} was a greate advantage but now these belongs to y^e moores merchants att Suratt 102 good vessells some of y^m of a very greate burden most of y^m built by one Indian formerly in y^e Service of S^r Jn^o Child & after y^e modell of English Ships."* This policy of carrying Indian goods in Indian vessels gives us a glimpse of the amount of trade run by Indians in those days.

It has already been recorded that Dianatt Khan had been expelled from office and a new governor appointed in his place. If any hoped for lighter burdens under his successor they were soon disappointed. Sir William writes: "Eckbar Chawn the new Gov^r of Suratt squeezes the merchants & banyans (if possible) more then the former & sitts at the Custom house himsele and makes them pay halfe a Rupee a bale Extraordinary in order to gett up wth all Expedicon the two Leck [lakh] and halfe of Rupees it cost him to gett the Governmt w^{ch} is already given out is like to be but of a short continuance. . . ."[†] At this time

* See pp. 24-25, C. O. 77/51.

† See p. 27, C. O. 77/51.

news arrived from the *Leskar* that the Emperor's health was getting gradually worse. It was reported that he "decays apace both his Leggs very much swell'd his stomack much disaffected & his body almost bent double." This seems to have been exaggeration, for, in spite of his reported infirmities, the Emperor survived Sir William five years.

Meanwhile plans for the voyage were again altered. It was reported that the *China Merchant* should be substituted for the *Rebow*. The Captain of the latter had publicly intimated that he would give £500 to be allowed to stay in the country. Most likely that influenced the Council. But Sir William suspected many intrigues to delay his departure, and believed that neither the New nor the Old Company wished him to reach England at an early date.

On April 10, Mr. Pereira dined and spent most of the day with Sir William. They had a long discussion about the Consul's conduct, whom Pereira strongly condemned. The conversation evidently included trade matters as well, for Sir William in his journal notes many interesting features. The *China Merchant* was one of several ships which were challenging the supremacy of Holland in the Far East. Of the extent of the Dutch trade both there and in India Sir William gives us many details on Pereira's authority: "The number of ships the Dutch East India Comp^a had constantly to carry on & mainetaine their trade he [Pereira] said they had constantly in & ab^t India 180 ships wth three masts wth great number of Sloops & little boats, that their trade at Suratt in peaceable times all charges whatsoever allow'd yeilded neat to y^e Comp^a £80,000 p annū that y^e charge of their ffactory at Suratt was computed at £15,000 p annū: That the great Importacon [importation] of copper by the English & ffrench from China was a great damage to the Dutch Japan trade, the Dutch usually Importing yearly in different parts of India 28000 chests of copper did not import above 13000

this year. It is ready money in all parts of India there being a generall consumpcon of it by all the Natives in their sev^{ll} utensills, and a great quantity consumed in coyneing into Pice the comon price is 15 & sometimes 15½ Rups p maund. The *China M^{ch}ant* belonging to y^e New Comp^a brought y^e other day 2000 chests, each chest containeing 3 m^{ds} ½ Mr. Lock brought 1500 chests and two ffrench ships lately arrived brought quantitys of copper w^{ch} is y^e choicest article in y^e China trade the rest is Callum, Sugar & China plates & dishes & other little Raritys: The Dutch are jealous & uneasy at other Europeans strikeing into this trade & would be more uneasy if any should Interfere in their Spice trade: w^{ch} if ever enter'd into & could be supported by us would Inevitably ruine the Dutch trade past Redempcoñ [redemption]."*

April 11 was the anniversary of King William's coronation, and Sir William entertained a large dinner-party on the occasion. The party included the President, Council, and all the Captains of the English ships. The King's health was enthusiastically drunk.

Arrangements for the voyage were now almost complete. The *China Merchant* was chosen to carry part of the retinue, and was to sail in a fortnight's time. While these preparations were in progress, there came a sudden report that the Governor of Surat had been ordered by the Emperor to see that "no Hattmen be permitted to go out of the gates." This prevented Captain Burrish, of the *Scipio*, and Captain Hosier, of the *China Merchant*, from returning to their ships. Unrest became general in the town, and Sir William ordered his men to remain in the garden with arms in readiness. He became possessed by the old fear of being seized, and even ordered two yachts to be anchored close at hand. He was reassured by Waite and the Council, who on the 16th undertook to arrange his departure as soon as possible.

It only remained now for the affairs of the Embassy in

* Pp. 29-30 C. O. 77/51, P. R. O.

India to be wound up. The hope that the *phirmaunds* might yet arrive before their departure was extremely faint, although Sir William was informed by Mr. Lock that they had been despatched. The President and Council at Surat now presented their accounts for costs incurred by the factory on behalf of the Embassy. These amounted to Rs. 38,066.35 $\frac{3}{4}$, and the sum exceeds that stated in the O.C. records,* which was Rs. 369,345.3 $\frac{3}{4}$, exclusive of interest, which up to March 31, 1702, was Rs. 31,568.

Sir William was now feeling Surat as much of a prison as he had felt the *Leskar*; and on April 24 he wrote the President and Council informing them that he intended to leave the following day. He also instructed Mr. Dudley, steward of the New Company, to inform the Governor that he meant to depart in spite of any difficulties that might be put in his way. As proof of the genuineness of his intention his men were ordered to be under arms and have the two yachts prepared to carry the whole party to the ships.

On the day appointed, April 25, Sir William was able at last to leave Surat, the Governor having decided to put no further difficulties in the way. Bribes even at this late stage seem to have been necessary, as it was reported that he paid Rs. 3,000 to the Governor, Rs. 1,000 to the Vaccanovis, Rs. 1,000 to the Harcarra, and Rs. 300 to the Meer.† There is, however, no record of these bribes in Sir William's journal. Before his departure he presented Mr. Harlewyn with his diamond ring as a token of friendship. To the Consul were given his tent and its contents; but a copy of his journal was refused on the ground that it was not expedient it should be seen or read in India. The old elephant and horse given him by the Emperor were handed over to the English Company and other possessions, in addition to horses and oxen placed at the disposal of the President and Council. With the Consul himself was left Mr. Harlewyn's account of the moneys issued for the

* No. 7,937 O. C. 58, I.

† See paragraph 36 of No. 7,878, O. C. 57, III.

Embassy, in order that it might be transmitted to England at a later date. At 9 a.m. the President and Council with all the Captains of the English ships came to bid him farewell. It had been arranged that Edward Norris with half of the retinue should embark on the *China Merchant*, while Sir William and the remainder should take ship on the *Scipio*. Bruce in his "Annals" says that aboard the *China Merchant* there were merchandize belonging to the New Company valued at Rs. 60,000, and other goods pertaining to Sir William worth Rs. 87,200. The actual departure took place at noon, and there was no lack of ceremony. The Ambassador passed between lines formed by the guards, preceded by Mr. Hale carrying the sword of State. As he boarded the yacht *Samuel and Mary* he "embraced the Consul before a multitude of spectators." Edward Norris went on board the yacht *Beatrice*. The Union Jack was hoisted and salutes fired.

Next day the little squadron went down as far as Umbra, where Sir William was reminded of his first landing and reception by the Governor of Surat. Letters were exchanged from the yacht with Sir Nicholas Waite, and an agreement made that Rs. 10,000 should be paid for the passage on the *Scipio*. His yacht crossed the bar on the 28th, and anchored near the *Scipio*, to which the party transferred next morning. All ships in the roads flew the English colours.

The anchor was weighed and the homeward voyage begun on May 5. Sir William wrote from the *Scipio* to the President and Council, "taking leave & so concluded with them"—who can say with how much thankfulness of heart! They arrived at Bombay on May 11, where it did not escape notice that, although the *Scipio* was flying the Union Jack, the customary salute was omitted. For this the Deputy Governor and Council were responsible. Sir William's description of the island of Bombay offers a striking contrast when compared with its present state of prosperity: "The Island in a very poor and disconsolate

condition, a plague now rageing haveing swept away most of the Indians and a great number of English lately dy'd tho not of that distemper, w^{ch} onely affects the Indians In so much that I am credibly assured that at this time there are not above 130 English men in all the Island Including soldiers and all, they have two or three Companys of Top-shaws these country soldiers w^{ch} are but a slender & weak Guard.

"They tell me there are about 110 Guns mounted in & about the Castle w^{ch} were formerly brass Guns, but now converted to Iron there being but one brass Gun to be seen: The Island of Bombay w^{ch} lys in 19. N: is computed to be ab^t Eight miles long & two miles broad at broadest, able to containe & provide for a great number of men if well cultivated & look'd after: the Revenue of the Island cheifely consisting in what they make of their cocoe trees w^{ch} is their cheifest article they have Revenues arriseing by their ffishery & the Dutys of the Port (w^{ch} now are but small) by some small parcells of land to sow Rice, and a duty arriseing by Bang. The particular amount of w^{ch} sev^l Incomes I could not learn but by everybody judg'd more than mainetaines the charge of the Island, and some say the Incomes exceeds the present Expences above a Leck of Rupees.

"Their Coyn they call Seraphims or Pardoes. It is silver of a baser alloy then Rup^s three of w^{ch} are equall to two Rup^s. This Island has been a Grave to a multitude of English that have dy'd in a short time after their arrivall; if they outlive one yeare they may have hopes of longer life: Intemperance, their poysonous Rack, and y^e unhealthiness of the aire poyson'd by the stinking ffish they lay to the Roots of their cocoe trees carrys the English off by multitudes."*

Bombay was left on the 16th, and the voyage went on favourably till Whit-Sunday, May 24. They then had "timely notice by the black clouds in the S.W. to prepare

* See pp. 53-54 of C. O. 77/51.

for the monsoon w^{ch} we Expected about this time. Accordingly furl'd all our Sayles but y^e ffore sayl, and putt before the wind wth that Sayl; It blew & rain'd very hard for about three hours then the Raine ceased but the wind continued for some time. After veering from one to [sic] another but blowing cheifely from the S.W. About noon it clear'd up the wind ceased & we sett our sayles againe." At 3 o'clock the following morning, Mr. Mill, the victim of those cruel aspersions already recorded, died and was buried at sea. Mr. Nalson, the chief mate, read the burial service, and twelve guns fired each half-minute at his funeral. After a few days' interval the Ambassador, in order that justice might be done to his memory, ordered Mr. Harlewyn and Mr. Sandiford to examine his papers. When this was done, no trace could be got in them of those double dealings of which he had been accused by the Consul. Sir William all along had believed that Mr. Mill "acted faithfully & honestly in his station." The cause of his death, as Sir William surmised, was owing to "y^e great quantity of mangoes Mr. Mills eat at Bombay still continued wth in him & never work'd themselves off any ways & might be y^e cheife occasion of his Illness and death."

Meanwhile Sir William was notified by the Court of Directors of the death of King William on March 8 last, and the accession of Princess Anne of Denmark. The Directors had now high hopes that all disagreements between the New and the Old Companies would cease.*

Stormy weather was encountered from May 25 till June 1, which made the voyage very "tedious and irksome." They crossed the Equinoctial line on June 12, and experienced continual rain till July 7, when the trade winds began. The same day they passed the island of Diego de Reys, "a sandy desert, uninhabited." On the 10th Mauritius was sighted, and they arrived there next day to find the *China Merchant*, which had arrived eight days before. There were also at Mauritius the *Martha*, Captain

* Additional MS. 31, 302.

Raines, Commander, belonging to the Old Company, and the *Rising Sun*, a New Company's ship. As the *Scipio* passed, the *China Merchant* saluted with thirteen guns, the *Martha* with twenty-one, and the *Rising Sun* with eleven. The ships' Commanders dined with Sir William as also did Edward Norris, and were entertained with the produce of the Island, which included "excellent good Beef, ffatt Venison & plenty of good ffish." On the morning of the 16th Sir William went on shore the Coopers Island and walked about two hours. Some civilities were exchanged with the Governor of the place. Next day afternoon Sir William went for a walk in a place called "My Lady's Grove" where he found a small tomb of a Dutch man which time had defaced and he could not read his name. While here news of the union of the two Companies was received. Sir William records that "In Carpenters bay a little distant from us is a handsome Tomb wherein Mr. Weldon ly's buried, he dy'd on this Island on his return to England and was the person that went up to the Mogull on the Old Comp^{as} account to Intercede for their pardon, and as reported appear'd before him wth a rope about his neck." The journal shows that Sir William was as observant and indefatigable as ever while at Mauritius. On the 19th Captain Raines sent Sir William a present of good milk which was hard to get and also a pineapple which the latter thought "as good as ever." He did not know that the Island produced this fruit, and was informed by the inhabitants that "there is plenty both of pine apples and mangoes in time of year w^{ch} is December, Jan^{ry} and Feb^{ry}. Here are very good Oranges lemons and Limes, and plenty of Potatoes w^{ch} all the Inhabitants Eat for bread and are very good in their kind, tho at this juncture, oranges, Lemons & Potatoes are scarcer than usuall by reason of a late Hurricane, w^{ch} destroy'd almost all of those sorts in the Island." He also records having "had a very large Turtle sent me weighing neer 300 wt." He appears also to have been greatly interested in the doings of a pirate ship called

the *Speaker* which had gone ashore on "the Windermost part of this Island," and been wrecked on the previous Christmas Day. Most of the men on board the ship "being Drunk, they had above 100 men on board besides Laskarrs, they had taken from on board some Mocha and Juddah ships they had robb'd on the Mallabar Coast, they carryed away 90 English off to St. Marys in a Dutch sloop that they built upon bought of the Govr of this Island . . . , the Pirates were all along supplied wth what they wanted by boates sent off the Dutch ffactorys on the Mallabar Coast for w^{ch} they payd good rates haveing plenty of money the Comon people haveing rec^d a division of 1,000 Dollars p man besides what the officers had for their share. And have been since Inform'd that they had a very great treasure on board the ship, their long boate they lost haveing 18,000^l sterling on board her, brought great quantitys of Dollars, barrs of Gold & silver on shoare and gett great quantitys lost in the wrack of y^e ship, they had gold braceletts upon their armes and leggs taken from woemen on board the Mocha ships."* He tells also of hearing from a Dutch ship that war between England and France seemed imminent, the cause of quarrel being the succession to the throne rendered vacant. The latest account from Europe that "the late K. James was dead & that y^e ffrench King had proclaimed the Suppos'd Prince of Wales King of England, but complemented or Own'd by no body but y^e Pope, that upon this ac^t the English Embassadr had left France, that tho Warr was not actually broke out when their latest advices came away yet it was generally expected every moment, and in expectation of a Warr a Convoy of 7 Men of Warr were sent from England and arrived at St. Helena to convoy the English East India ships that arrived there this season . . ." Sir William further records in his journal that there are fourteen plantations on this island and not above sixty men "to be muster'd amongst them all." The custom of this island is

* See p. 62 of C. O. 77/51.

that everybody serves the Dutch for a certain time before they are free of it—some five years, some three years, and then they are at liberty to fix where they please and plant where they like. Slaves were in great demand to cultivate their plantations; seventy dollars were given for a slave that cost but fifty rupees on the Malabar Coast. He makes also an interesting allusion to the slave trade in connection with two little Scotch vessels which brought slaves from Madagascar and sold them at 100 dollars each at Dom Massarene. Here also on July 22 he made a new will.

On July 25 Captain Raines of the *Martha* with two others dined with Sir William, who four days later returned the compliment. Early in August the *Rooke* in the New Company's service arrived and reported the death of her Commander, Captain Simmons, the previous April. She was now under the command of Captain Hunnycomb and carried a plentiful supply of provisions. The Captain paid his respects to the Ambassador and reported that several mutinous outbreaks had recently broken out aboard his ship. He charged one Mr. Wright as ringleader. Sir William immediately instituted inquiries and found that Wright and the boatswain were mainly responsible for the outbreaks. He, therefore, ordered the Captain to have them kept under arrest till further orders.

Nothing of importance occurred till August 29, when, the accounts of the Embassy having been examined and audited, Sir William signed them. Of these accounts, which extended from October 1, 1700, to April 30, 1702, copies were made lest they should be lost or destroyed. Former accounts up to October 1, 1700, had, as already noted, been left with the President and Council at Surat to be transmitted to the Court of Directors.

All hands were now at work fetching wood, water and fresh provisions aboard with a view to sailing on Saturday, September 5. He records about this time that he had heard of a pirate "carrying 36 Guns and Dutch

Colours lying off neer Bullocks bay but all of them English on board Except one who was a Dutchman, they gave chase to the *Martha's* pinnace but could not overtake her, hearing there were 5 English Vessells here she went away as supposed either for Mascarene or St. Marys & is thought to be the Ekins ffrigatt."

The voyage was actually resumed on September 7, and the *Scipio* was accompanied by the *China Merchant*, the *Martha*, and the *Rising Sun*. They lost sight of the *Martha* two days later, but on the 12th she hove in sight and early the next morning hoisted a signal of distress. The other ships on coming within hailing distance were informed that Captain Raines was dying and wished to take leave of the other Captains. Accordingly they all boarded the *Martha* and shortly after resuming the voyage she signalled that her commander was dead by hoisting the "Ensign halfe way up." Death was due to suspected poisoning at Surat. Directions were given for "his body to be Embowell'd and to be p'serv'd in order to be buryed in England, directing it to be layd in the far Hatchway amongst the Pepper, his heart to be preserved and given to S^r Harry Johnson, to whom I hear he has left good part of his Estate worth £30,000."

After September 14 there are no more entries in the journal. Sir William's earthly troubles were now almost at an end. There was a violent attack of dysentery to which, after lingering for nearly a month, he succumbed on October 10, near the Cape of Good Hope.* In accordance with his own wishes he was buried at sea the next day. The *Scipio* in company with the other ships went on to St. Helena, whence they sailed for Barbadoes on the way to England.

The genuine uprightness of Sir William is plainly shown in his last directions. Mr. Harlewyn was instructed to inform the Court of Directors how greatly he regretted the failure of his mission, although it was due to no negligence

* See Marine Record.

on his part. He desired Mr. Pierson, Mr. Beverley, and Mr. Stephen Strutt to be commended to the Directors, for their good and faithful service. In conclusion he vindicated Mr. Mill's character once more and asked the Company to ignore the accusations made against him. The accounts of money spent he found "just and true."*

Sir William's generosity was unbounded, his kindness to his subordinates was beyond reproach. Truly Thomas Harlewyn testified the character of his master to the Court of Directors that "Great, Good man; He was of an Exemplary Piety and strictly Religious towards Almighty God, stedfast in his Loyalty to his Prince, a true Lover of his country, and Industrious carefull of (and zealous for) your lasting and solid Intrest."

PRESENTS OF WILLIAM III. TO HIS AMBASSADOR

Sir Godfrey Kneller, the "Principall Painter" to King William III., received the commission to paint His Majesty's portrait in full length on January 5, 1698-99, for which he was paid fifty pounds on June 8 following. At the same time there was given an order to Mr. John Norris, "Joyner" of the Privy Chamber, for a "Carv'd Gilt Frame" to be delivered to Sir William Norris, and in the following October he received fifty-three pounds, which sum included three other frames besides the one ordered for the Ambassador.†

At the time of giving the commission to Kneller, the King desired that the Ambassador should be provided with a crimson cloth of State embroidered with the Royal arms, a "great" chair, two high stools, a footstool, two cushions trimmed with gold and silver fringe and a carpet of Turkey work; and for his chapel a "Bible of Imperial paper in two columns richly bound," prayer books, two surplices of fine holland, and other articles of chapel furniture.‡

* No. 8,055, O. C. 58, Part II.

† See Lord Chamberlain's Record, 5-152, pp. 148-9, 202, 217.

‡ See Lord Chamberlain's Record, 5-131, No. 17.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

INDIA IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY STANLEY RICE

FROM time to time in the history of the world its stirring events have caught the imagination of inspired writers, who have celebrated them in great prose or verse. Æschylus, living amidst the tradition that legendary themes were the fittest for the drama, must needs write of the Persian war; Virgil, dazzled by the splendour of the new empire, leaves his ploughmen and his bees to sing of Rome's birth; Shakespeare now and again lets us peep behind the scenes upon the Spanish struggle that dominated Elizabethan England; and while Coleridge and Burke were moved by the French Revolution, Swinburne poured out voluptuous verse upon the resurrection of Italy. These are obvious reflections; instances could, of course, be multiplied, were there any need. But since they are so obvious, since it would seem inevitable that the great happenings of the world must influence the great contemporary writers, all the more remarkable does it appear that so little inspiration has come from India. Scores of writers have descanted upon her witchery and charm: women in their orange and their crimson and their gold going down to the water's edge, white-clad priests waving ceremonial fans before some procession, gorgeously caparisoned elephants and patient camels, the hum of the bazaars and the silence of the jungle—these and many other things have been painted for us, and behind them are the mystery, the ancient customs, the wealth of legend, and the speculation of philosophers. Yet, if we set aside the historians and the scholars, it is difficult to point to more than three or four great writers who have chosen Indian themes, and even these have produced no Indian masterpiece. This is not surprising. The men and women who have visited or lived in India have gone there either to make a living or

as curious travellers; the former are occupied with the "trivial round, the common task," which makes up a sufficient day. To combine imagination with an arresting style, to possess the divine gift of great poetry, is given to very few, and so it is that of those who have made India their home and have felt the impulse to write about her, not one can be placed in the front rank of English literature. But this is not all. For an Indian theme treated purely on Indian lines does not attract, and one may say never has attracted, the rank and file of readers. India is too far away; her mysteries, her religions, her customs are too far removed from all that is familiar to be apprehended by any but the choicest spirits. "The Curse of Kehama" is admittedly a dull poem; of "Lalla Rookh" it is said that "no one is the poorer for not having read it." Even when we come to the magic name of Scott, the "Surgeon's Daughter" (which, moreover, is Anglo-Indian) does not compare with the Scotch masterpieces or with the great romances of the Middle Ages.

But the movement which resulted in the establishment of our Indian Empire and the new maritime adventure that began with Columbus and Vasco da Gama could not be passed over as things of no account, and, like the other great movements to which allusion was made, they were bound to exert an influence on English literature. Mr. Sencourt,* who has spent some years in gathering together all that he could find of Indian influence on English writing, sees in Marlowe's "Tamburlaine" the expression of a new delight in power, a new glory in dominion, of an "impassioned interest in the voyage to India." The play itself has nothing to do with India, but that the Eastern adventure inaugurated by the establishment of the Surat factory was in Marlowe's mind is clear from Tamburlaine's allusion to "East India and the late discovered isles."

Dryden was the first of those who have obtained a place in the inner sanctuary of the Temple of Fame to choose a purely Indian theme for a play. Yet "Aurang-Zebe" only serves to show how little was known of India at the time. It contains little of India but the name. It would seem that in the matter of accurate painting what would be laughed to scorn by any modern critic could pass muster in the days of Anne. As illustrator to a good-humoured skit on Indian writing Sir Bernard Partridge showed us the road to the Derby choked with elephants, palanquins, and

* "India in English Literature," by Robert Sencourt (Simpkin, Marshall). 18s. net.

bullock carts, while a monkey played under a plantain. If this was in parody the possible conception of an Indian who had never seen England, "Aurang-Zebe" might in like manner have caused some amusement to Indians, had they ever heard of it. It was said to be daring; the Moghul who was alive at the time might have taken offence, but except that historical characters are brought upon the scene, he would have found difficulty in recognizing himself. Aurang-Zebe is the loyal and favourite son of Shah Jehan. He has beaten back the revolt of the other sons and is destined for the empire. But there is a captive princess in the city by name Indamora; Aurang-Zebe has fallen desperately in love with her and she with him. Unfortunately, the old Emperor Shah Jehan, who has given himself up to debauchery, has also fallen in love with the lady, and contemplates speedy abdication in Aurang-Zebe's favour, much to the chagrin of Nour Mahal, who covets the crown for her own son Morat or Murad. Nour Mahal is a termagant, but she is moulded on Greek rather than on Indian lines, and bears no resemblance to Kaikeyi, who might have served Dryden as a model if he had ever heard of the Ramayana. She not unnaturally taxes Shah Jehan with his infidelities, and plots, rather crudely, to destroy the rival of her son. Then Shah Jehan discovers that Aurang-Zebe is in love with Indamora, and gives him his choice of the lady or the crown. He declines to give up the lady, whereupon Shah Jehan commands his arrest and transfers all his favours to Morat. But Morat is a headstrong youth; he too is in love with Indamora, and he accepts his father's favours only to enable him to seize both crown and lady. He does not disguise his intentions, and Shah Jehan finds that he is no better off than before. Meanwhile Aurang-Zebe is in danger of imminent death; the triumphant Nour Mahal has handed him a cup of poison, and he is about to drink when Morat comes in to say that as a favour to Indamora he has gained a day's respite. There is a further revolution. Morat is killed, Nour Mahal is got out of the way, and Shah Jehan finally abdicates, yielding both crown and lady to Aurang-Zebe.

If any fictitious names be substituted for the historical ones, it is pretty certain that neither the Moghul Emperor nor anyone else would have guessed on what the play was founded. Dryden seems to have heard a few facts about India, and his imagination was caught by the Oriental splendour. The Syrian rose is coupled with "our jasmine,"

and the constancy of Hindu wives is acknowledged to exceed Roman fortitude:

" 'Her chains,' says Arimant, 'with Roman constancy she bore,
But that perhaps an Indian wife's is more.' "

He has heard of sati, a dramatic sacrifice that would appeal to a playwright who knew Virgil, and he is acquainted with the idea of transmigration. But like some good folk even to-day he confounds Hinduism with Islam, and seems to be quite unaware of the blunder he is making. Melisanda, whose name suggests neither Hindu nor Mussalman, but Greek, follows the corpse of her husband Morat to the pyre with the evident intention of becoming sati. Clearly, Dryden did not know that cremation is abhorrent to Mussalmans, and that the burning of widows was a purely Hindu custom. In like ignorance he makes Aurang-Zebe say—Aurang-Zebe, the Puritan Muslim, whose orthodox bigotry has passed into a commonplace of history:

"In life's next scene, if transmigration be,
Some bear or lion is reserved for thee."

If some poet had sung of John Knox holding up a crucifix for Mary to kiss, he could hardly have strayed further from the facts.

After such cardinal blunders as these we need not be surprised to find both Shah Jehan and Aurang-Zebe quoting Greek mythology. It was, perhaps, only natural for an English poet to write:

"Like Hercules, envenomed shirts we wear."

Or again:

"To immortal liberty
This first I pour like dying Socrates."

The classics furnished the ornaments of literature; Indian literature was unknown. Although Mr. Sencourt has found a good deal to say on his subject up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, it all amounts to very little. The English of that day knew that India was hot, that elephants and tigers, and, above all, the banian-tree, were to be found there, and that she blazed, in the persons at any rate of kings and courts, with pearl and emerald and gold. She had been captivated by the love of adventure and the desire for wealth, but that was all. Indeed, Mr. Sencourt admits as much. "Material," he says, "has been found for an episode in a poem, but in the mind of England India had not yet attained an outstanding importance. Indeed, England's tendency to be insular and parochial was almost undisturbed. . . . Muhammadanism, though it provided

entertaining fairy-tales, was not a teaching to be taken seriously; Buddhism was practically"—and we may add Hinduism was absolutely—"unknown."

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century England was represented in India by what was little more than a trading company, in which shareholders and very few else were interested. But when Clive came home with a colossal fortune and was followed by others, public interest was greatly stimulated. If there is no great literature inspired by the conquests in India, there is now a much greater contemporary output of writers on Oriental subjects. The nabobs were disliked; they took much the same place as is allotted to the *nouveau riche* of to-day. They were upstarts—nobodies who had amassed wealth in India, and came home to spend it with a certain amount of vulgar ostentation. The bluer blood of England despised them while they envied them; the lesser folk pretended to despise them because they envied them. Sentiment was stirred. Tales began to arrive of the methods by which this wealth was acquired, and jealousy saw to it that nothing was lost in the telling as they passed from mouth to mouth. Satires appeared upon the nabobs, who had won their wealth from "devastated provinces" and "slaughtered myriads"; they had risen to power upon "the ruin of thousands." Sympathy with oppressed India was working up, and was to culminate in Burke's passionate denunciations of Hastings; but the detestation of the *nouveaux riches* is more apparent than the sympathy—that was expressed in detailed and scornful satire, this in vague and incidental phrases. Of the inner and deeper life of India no one knew anything. Johnson regarded Indians as barbarians, and even the sympathy that was expressed would have done equally well for the African slaves in the West Indies.

All this was soon to be changed, for already the scholars, of whom Sir William Jones is far the greatest, were at work to lift the veil that had hitherto concealed all that India held best and dearest. Neither Jones' work nor that of his colleagues can be called English literature; it was, however, they who first brought a real knowledge of India to England, and who therefore influenced the future path of English literature in its relations to the East. For the first time it was realized that India possessed religions that were worth studying, that, far from being barbarian, she could point to a highly civilized past, as expressed in her great epics and her great dramas; and to the labour of

the scholars, was added the splendid rhetoric of Burke, which presented India with what seemed uncanny knowledge for a man who had never been there. Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings ranks as literature, because, though it was directed to a matter more immediately of contemporary interest, that matter has itself lived in history, and the manner of the attack was itself a masterpiece of English. Like the "Funeral Oration" of Pericles, it is immortalized, not only by the greatness of the occasion, but by the magnificence of the language.

Burke's speech undoubtedly marks an era in the interest displayed in India by English literature. Travellers there had been, diarists, and here and there an historian, and these joined to the scholars, whose work had been so stimulated by Hastings, had shown India as something other than a hot country abounding in wild beasts and priceless jewels—as a country, in the words of Mr. Sencourt, of "human beings with intellect, religion, and imagination." Knowledge was growing, but it was still far from complete. Not that India even now made any great appeal to creative writers, nor is it clear that the essential distinctions of Islam and Hinduism had been fully grasped, though we have evidently travelled very far from the days when Timur and Shah Jehan talked in terms of Greek mythology. Whatever attraction "The Curse of Kehama" may have had for contemporaries, it does not now rank high even in the work of a not divinely inspired poet. The sati is as usual depicted, and the banian-tree is described in a passage that may have been borrowed from Milton; but if Southey had known of the wealth of Indian legend, he would, perhaps, have worked upon the genuine material instead of inventing his own. But this, together with "Lalla Rookh" and "Kubla Khan," make up very nearly the whole of the contribution of India to poetry.

It was, in fact, not India at all, but Anglo-India, that made the bigger appeal to writers. It is curious to observe in the work of travellers and diarists a certain longing for England after the first glamour of the East has passed away. Anglo-Indian society was trivial, banal, and in its punctilious formalities uncomfortable. They described what they saw with accuracy and sometimes with vivacity, but, like many writers of to-day, they did not seek to understand the heart of India, Hindu or Mussalman, and were content to let the veil hang before the inner sanctuary of the temple. But writers in India began to increase, and if only one of them has achieved immortality, they have

at least made solid contributions to our knowledge of India. The exception is, of course, Macaulay; by the brilliance of his style he attracted attention, and his rather brief sojourn in India gave him a spurious authority. The essays on Clive and Warren Hastings are still classics, though later research has proved them wrong in more than one detail. Yet Macaulay never cared for the real India. He espoused the cause of Nuncomar because he wanted to lash Impey with his invective; he bids us pity the Rohillas because he is trying to scourge Hastings. But the true Macaulay is to be found in the "Lays of Ancient Rome," and in that famous passage in which he derides all Indian literature, of which he knew nothing. A single ode of Horace was to him worth more than all the Mahabharata; a simple chapter of Genesis or Esther was more precious than the Rig Veda and the Koran. Macaulay has influenced the English conception of India as few others have done; yet his influence has not been all to the good, and the very brilliance of the writing has given it an authority which it does not altogether deserve. His greatest sympathy was reserved for that speech in the House of Commons in which he declared that England's proudest day would be that on which she could hand over to Indians the reins of government willingly and with confidence.

The work of the missionaries can hardly be called literature, but Mr. Sencourt is obviously right in including them in his survey, because by their linguistic labours they opened up a new way to a knowledge of the Indian byways and by their writings they induced the Government to allow mission work in India. The results are incalculable; yet it can hardly be denied that the introduction of Christianity has had a profound influence upon Indian thought, and the missionaries were among the foremost of those who advocated the teaching of the English language, with what results to English literature we shall soon see. But more important in their actual contributions to literature are the historians. If their works have never quite attained the dignity of classics, if they are not to be ranked with Gibbon or Prescott or Freeman, they may at least be granted the humbler title of standard. It is probable that Kinglake's "Crimea" and Napier's "Peninsular War" are better known than Kaye's "Sepoy War" or Grant Duff's "History of the Marathas," less from the intrinsic superiority of the craftsmanship than from the greater attraction of the subjects. But the period we have reached is full of history, and of good history. Mill and

Hunter and Elphinstone treated India as a whole; Cunningham wrote of the Sikhs, Tod of Rajastan; Malleon and Edwardes are names to which might be added many others if one cared to ransack the dusty shelves where even Hume lies unregarded. The age was one in which research and real knowledge was taking the place of the lighter memoirs of travellers and the imaginative creations of poets. Nor was art neglected. Wilson's great work on the Hindu drama, itself perhaps inspired by Jones, was probably the inspiration of M. Sylvain Lévi's exhaustive researches in the same field; and Ruskin was not entirely oblivious of Indian art, though he writes of it as Macaulay wrote of Indian literature, with the pontifical authority of one who knew nothing at all about it.

With such wealth of knowledge opened up before her, England has at last attained to some partial knowledge of the Hindu, for it was before him rather than before the Muslim that the veil still hung unlifted. The preoccupation of romantic writers is still Anglo-India rather than India, which for the most part is only a setting, with here and there an Indian thrown in. The trail was blazed by Scott and Thackeray; those who have followed it have not generally cared to stray away into the more difficult tracks of true Indian life. Mr. Sencourt hardly does justice to Kipling; the earlier sketches certainly deal with Anglo-Indian life, and the impression India may be supposed to make upon the soldier, but surely "Kim" stands alone in the language as a picture of the real India, and one must record a protest against the remark that "to the Indians themselves his work is meaningless." Nor can Mrs. Diver and Miss Dell be classed with Mrs. Steel. They belong essentially to that class to whom the Indian is chiefly a setting, and compared with Mrs. Steel's their pictures are as untrue as those which Mr. Foster painted in "A Passage from India." The romantic literature even now shows little advance in true knowledge, but the flood of books on India is ever increasing. Sir John Marshall and Mr. Havell are but two of a band who have tried to read the history of India in art and architecture; lesser-known tribes have had their due in such monographs as Mr. Hutton's on the Nagas of Assam; in the domain of politics, perhaps, Sir Valentine Chirol has best gained the public ear; and Dr. Vincent Smith is now an established authority on ancient India. These are but a few names that spring to the mind amongst a host of others, some, perhaps, better, some distinctly inferior, that might be mentioned if memory did not play us

tricks. The wealth of talent that is shown by the mere titles of the chapters in the "Cambridge History" would suffice to show the measure of our knowledge, if we had not already been persuaded by Professor Rapson's Preface. The history of India no longer begins, as once it did, with the Mussalmans.

But surely we are on the eve of a yet more momentous era in the relations of India to English literature, and it is strange that Mr. Sencourt has not made any allusion to it. The output of Indians themselves has been quite remarkable during the last few years. In the domain of romantic literature, in fiction and in poetry, the names are still few, because it is not easy to write fiction in a foreign tongue, and even harder to write good poetry. Doubtless to many the catalogue begins and ends with Rabindranath Tagore, to whom some would add S. M. Mitra and Sarojini Naidu. But Indian researchers are busy. The ancient Vedas, the coming of the Aryans, the dawn of Indian history, the glories of the Gupta age, the great empires of Asoka and Harsha, the uprising of the Marathas—these are some of the subjects which are now beginning to attract scholars like Jayaswal and Tilak and Krishnaswami Iyengar. Mr. Radhakrishnan has given us the first part of what bids fair to be the standard work on Indian philosophy, and a host of writers on economics and finance betray the influence of Western teaching. Not all of these books are good, but many of them deserve to rank with those which Mr. Sencourt has dragged from their forgotten shelves to trace the path of India in literature.

Western scholars have, as every Indian would concede, shown the way. They have conducted us from the classical absurdities of Marlowe and Dryden, through the limited knowledge of Burke and Macaulay, to that wider vision by which we are able to realize the greatness of Hindu drama, of Hindu philosophy, of Hindu and also of Mussalman dominion. It is now for Indians to show us in fuller measure what these things mean to them, to show us India emerged from the secrecy of the zenana into that wider world where she is not ashamed to show her face, and the sum of our knowledge will surely grow ever richer by their contributions.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

NEAR EAST

BEDOUIN JUSTICE: LAWS AND CUSTOMS AMONG THE EGYPTIAN BEDOUIN

By Austin Kennett. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 7s. 6d.(*Reviewed by* SIR THOMAS ARNOLD.)

One of the most fruitful branches of Islamic study in recent years has been that devoted to the origin and nature of law in the Muhammadan world. A distinct step in our knowledge of this subject was gained by the recognition of the fact that the codified systems of Muhammadan law represent rather an ideal doctrine of duties than a body of legal enactments, and that the practice of the courts has not by any means corresponded to the precepts of the legists. While the professional students of law continued to discuss juridical problems in a purely academic spirit, actual practice assumed in many instances an entirely different form, and in regard to certain parts of the authoritative codes there is no evidence to show that they were ever valid at all. This discrepancy between fact and theory is particularly noticeable in the case of customary law, which often represents the survival of juridical usages that have come down from a pre-Muhammadan period, and have retained their validity in spite of the conversion to Islam of the particular tribe or community concerned. Theoretically, such customary law is held to have no legal force if it be repugnant to the text of the Quran or to the law as codified by the recognized theological authorities; but actually in practice it is not infrequently in obvious disagreement with the clear teaching of the sacred law—e.g., when in some districts of the Panjab a widow is not entitled to a share in the property of her deceased husband, but only to maintenance, in flat contradiction of the ordinance of the Quran, which assigns to her one-fourth of the property when there are no children, and one-eighth when there is any surviving issue.

The local peculiarities of Muhammadan customary law have been made the subject of careful studies by competent observers in various parts of the Muhammadan world—by the French in their possessions in North Africa, by the Dutch in the Malay Archipelago, and by British administrators in India. A fresh contribution to the literature of the subject is given in Mr. Kennett's record of his experiences of the administration of justice among the Bedouin of the Western Desert of Egypt and of the Sinai Peninsula. Here the customs of the tribe, varying according to different groups occupying roughly defined areas, take the place of the written law that governs the life of the townsfolk and the settled population of agricultural districts, and may even claim to come into operation in the case of a murderer or a thief who returns to his own tribe after the conclusion of his sentence as imposed by the Egyptian Penal Code in a more civilized area. Mr. Kennett gives a lively and

picturesque account of cases that came under his notice as an administrative officer of the Egyptian Government. The cases he describes were concerned with the payment and acceptance of blood money for blood spilt or life taken, land disputes concerning grazing areas or rights of cultivation, and divorce, dowries, alimony, etc. Complicated as many of these cases are, the author's exposition of them is not only clear but arresting, and gives the reader a remarkable insight into Bedouin life. The detailed character of his narrative and his lively style, obviously inspired by his interest in the people among whom he lived, should win for him many readers who have no technical interest in Muhammadan law, while the serious student of this subject will find valuable illustrative material of a kind not hitherto available. The author himself appears to have been unaware of the scientific value of the materials he has collected, and his reference to "a fikki or priest" and his statement that Arabian history begins at the seventh century A.D. suffice to reveal his lack of acquaintance with the previous literature of his subject; but this very lack of preconceived notions possibly adds to the objectivity of his narrative.

EAST CHRISTIAN ART: A SURVEY OF THE MONUMENTS. By O. M. Dalton. (*Oxford: Clarendon Press.*) Five guineas net.

Among the handbooks and histories of early Christian art and archaeology published lately in France, Germany, and Italy, mostly by writers who have the reputation of authorities on this special subject, Mr. M. O. Dalton's splendid volume justly takes the first place, and will no doubt do so for a long time to come. It treats the subject with a thoroughness and clearness which is equalled by its comprehensiveness, an achievement which the specialist on this field of research will appreciate even more, perhaps, than the general reader interested in the subject.

Within the last thirty or forty years an unprecedented amount of valuable and important material has been published, foremost in France, Germany, and Russia, less so in Italy and other countries. It has thus become impossible to treat this vast subject seriously without being acquainted with all this literature, of which the greater part is accessible to only a few. As shown by the index, some 350 different, mostly foreign, authors had to be made tributary to this thorough and exhaustive survey.

When early Christian art was first made the subject of scientific research, it was thought that it had sprung up and developed out of the art of the catacombs, whereas at the present day a widely different view prevails, witness to it Mr. Dalton's "East Christian Art," not merely a province or dependency of early Christian art in general. On the contrary, the reader finds himself here confronted from beginning to end with an overwhelming mass of evidence proving that during ancient and early mediæval times Eastern influences have modified the church art of the West, not only in painting, but particularly in architecture. Moreover, by Eastern art we must not, in the first instance, understand the art of Byzantium, not even that of Antioch or Syria, or that of Egypt. Its origins are traced to countries still more remote. It has been shown that certain characteristics

of church architecture, and also of representative art in Italy, France, and England, originated in the Middle East of Asia, and with regard to ornaments, even China is represented as having been a contributory factor. No wonder that novel interpretations of this sort, cherished by a particular school of archæologists, have met with disapproval from other archæologists of repute. Mr. Dalton, although sometimes entering into the arguments of that new school, always does so with proper caution. Moreover, with perfect candour and equanimity he takes care to point also, mostly in foot-notes, to the evidences of opposing authorities, with the result that the reader, in following the arguments, complicated as they are, is constantly reminded of the fact that very often he has no firm ground to stand upon, considering our present inadequate knowledge of the art of the Middle East at the beginning of our era and subsequently, and consequently that some of the theories now advanced are hypothetical. Only that province of Eastern art which we are accustomed to define by the name of Byzantine may be said to be now perfectly well known in all its aspects. It is one of the great merits of Mr. Dalton's "East Christian Art" that it contains an account of this art which is not only up to date, but by far the best we know of. Excellent and well-chosen illustrations accompany the letterpress of this valuable book, a standard work indispensable to all who take a serious interest in the subject.

J. P. R.

SYRIA. By Leonard Stein. (*Ernest Benn, Ltd.*) 3s. 6d. net.

One of the greatest difficulties of the student of present-day international affairs and of the visitors to new countries or mandated areas created or established since the war concerns the fact that he is unable to find any simple, straightforward, and impartial account of developments which have taken place during the last seven eventful years. The investigator, therefore, has no foundation upon which to start, and whilst those responsible for the direction of affairs write and speak in favour of and against recent occurrences, they do not and they cannot go into the details of history which they have helped to make. Consequently, the unfortunate outsider often does not possess sufficient information even to frame a sensible question or to understand news which appears in print from day to day. In the opinion of the present writer, until the publication of Mr. Stein's book this was particularly the case in regard to the French mandated area of Syria, where events have followed in close sequence since the Allied conquest of that country by Lord Allenby. For this reason the author of the volume under discussion, who is altogether too modest as to his accomplishments in the preface, has performed a most valuable service, for he has provided his readers with a clear, concise, and unbiassed account of developments—an account which must not only be read, but carefully studied, by all those directly and indirectly interested in events at the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

Including the preface, two appendices, a postscript, a bibliography, and a careful index, the whole book consists of only eighty-four pages. But even so the author has wisely facilitated the task of the reader by dividing his remarks into five chapters, dealing with the area and population of the

country, the mandate, the administration, the problems of the northern frontier and the Djebil Druze, and his summary and conclusions. In the first of these sections Mr. Stein provides a great deal of historical and geographical information, and although most of his facts here stated may be generally known, it is helpful to the student to be told the exact frontiers of the mandated area, the way in which these frontiers have been arrived at, and the various elements of which the population is composed.

Whilst M. Paul Pic published "*Syrie et Palestine*" in 1924, Mr. Stein's accounts of the "mandate" and of the "administration" contain a better summary of the developments leading up to the present situation than can be found elsewhere in English. The contradictory nature of the war-time agreements between the British on the one side and the French and the Arabs on the other is well brought out, the task of the French and the attitude of the Arabs towards them are made plain, and countless dates and facts, which are often difficult to pick out in larger volumes, are clearly and definitely chronicled. The author rightly points out that the French have suffered from a shortage of suitable personnel, that they have pursued a policy of veiled control rather than one of frank autocracy, and that General Sarrail found himself at once at cross-purposes with the predominant element in the Lebanon on account of his anti-clerical reputation.

Lack of space forbids detailed reference to Mr. Stein's brief but satisfactory account of the Djebil Druze revolt, but when we come to his conclusions the author is clearly correct in saying that the Arab agitation is not only anti-French, but anti-European, that Damascus is the stronghold of Arab nationalism, and that the position of the French has been greatly complicated by their long-time and recognized protection of the Christians, and particularly of the Roman Catholics, in this part of the world. Equally well he (Mr. Stein) hits the nail upon the head when he lays stress upon the facts that great discontent arises from the separation of Aleppo from its natural commercial hinterland in Turkey and from the establishment of a currency based upon the French franc. Indeed, the introduction of this monetary system and the fall of the franc are more responsible for the unpopularity of the French than are their political shortcomings in Syria.

The present writer, who spent some time in Syria last summer, is inclined to think that the author has seriously underestimated the populations of such places as Damascus, Beirut, and Aleppo, to wish that he had space for a more comprehensive review of the commercial situation, and to regret that the problem of the Armenian immigration is not discussed. But such minor faults are inevitable in a volume which is advisedly brief. In short, Mr. Stein, who avoids all suspicion of prejudice, has increased his literary and political reputation by the production of a small and reasonably priced volume, so replete in facts and valuable material as to be a necessity to every serious man and woman who has been to, proposes to visit, or wishes to know anything about the French mandated area.

H. C. W.

A. TURKISH KALEIDOSCOPE. By Clare Sheridan, with thirty-two illustrations. (*Duckworth.*) 15s. net.

Mrs. Clare Sheridan, well known as an author and a sculptor, gives us in her interesting book a most distressing account of Constantinople, Smyrna, Apollonia, Trebizond—cities still flourishing in pre-war times, but at the present day changed almost beyond recognition. Constantinople she likens unto "a beautiful and brilliant woman of fortune grown old." To one who, like the present writer, knew half a century ago that capital of empires, Roman Byzantium and Ottoman, it is inconceivable to picture the European quarter, Pera, as the author puts it, sordid and ugly—nay, an ulcer in the side of Turkey, combining with her Levantine population squalor and pretentiousness. But surely its inhabitants, busy in a town which since ancient times was famous as being the finest and most picturesque spot on earth, cannot do away with the beauty that still decks her brow. Only Stambol, the quarter of the Turks, has, according to the author, kept at least some of the old characteristics which make the city of the Bosphorus so fascinating to tourists. But even there, according to Mrs. Sheridan, the Turks seem now exotic owners of a house that is no longer their own. She is right in saying that they have not imposed themselves upon their conquered people, but have been more or less assimilated. This fact is no doubt the reason why the President of the Republic, Mustapha Kemal, has abandoned Constantinople for Angora, in order to build up again a Turkish nationality in the old Ancyra. But is not there an anomaly in his last exhortations to his co-religionists, "to abandon the turban and the fez and to adopt the hat"? We, if we can picture at all the old hodjas and imams in hats in their native land, can only do so with amusement. Yet Mustapha Kemal is in bitter earnest about it all.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Mrs. Sheridan's illuminating book is the chapter on "The Emancipation of Women." It is an evolution which has been taking place slowly but surely since the last fifty years, beginning with the admittance of foreign governesses to the harems, and girls being sent to foreign schools at Constantinople and Smyrna. The world war subsequently also gave the Turkish women opportunities for filling the posts of men. Here Mustapha Kemal, with his intellectual and progressive wife, were the first to allow the women to throw off their veils and disfiguring *feradjes*, and to move freely and on terms of equality with their men-folk. This is a moral achievement which cannot be overestimated, and which in the course of time might indeed introduce radical progress in Turkey. We are told that at the present time a woman in Turkey must work four times as hard as a man, and especially so when she wishes to *earn*. In this connection the author tells us how recently a young Turkish lady secured a well-paid post at a bank in Constantinople; she spoke and could write in three languages—English, French, and German—besides Turkish. When the men protested, there was not one to be found among them who could take her place, and she remained.

In conclusion, we must still mention the author's exquisite descrip-

on of Broussa, the City of Fountains as she calls it, a town full of mausoleums and mosques, among them the famous Green Mosque to which Pierre Loti has devoted many enthusiastic pages. Broussa was the favourite city of the Empress Theodora, and the capital of Turkey under Sultan Orkhan and Osman before Muhammed II. had conquered Constantinople. This beautiful town, situated at the foot of the Mysian Mount Olympus, is the one redeeming spot, and has not been spoiled but has kept its old characteristics, according to Mrs. Sheridan's descriptions.

This volume, conceived in her lovely garden on the Bosphorus, surrounded by her two children, Marguerite and Dick, is sure to attract those who knew Turkey in her old days, and are glad but sad to hear of her in her present state. Is there hope in Turkey's resurrection? Mrs. Sheridan points out in her preface that this miracle was performed in her nationalistic desperation, that she has inspired other subjugated peoples, and that it is due to Turkey's example that Morocco, Egypt, Syria, and China are waking up from age-long apathy. Is she right in her prophecy?
L. M. R.

WANDERINGS IN ARABIA. By Charles M. Doughty. (*Duckworth.*) 12s. 6d. net.

The above is an extremely welcome abridged edition of the author's famous "Travels in Arabia Deserta," one of the greatest travel books in literature. It is hereby reduced to a handy volume of about six hundred well-printed pages, well-bound, and furnished with a short glossary of Arabic terms. The effect is to make this work, indispensable to all students of Arabia, also accessible in its more attractive single volume for the general reader, particularly the youthful one, who may thereby be inspired to copy the author's example, and carry on the great Elizabethan tradition of discovery and adventure.

HISTOIRE DIPLOMATIQUE DE LA GRÈCE DE 1821 À NOS JOURS. By Édouard Driault and Michel Lhévitier. (*Les Presses Universitaires de France.*) 30 francs per volume.

The first four volumes of this monumental work, each volume containing about 450 pages, have now been published. M. Driault is known for his studies of Napoleon's Eastern Policy, and founded the "Revue des Études Napoléoniennes." The first book deals with the insurrection and achievement of independence (1821-1830). The second describes the rule of the Bavarian King Otho, and the development of the "great idea" (Constantinople). The third consists of the reign of George I. and brings the narrative down to the Treaty of Berlin. The last volume published to date concludes George's reign and continues as far as the Turkish revolution of 1908. This history shows how Greece, after a promising beginning in her struggle to attain the rank of a Great Power, found her way blocked first by Russian and later by German influence. The diplomatic history of the disastrous war of 1897 is set down in great detail. Perhaps one of its effects was to make the Greeks abandon the idea of a single-handed

struggle (diplomatically backed by the Great Powers) against the Turks, and seek the achievement of her ends in the Balkan Federation.

The authors can claim great credit for their industry in selecting materials, and the clear and fair manner in which they have marshalled their facts. The price of the publication is also very moderate.

INDIA

BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA. By The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. (Cassell.) Two vols., £3 3s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR WALTER LAWRENCE, BART., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., C.B.)

These two fine volumes are worthy alike of the subject and of the remarkable man who wrote them—a befitting tribute to the second city of our empire, and an informing epilogue to a viceroyalty as strenuous and memorable as any of those chronicled in the book under review.

It is a book which should not lie about on the console tables of official palaces, but in cheaper and more handy form should be widely read, for there is more in it than a striking and delightful history of British rule in India: there is here a human document where one can see a character rare, high and forceful. The biographer of Lord Curzon will find the sketch if he studies this book. To all who are interested in the governance of India, to all who have known Calcutta, we commend this unusual record, but it should have a wider appeal, for any Englishman will be proud and thrilled to read of the noble achievements of his countryman in a great mission, often in arduous and trying circumstances, sometimes misunderstood and always lonely and remote; for a Viceroy must be lonely in that high office, for he has none to share his feelings when criticism and dissent arrive from Whitehall in letters of which the "ink burns like vitriol."

The reader will hear this note sounded more than once in the sonorous words of Lord Curzon; but, after all, the glorious cycle of the great consulship is worth it, and it may be doubted whether any of the great figures who have paced the ample floors of Government House, Calcutta, regretted in the later days of disillusion and disappointment that their path had led them eastwards. Certainly Lord Curzon never regretted it, for to him India was the centre of his life and career, and as we read his description of Government House, we can see how closely he walked and moved with the splendid ghosts of Warren Hastings and Lord Dalhousie. Of all his predecessors in office this wonderful laird of Cockpen most resembled our author—in two tragic respects there was a pathetic likeness. Both were rarely free from pain, and both suffered the most cruel bereavement which can befall a man. Both were tremendous workers, and the strain on men who ruled as these two ruled, who toiled and achieved as did Lord Dalhousie and Lord Curzon, is unending and exhausting. And both made the fatal mistake of extending their service beyond the five years which are assigned by custom to the high office of Viceroy, and it may be that in consequence of this extension their relations with the authorities in Whitehall became all the more difficult. "The East India House, and later

the India Office, have often behaved with a lamentable lack of sympathy and of understanding towards their agents . . . an Indian satrap has in many cases found the Viceroy's throne an altar of sacrifice quite as much as a seat of glory."

It is a wise rule to insist on the five years' limit, for in five years a Viceroy becomes omnipotent. He has outlived the old members of Council, and no longer depends on other men's experience—he is himself expert.

It may be that the climate, the feeling of exile, or the intoxication of great power over a vast continent of countries bewildering in variety and fascinating in interest, obsessed the minds of the remarkable and distinguished men whose portraits are now before us and made them "over-sensitive"; and that in truth there were bruised hearts and broken hopes in that room in Government House, Calcutta, which "has witnessed discussions as agitated and decisions as heavily charged with fate as any private apartment in the wide circumference of the British Empire." But too great emphasis has been laid on this side of a Viceroy's life, and the ordinary reader may be permitted to think that, in spite of the difficulties which attend the career of an energetic Viceroy, Lord Dalhousie's retrospect was unduly gloomy. "Seven years' heavy experience enables me to declare that emoluments, honour, and reputation are as a feather against what must be set in the other balance in India."

It is indeed a land of regrets, and most men of force and genius have their regrets when the time comes to pass down the stairs of Government House to the Ghat of nothingness; for after the splendours and the opportunities of the Viceroy's office life and outlook lose their savour.

In this book—almost an intimate journal—one can see the splendid scale of pomp and pageant: the elephants and the glittering howdahs; the bodyguard in their scarlet and gold, "better mounted and better turned out than the Household Cavalry at home"; the banquets and the balls and the exquisite band; the gold and silver maces; the yak tails and peacock feathers; the army of deth retainers in their picturesque uniform of white and scarlet, called by the old names used in Moghal times. Then one reads of the State barge, the Sonamukhi—that beautiful pleasure-boat painted green and gold, with the rowers in scarlet dresses, in which the Governors-General, with flotillas of two hundred boats, made their stately but leisurely way up the broad Hooghly to the restful pleasure of Barrackpore, where Lady Canning, "beautiful and ill-fated," lies buried by the terraced walk she loved so well.

At Barrackpore was the elephant stud. In 1852 there were 146 elephants for the use of the Governor-General; but in Lord Lansdowne's time, 1888-1894, there were only three, one of which had carried Warren Hastings one hundred and twenty years before.

Beautiful Sonamukhi departed in the seventies, when Lord Northbrook was Viceroy; and the stately elephants have given way to more rapid carriage. The moral—the question is whether the old fashion and the old pace were not the better for the soul of India.

The cool, white train which now carries the Viceroy to the Taj at Agra,

to the exquisite lake palace of Udaipur, and to the valley paradise of Kashmir, gives him pleasures and opportunities which were denied to poor Lord Dalhousie; and we might throw into the balance, which he so sadly adjusted, the Viceregal tours, the shooting camps by forest and river, the old-world courts of Rajputana—colour, pageantry, and romance.

There was, it is true, in the stern background the workroom in Government House; but the Viceregal life has its compensations.

In this review we cannot follow Lord Curzon subject by subject. It is sufficient to say that each subject is treated exhaustively and authoritatively, and no such intimate picture of the Viceroy's office and the working of the Government of India has ever before been given to the public. But there are two chapters which are especially characteristic of the author. Chapter VII. deals with the Black Hole. Lord Curzon, directly he arrived in Calcutta as Viceroy, in his pious zeal for the history of the race, decided that there should be a permanent memorial of the little company of Englishmen and one Englishwoman—123 in all—who perished on that night of doom, June 20, 1756. In spite of his heavy official duties he set to work, and after two years' toil succeeded in identifying the exact site of the tragedy. In 1901 he paved the place with polished black marble, and in 1902, at his own charges, erected a replica of the original monument set up by Governor Holwell, and demolished in 1821. After these painful and pious labours it was somewhat annoying that a school of Indian writers should arise, supported by one solitary Englishman, who contended that there never had been a Black Hole tragedy, and that there never had been a Holwell monument. Most would have treated this astonishing suggestion with contempt, but this was not Lord Curzon's way. He sat down and produced twenty-five most trustworthy authorities to prove that the crime was committed, and that a surviving fellow-sufferer—Holwell—erected a memorial pillar.

But though vain men may have challenged the Black Hole story, there will be none to dispute that the beautiful white Victoria Memorial Hall, described in Chapter VIII., was first and last the work of Lord Curzon. It is a glorious and magnificent memorial to the Great Queen who had captured the imagination of India, and is a fitting seal to the beneficence of her rule and to the achievements of her servants in the East.

But it is also a monument of the zeal and tenacity of a great Englishman, who up to the day of his death spent time and thought and money on making perfect the memorial to the Great Queen. He was the last of her Viceroys; and those who care for our Empire, and would grasp the secret of the Victorian system, may find some clues in this charming and arresting book.

WOMEN IN ANCIENT INDIA. BY Mademoiselle Clarisse Bader. Translated into English by Miss Mary E. R. Martin. (*Kegan Paul*) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by Mrs. N. C. SEN.)

"Women in Ancient India" is a chronicle compiled from the pages of the ancient literatures of India, and containing some valuable deductions and analyses by the authoress.

The original book was written in French by Mlle. Clarisse Bader, the distinguished Alsatian scholar and patriot, in 1867, and it was awarded a high distinction by the French Academy.

A very distinguished Indian poetess of the past century—Miss Taru Dutt—first thought of translating this book, but her early death prevented her from doing so. Miss Martin—the present translator—a friend and admirer of Miss Taru Dutt, and an English Orientalist and scholar, took up this work, and having brought it to a finish has presented it to the English readers of the world.

Miss Martin has rendered a great service to India, and especially to the women of India; I, as one of them, thank her very much for it.

It was more from curiosity than from the hope of learning anything fresh that I began reading the book; for being an Indian woman of Hindu origin, I was familiar with all the stories and anecdotes in it. I wanted to know whether the writer, Mlle. Bader, was able to grasp the spirit of India, and was able to interpret it well to her readers. I was immensely delighted, as well as amazed, to find that not only was she able to understand and appreciate the noble characters she was reproducing, but actually held them up as models of the highest conception for women of all countries.

Time after time she found traces of the same characteristics, although in a lesser degree, in other Aryan races settled in Europe. She put two and two together, and tried to prove connections between them, claiming the early Indians as the forefathers of all the white races of the world.

One would have thought Mlle. Bader must have devoted years of hard study to the ancient literatures of India—from her vast knowledge of them and the extensive quotations she gave from various authors—if it was not for the fact that when she wrote the book she was only twenty-two!

What a wonderfully subtle and quick perception she must have possessed. She has been dead for years now, but her valuable bequest, her clear interpretation of the East, is still, and will always be, of great service to those amongst the French-speaking people who are drawn towards the East for its culture.

Hindu women of to-day are still more or less brought up amongst the traditions of these ancient women of India. They still form part and parcel of our existence to a considerable extent. And although we have fallen from the high pedestal that was ours in those past ages, we yet hope to regain it, as an acorn takes fresh root and brings forth new fertility after lying barren for long years.

The writer hoped the light of Christianity will guide us in our path towards regeneration; I myself should not like to predict or suggest anything, but with the words of the Vedas pray to the Universal Spirit—the One Supreme Being: "Asatō mā sat gamayo—Tamasō ma jyotirgamayo" (Lead us, O Lord, from untruth to the Truth—Lead us, O Lord, from darkness to the Light).

INDIA THROUGH FRENCH EYES

DANS L'INDE. By Mme. Sylvain Lévi. (Paris: *Rieder*.) 9 frs.L'INDE ET LE MONDE. By Sylvain Lévi. (*Champion*.)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

Husband and wife have, as it were, collaborated to present a complete picture of India. M. Sylvain Lévi, well known in Sanskrit circles for his wide knowledge of ancient India, but best known to the amateur student for his great work on the Indian theatre, contributes what may be called, without offence to the lady, reflections upon the inner life of India in its relation to the world. But Mme. Lévi's book, if in a sense more superficial, gives us very vivid pictures of the surroundings in which her husband worked, of the scientific spirit which permeates the India of to-day, and of the sharp contrasts which are provided by the more progressive and the more conservative parts of India. It would, however, be very unfair to give the impression that she has nothing more to offer than a vivacious narrative of an extraordinarily interesting journey, in which poets and savants, monks and rajas, beggars and butlers, and finally Lord Ronaldshay, pass over the stage against a background now of tropical deluges and now of tropical heat. Although she came very little into contact with the India of the English, she cannot help but see that English influence is everywhere. The more incompetent of the petty princes are but "marionettes in the hands of the English"; they "seem to have nothing in their heads but the fancies of sick children." Little as she saw of the Mussalmans, she recognizes that "if it were not for the strong hand of England there would be violence between these irreconcilable parties." Yet her journey was least of all political. She and her husband spent happy weeks at Santiniketan with Rabindranath Tagore, and months at least as happy, and from the traveller's point of view even more interesting, in the State of Nepal, which she says with pardonable pride she was the fifth Frenchwoman to visit (and two of the others don't count!). She and her husband were most royally entertained by the Maharaja; and, indeed, M. Sylvain Lévi's evident love of India, and his position as one of the foremost, if not actually the foremost, Orientalists in France captivated the hearts of all Hindus, for it was to Hinduism and to its offshoot Buddhism to which he was chiefly addressing himself. But although the Maharaja's hospitality was princely and his care for the guests was unremitting, it was the young princes who, with a charming mixture of the dignity of birth with the simplicity of childhood, appealed most to Mme. Lévi as a woman. The descriptions of their visits, together with the narrative of their adventurous journey from Nepal to the plains, make up the best reading in the book.

One seems to see the fruits of their journey into the sub-Himalayan State, varied by the "conversations spirituelles" with the poet-philanthropist Rabindranath Tagore, in M. Lévi's book. The theme with which it opens is the general humanism of the world, by which the civilization of any given race can no longer be regarded as peculiar to itself without allowances made for the reactions upon it of other civilizations. This

theme he develops first by a discussion of Brahman and next of Buddhist civilizations, ending with a chapter of general reflections on the communion between East and West. In spite of appearances India has never been completely isolated; "she has given largely, and largely she has received . . . she has played her part like the rest of the world, with the rest of the world." Buddhism ceased to be a national religion; it spread far beyond the confines of India, and perhaps influenced the teachings of early Christianity, and it was just because it became a world religion that it lost its hold upon India. Brahmanism, on the other hand, is peculiar to India. M. Lévi sees in it the nearest approach in the world to a civilization which has been sufficient unto itself. Its great weakness lies in the want of a central rallying point. Never throughout Hindu history has there been politically a capital such as London is to England, or Paris to France, or, religiously, as Rome is to Catholic Europe. Hindu literature is confined to Hindus; Hindu civilization is guarded by caste; and one is driven to the conclusion that, in spite of his main thesis, Brahmanism as M. Lévi sees it has given little to humanity and has received little from it.

There is probably no one who can speak with more authority upon such a subject than M. Sylvain Lévi. There is nothing much that is new to English readers, at any rate; but there are still some who look upon the civilizations of East and West as if they existed separately and without relation to one another, and others who forget that, after all, Buddhism was a product of Brahmanism, in the sense that Christianity was evolved out of Judaism, and that the Reformation was a form of Roman Catholicism. Mme. Lévi deals with experiences, and shows how the material was gathered; M. Lévi presents us with the finished article.

TOWN PLANNING IN ANCIENT INDIA

TOWN PLANNING IN ANCIENT INDIA. By B. B. Dutt. (Calcutta: *Thacker*.)

1925. Rs. 7.0.

(Reviewed by Dr. PATRICK GEDDES.)

By an unusual succession of circumstances, the present reviewer was agreeably surprised, first to find that his Town Planning Exhibition some years back in Calcutta had stirred up this scholarly enquiry into town planning in the Indian past, and next through being called by the Calcutta University to examine it as a graduation thesis; then by the author's demand of an introductory note for its appearance as the present volume, and finally by the command of the Editor of this REVIEW to give such further account of it as may be in his power.

In all this the present reviewer can only speak on the practical side, from ten years of town planning in many parts of India, and with such deciphering of old planning as results from survey on the spot, as so notably in temple cities, yet others also; but necessarily without due archaeological scholarship, or anything of Sanskrit learning. Still, I have had confirmation from Indian scholars as to the soundness of the writer's literary and historical

studies of antiquity: hence—although it must be admitted that various learned writers have at times gone rather too far in attributing extensive anticipations of scientific knowledge and use of modern technical methods to the remote Indian past—I have every confidence as to the present case that Mr. Dutt has justified his claim: that of establishing the existence of very sound and thorough theory and practice of town planning in ancient India.

This book thus fairly takes its place beside the admirable works of Mr. E. B. Havell; and though our debt to him is especially as regards his sympathetic exposition of the varied beauty and significance of Indian architecture, it is encouraging to find that Mr. Dutt's independent enquiries not only confirm Mr. Havell's recognition of the existence of good and skilful village and town planning in early times, but extend and corroborate this from the documentary side; as, indeed, similarly, on the practical side, the writer's various surveys, collections, and planning endeavours have convinced him of the essential soundness of both writers.

Too much incredulity has been frequently expressed both in India and in Europe as to all such high claims as to the culture of ancient India; yet are not these doubts mainly to be explained by the still prevalent lack of knowledge—even among scholars, let alone the ordinary reading public—of the actual form and life of the cities of past civilizations; and especially since these, more or less in all countries, have been so largely obscured, destroyed, and often forgotten, amid the confused "progress" of our recent industrial age? The Greek scholar has doubtless always known of the old geometrical lay-out of the Piræus; and nowadays, as also archaeologist, he has demonstrated that very many other Hellenic cities had an even more elaborate and stately planning. And similarly for historians and archaeologists of Hellenistic and Roman antiquity. Again, though popular accounts of the Middle Ages still too commonly describe their cities as more or less confused and sordid conglomerations, their clearer study is ever yielding more and more convincing evidence and illustration of orderly development, and frequently even of skilled and beautiful design. So definitely is this the case, that it needs only a little careful scrutiny of what are now the worst and most overcrowded slums of ancient and mediæval cities to show that these have most commonly arisen much later, from the destructive mishandling and overcrowding of what were once the very best of their areas, and even their open spaces, as market-places, cathedral closes, etc.—all this from various causes, as notably the destructive re-fortification, and frequently catastrophic sieges, of the Renaissance and Reformation wars; and also, and often even more completely, the recent overcrowded slum conditions of our own past century of mechanical industries. Hence that in India the historian of antiquity and the surveyor of old towns as they still stand should thus support one another is thus nothing surprising to students of cities, alike in West and East. In fact here, as in other fields of research, when distinct lines of investigation arrive at concord, the confirmation may be reasonably trusted.

Two features stand out conspicuously from such Indian investigations;

and which are alike encouraging and helpful to us in the West. First, that though most towns everywhere have arisen from villages, the villages of India appear often to have been far more carefully planned and developed than have ours of the West; for though in Europe we are also finding kindred evidences of well-designed village origins, these do not seem often, if ever, to have been carried so far.

Again, while our industrial age has arisen by the excessive mechanical development of what are, after all, the humbler crafts, we are only now beginning to see how again to re-inspire these from the higher arts, and also to labour towards unifying once more the fine arts by the "mistress art" of architecture; while that architecture has again to be co-ordinated, through and by town planning—say rather by city design—is one of the most recent of European theses and endeavours in our own days. Here in this book we find good and encouraging evidence of the ancient harmony of all these levels of creative activity. And even of their effective co-ordination in the life of communities, of region and villages, towns and capitals; and thus, with true municipal order and wise State government upon the temporal side, and with the science, medicine, and sanitation of the times, as well as in relation to its philosophy and religion; in fact, a co-ordination of the elements of social life, of which none are to be despised. Here, in fact, was at once a synthesis of ideas and a synergy in action which we are in our time only beginning to seek for and strive towards anew.

No Western country is richer in venerable and monumental antiquities than is India; and these have long been the subject of increasingly careful study, especially in architecture and its detail. Yet the task remains largely for the future of comprehensively re-interpreting these surviving monuments as the temporal and spiritual centres of a corresponding orderly life, growth, and development, in the villages, towns, and cities which stood around them. We are thus increasingly reaching towards a fuller comprehension of Indian civilization than we have at present from the specialized study of these outstanding landmarks.

And though Plato's "philosopher-kings" have been little more than an early dream of the West, rarely verified in European history—though there we find its realization suggested, as in the lives of King Alfred and a few more—is there not hope of the increasing rehabilitation of the kindred Indian tradition, that of the "Raja-Rishi"? Of his repeated appearance, moreover, we have more evidence in India than we can find in Europe. The Western educators of young Indian princes have as yet too much lacked this ideal: yet it is now returning here and there, so why not towards worthy result? One knows of actual cases where this may reasonably be hoped for.

Our modern town-planning endeavours in India are as yet mostly comparatively small, when not too big and crude, as in Bombay or Calcutta, or too imperially artificial and ostentatious, as in Delhi: yet may we not even in all these see hope, and yet more in the approaching times of further change, for the reappearance, even increasingly, of the Raja-Rishi, and even as civic and regional renewer? We are yet but in the day of small things; yet Indian regions and their governments, British and Indian

alike, are again beginning to consider what they can do for the renewal of the Indian village. For still, even in the increasingly industrialized present, the village remains the main centre of social life, and not only as regards its fundamental activities, but often also as source of its finer possibilities. In the current arousal of scientific originality in India, Sir Jagadis Bose is not a solitary figure—albeit the most distinguished of its pioneers. He is happily but *primus inter pares*, and it is well to note how he and his fellows, with their successors appearing in number in the rising generation, are often akin in rural origins and outlooks; albeit with these developed and cultivated by help of the best that the city Universities of East and West can offer. It is good also to find these men often seeking to turn their knowledge and apply their discoveries to rustic use, and village renewal accordingly. Here, for instance, without accepting Mr. Gandhi's too simple panacea, we must in fairness recognize its elements of help towards village renewal; though happily, too, we have also coming into action the far wider and wiser policy of Tagore, who has now not only the Indian villagers singing his songs by the well and in the field, but is also sending out to them the students of the agricultural college of his University to cleanse and purify the well, to cultivate the field more fruitfully, and thus to initiate the renewal of the village. And this, indeed, at every level, from the simple Santal hamlets around Santeniketan to those of higher traditions and more immediate possibilities.

But the reader may long ere now be saying, and that truly—all very well, perhaps, but this is not a review of Mr. Dutt's book! Admittedly, not one of its dozen fascinating chapters has been entered upon, much less summarized or criticized. Enough here, for the present writer at least, to have said what he can towards indicating the general value of their clear presentment of the historic past at its best; and thus also of its significance, its suggestiveness, and its encouragement towards that needed renewal of Indian life and culture, in service to which all worthy schools of thought and all constructive lines and policies of action have to find their place and work as soon as may be, and their due measure of appreciation later.

In conclusion, then, Mr. Dutt's book has thus more varied interests and even wider bearings than even he can have foreseen when he first undertook it; so in place of detailed review (although it well merits and justifies such), the present writer has taken upon himself rather to extend his introduction to it, and towards again inviting the responsible and purposive reader, as well as the detached and scholarly one, not only to read it for its historic interest, but for its latent suggestions towards the Indian future as well.

INDIA. By Sir Valentine Chirol. (*Ernest Benn.*) 15s.

(*Reviewed by* STANLEY RICE.)

Sir Valentine Chirol has deservedly won his place as an authority on modern India. The author of "Indian Unrest" and "India Old and New" was clearly marked out as the historian of India in a series which professes to deal with the modern world. He has done his task with conspicuous ability, or perhaps it would be truer to say that he has not

fallen short of his own high standard. From Chapter V. onwards the facts, familiar though they be to all Indian students, are set out with a lucidity and in a style which make the narrative attractive reading even to novices. And it is probably to novices that the series makes its appeal. It is difficult to remember, in writing about India, that many of the readers will come to the subject in ignorance of the conditions and sometimes of the alphabet, that what to the expert is mere platitude is to others engrossing information, and that to assume too much knowledge is to make oneself unintelligible. The facts of modern Indian history have often been presented, but never more ably or more attractively than in this book.

It has been said above that the high qualities of the book stand out from Chapter V. Sir Valentine's authority is greater on modern than on ancient India, and the earlier chapters leave a suspicion, possibly unfounded, that the author has been content to accept the generally received opinions without much personal criticism. The weakness of the book, if I may so put it, is that it is too orthodox. A good deal might be said, if it were worth saying, in criticism of these orthodox views of ancient and mediæval India, its systems of government, its philosophies and its outlook. It is not worth saying, because the reader will hurry on to the more vital issues of to-day. Here, too, Sir Valentine is orthodox. No doubt in dealing with Amritsar he shows clearly what his own views are on that lamentable tragedy, but in such cases there is no orthodox view unless you invest the *Morning Post* with pontifical authority. But in his admirable chapter on education he ascribes to its over-literary nature the evils of congestion in the literary professions and the consequent discontent of students. But is it quite fair to blame the educational system for this result? Is it not also due to the lack of scope for activity and to the atmosphere in which the classes who sought education were brought up? To do him justice, the author does hint at this, but only in passing. The present comparative popularity of engineering, medicine and economics is a sign that the older ideas are slowly becoming modified, and suggest that, given other avenues of employment, the Indian, too, can benefit by the mental training which a general education gives. But Sir Valentine is quite right in his condemnation of some of our methods. What is an Indian boy to make of pictures of a Newfoundland dog or an English donkey when he has only seen pariah dogs and the undersized animals sacred to the dhobi? Do not things like these widen the breach between school and home life, so that the former seems unreal, something to be learned but not adopted?

In dealing with industrialism, as he does with his usual thoroughness Sir Valentine draws attention to the appalling conditions of housing in Bombay as the typical example, and gives due credit to Sir George Lloyd for his courageous attempt to deal with that baffling problem. Possibly because such reflections were outside the scope of his work, he does not draw similar attention to the decline in morals which is almost certain to follow industrial expansion. Englishmen are so convinced, and have so convinced Indians, that industries connote national prosperity that both are apt to overlook the sorrowful fact that Europe has largely sold her

soul for a mess of pottage, and that India is in danger of doing the same. None of the lessons which the experience of Europe might have taught are being applied to India; all that she seems to have learned so far is class war, unhealthy living, industrial dispute and a peculiarly disingenuous form of strike. Industrialism must and will progress in India, but it is sad to think that it is bringing with it all those evils which we have cause to know only too well.

In what he calls the flight from Swaraj, Sir Valentine sees a disposition to view with misgiving the consequences which a nearer contemplation of Swaraj, not as an ideal but as practical politics, seems to threaten. That this misgiving is justified all Englishmen would agree; if Indians really share this misgiving and are coming to look the facts soberly in the face, their return to common sense is very welcome. It may be, however, that the present situation is due quite as much to the want of effective leadership, since the disappearance of Gandhi and the death of Das, as to what, in the phrase of the day, we may call a change of heart. The chapter provokes thought; what Sir Valentine sees is probably seen by the more sober elements of Indian opinion, even though extremists may still be dazzled by the splendour of their own idealistic vision.

But misgivings as to the blessings of Swaraj in nowise prove the blessings of diarchy. Sir Valentine gives no very clear indication of his own views on this vexed question; he pleads for a fair chance and suggests that in certain provinces, notably Madras, no sincere attempt was ever made to carry it out as Parliament conceived it. He deplores the atmosphere in which it has had to work—an atmosphere created both in India and in England by two very different forces, and he leaves it to be inferred that there is nothing much wrong with the system provided that it be worked with goodwill and sincerity.

On this question there is room for many shades of opinion, from the uncompromising hostility of the "die-hard" to the fierce denunciation of the Swarajist. A book which deals with current affairs invites criticism which is only second in degree to that which is aroused by scientific controversy on the dim past. No one can doubt that it is a brilliant presentation of the case as the author sees it—probably the most notable that has yet appeared.

RELIGION AND FOLKLORE OF NORTHERN INDIA. William Crooke.
Prepared for the press by R. E. Enthoven. (*Oxford University Press*.) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by N. M. PENZER, F.R.G.S.)

This new edition of Crooke's "Religion and Folklore of Northern India" will be most warmly welcomed by all students of anthropology and comparative religion. The work was originally compiled in 1894, far from any books of reference, more in the form of a collection of notes than as a literary or even scholarly work. Nobody was more surprised than the author himself at its favourable reception, and four years later a second edition was published in London under the title of "The Popular Religion

and Folklore of Northern India." This second edition was soon out of print and became recognized as a standard work on the subject. In the meantime Crooke had produced his "Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh," and had collected a heap of first-hand information which found its way into "North-Indian Notes and Queries," and Hastings' "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics." No longer were these contributions to Indian anthropology mere notes, and it is not to be wondered at that the desire to reissue his first, and really most important, work should long have occupied Dr. Crooke's attention. The work was finally done, although the author himself never lived to see its actual issue. It would, however, have been impossible for the work to have been entrusted to more competent hands than those of Mr. Enthoven's, whose recently published work on the "Folklore of Bombay" is a companion volume for that particular part of India. For the last three years I have been working on Crooke's two-volume edition of 1896, and am therefore in a particularly good position to appreciate the great advance, both in the presentation of the material and high standard of the work itself, as evidenced by this new edition. So great has been the advance in scientific research in India in the last thirty years that no longer could parallel beliefs and rituals from outside India be included. If they had been, the book would have swelled unduly in bulk, and important Indian evidence would have been sacrificed. The treatment of the subjects, however, remains the same. We start off with the "Godlings of Nature," after which we proceed to the "Village Godlings" and the modes of worship employed by the peasantry. The rites of exorcizing evil spirits, particularly those of fever, are dealt with in detail. Such ritual is elaborate and most curious to read. In a case reported from Gujarāt efforts were made to expel a dangerous Bhūt. "The house was surrounded with charmed threads, milk and water, and charmed nails were driven in at the four corners and the door. The house was then purified and a Deo or godling was established there, provided with lamps fed with ghi and oil, near which the exorcist took up his position and continued repeating charms for forty days. After this the house-owner became possessed, a condition which was produced by the exorcist scattering grain round him and beating a metal cup. A sacrificial fire-pit was made, and between it and the house-owner a lemon was placed, into which the Bhūt was adjured to enter. After some difficulty the lemon began to jump about, and it was understood that the Bhūt had occupied it. The exorcist then ejected the lemon, guiding its movements with a staff until it reached the village boundary, where the lemon was buried in a pit seven cubits deep, over it mustard and salt were poured, and over them dust and stones, the interstices being sealed with molten lead. It had been proposed to banish the Bhūt into the next village, but its residents energetically protested. The exorcist, it is true, assured them that there was no cause for alarm, and that if the Bhūt were properly buried and leaded down he would pine away and die in a short time. These predictions were fulfilled, for he was never seen or heard of again."

Lack of space will only permit me mentioning the most important

headings, such as the Cult of Ancestors and Heroes, the Spirits of the Malevolent Dead, Agricultural Rites, the Evil Eye, Omens, Animal Worship, Serpent, Tree and Plant Worship, and finally Black Magic. All these are discussed in turn with ample references for further research which the student will find of the utmost value. A good index is added, also a bibliography in the commencement of the work. There is, in fact, only one criticism I would make, and that is that authors never seem to appreciate the value of including bibliographical references in the index; for instance, there are naturally many references to Frazer's "Golden Bough," yet neither appear in the index. True, it is given in the bibliography under Frazer, but that does little more than aggravate. One wants to know on what pages Frazer's work is to be found. Frazer himself is as great a sinner in this respect; thus, when preparing notes for my edition of "Somadeva," I had to go through every page of his eleven volumes to get my references. The same applies to the present work. I fully realize that it adds largely to the author's labours, but the result more than doubles the value of the work.

ART SECTION

BILDERATLAS ZUR KUNST UND KULTURGESCHICHTE MITTELASIENS. By Albert von Le Coq. (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.)

(Reviewed by JOSEPH HACKIN, Director of the Musée Guimet.)

This "Bilderatlas" which Dr. A. von Le Coq, Honorary Director of the "Museum für Völkerkunde," has just completed, deserves more than a mere cursory notice. In order to compile it the author has drawn largely from his own works, "Chotscho" (1913) and the remarkable series of "Spätantike in Mittelasien," vols. i.-iv., the publication of which is not yet completed.* Although it is true that the documents saved from the sands of Central Asia are often of poor artistic value, they nevertheless offer a rich field of study when the complexity of influences shown therein is considered. We also owe a debt of gratitude to the author for having taken from expensive and not easily accessible books material bearing on these interesting comparative studies, particularly those dealing with clothing, armour, and architectural details.

After studying in detail the accoutrement of the horsemen before the grotto of the sixteen sword-bearers of Qumtura (Fig. 8) he comes to the conclusion, which is amply justified, that they are of Sassanid origin. He compares them with the figures presented on the silver plates published by Smirnov (Figs. 34-36). The relation between the official arts of the Sassanids and that of Buddhism can be still more closely examined, thanks to the frescoes at Bāmiyān in Afghanistan, studied by Mr. and Mrs. André Godard, and also the traces of Sassanid paintings which I have had the good fortune to discover at Dukhtar-i-Nōchirwān, near Roui, in the river bed of Khulm on my way to Balkh. There is a distinct identity in type and costume between the sword-bearers of Fig. 8 (Qyzil) and the figures which are to be found at Dukhtar-i-Nōchirwān, and represent attendants of the Sassanid prince in the centre of that composition.

* Vol. v. has just been published.

An examination of the different types of armour also offers the author material for some interesting remarks, not only regarding the armour as a whole, but also the various details, swords with straight blades, daggers, sword-belts, standards, and other details which we find to be identical at Bāmiyān as well as Dukhtar-i-Nōchirwān.

Special attention should be drawn to the author's observations regarding the gradual transformation in the treatment of the cornucopia, the allegorical attributes of which seem to have completely escaped the comprehension of the artists of mixed descent who were commissioned to decorate the grottos of Qumtura, near Qyzil. It should be added, however, that the cornucopia is sometimes represented with a good deal of accuracy: this is the case in a late work of the fourth century A.D., from the Greco-Buddhist workshops, which was discovered in the ancient Kāpiśa, near the modern Tcharikar in December, 1924: in this case Hārītī, servant of the Buddha, holds a cornucopia which is very accurately represented.

The author traces in the tritons, dolphins, and horse-fish of the Gandhārian repertoire the ancestors of the Chinese dragon (*cp.* the frieze of the bas-relief of Greco-Buddhist origin at Lori-yan-Tangai and the dragon of Bāzāklīk, near Murtug). He compares the theme of yakṣiṇī (Bharhut-Sāncī), of the birth of the Buddha (Greco-Buddhist art), of the female dancer, with a representation of Apollo and Daphne on a Greco-Egyptian textile of the third century (Fig. 154), discovered at Antinoë by Mr. Gayet, which is now exhibited at the Musée Guimet,* and described by Mr. Monneret de Villard. In this particular case the similarity seems to me somewhat faint: the figure represented on the textile of Antinoë is, as the author admits, a late copy of an earlier model, but there is nothing to prove that the original is much earlier than the sculptures of Bharhut and Sāncī (about second century B.C.), representing yakṣiṇī.† After all, the subject is a simple one, that of the figure standing upright with one leg slightly bent, and belongs to the repertoire of all artists without necessarily being linked by any historic unity. However, the specific details of costume and certain characteristic groupings (the Ganymede of Loochar and the abduction of the Nāgi by a *Garuda*) suggest fruitful comparison, and it is important to avoid making attributions based on simple attitudes which are common to all countries and all epochs.

The immense store-house of information at the disposal of the author is well illustrated by the comparative study of an architectural detail which figures at the present time in certain Armenian buildings, and which Sir

* E. Guimet, "Les Portraits d'Antinoë au Musée Guimet," p. 17.

† The legend of the beautiful woman making the aśoka tree blossom by touching it with her foot is purely Indian. *Cp.* J. P. Vogel, "La Belle et l'Arbre Aśoka" in *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient*, IX., pp. 531-532.

‡ Of Sanghao (Swat), according to Grünwedel ("Buddhistische Kunst," p. 103, "Mythologie," p. 27, fig. 19); from the region of Kābul, according to Professor von Le Coq.

Aurel Stein has rediscovered at the residence of a local chief at Miragram, near Mastūj, to the north of Chitral.

This kind of ceiling, with coving, has been reproduced or copied in most of the places visited by the various scientific expeditions which have worked in Central Asia. Professor Paul Pelliot has found it at Touen-houang (Figs. 234, 243, 244); Mr. A. Foucher has noted it in his "Greco-Buddhistic Art of Gandhāra" (temple of Pandrenthan in Kashmir, ninth century A.D.), Fig. 233. It is stated that this architectural detail of construction is Indian in origin, and passed to Central Asia, China, and Corea* at the same time as the spread of Buddhism. Analogous arrangement can be traced at Bāmiyān, thanks to the descriptions of W. Moorcroft and Captain Talbot.† The beautiful photographs brought back by Mr. André Godard from his successful mission in Afghanistan enable the scholar to complete very effectively the information contained in the "Bilderatlas."

This short notice only gives a vague idea of the wealth of information contained in this book. It contains, besides the descriptions of the discoveries of Professor von Le Coq, a whole series of comparisons and theories which serve greatly to enlarge the field of our studies.

JAHREBUCH DER ASIATISCHEN KUNST. 1925. (Leipsic: Klinkhardt und Biermann.)

(Reviewed by E. B. HAVELL.)

The second issue of this Annual Review of Asiatic Art, edited by Professor Georg Biermann, in two quarto volumes, with nearly 200 full-page plates, is one of the many signs of the widespread interest in Oriental studies which exists in Germany. The first part deals with the Far East, India, and Central Asia; the second contains a series of essays, chiefly on Islamic art in the Near East and in Central Asia, contributed by a number of scholars and connoisseurs in celebration of Dr. Friedrich Sarre's sixtieth birthday.

Three of the most important articles in Part I. deal with the Chinese and Japanese Collections in Berlin Museums. In the subject-matter presented the Editor has not succeeded in giving India her due place in the scheme of Asiatic art, though the article on Professor W. Rothenstein's Collection of Indian Miniatures, by Hermann Goetz, which represents the Indian Section of the Review, does credit to the writer's scholarship and artistic judgment. Dr. Goetz would, however, have done himself more justice, and have shown a better sense of proportion, if he had chosen a more important collection as his theme, for few of the illustrations bear comparison with the works of Japanese and Chinese masters given in the same section of the Review.

In fact, the study of Indian miniature painting on the whole, if it is taken as representing India's chief contribution to art, as might be supposed

* "Tombes de Whasanghi en Corée, dans Chosen Kofu kekigwastu," Plates 65, 86, 105.

† *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1886, pp. 323, 399.

from the amount of attention devoted to it in recent years, is hardly likely to lead much further than to add one more subject to the connoisseur's hobbies and another department to the art dealer's business. The comprehensive study of living Indian traditions, in painting and in every other branch of art, would increase the desire to foster the real artistic spirit which exists in India, and help to put on a safer footing the analysis of Indian artistic ideals to which so much effort is now being devoted.

ANCIENT INDIA, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE GUPTAS, WITH NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE OF THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD. By K. de B. Codrington; with a prefatory essay on Indian Sculpture by William Rothenstein. (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd.) 1926. 76 collotype plates. Price £6 6s.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS.)

In England the study of Indian art has been much stimulated by the publications of the India Society, and their pioneer work has greatly influenced research in Oriental art. This is obvious from the undertaking of Mr. Codrington and Professor William Rothenstein in bringing out the volume under review, which forms the first of three volumes designed to cover the whole period of Indian art and architecture.

The present volume deals with architecture and sculpture from the earliest times down to the Gupta period, and the series when completed will fitly justify its claim to be an encyclopædia of Indian art. Professor Rothenstein contributes a masterly introduction to this volume. He rightly observes that, in spite of the advance of archæological learning, appreciation of the æsthetic side of Indian art has been lacking. At the same time he pays a high tribute to the work done by scholars in the field of artistic research during the last century. His argument concerning Buddhistic sculpture and its genesis is marked by sound reasoning. Indian art influenced Chinese art to a certain degree, and Professor Rothenstein writes: "It is more probable that the Indian paintings or carvings which reached other Far-Eastern countries were eagerly welcomed and studied, enjoying the same kind of prestige as was held by classical art among Italians of the Renaissance." He strikes, too, the keynote of the influence of Indian art when he says: "In the eyes of the Buddhist outside India, India was the Holy Land; any work brought from its sacred soil would be treasured as a relic." We agree with his opinion that the animal forms reveal the spiritual discernment of the artists and poets, and this influence permeates the classical literature of India. Professor Rothenstein has vindicated many points which have been wrongly interpreted by certain critics, and even by Indians themselves.

In tracing the gradual growth of Indian art, Mr. Codrington puts under contribution European and Indian authorities, and this is illustrated by numerous collotype plates from photographs not hitherto published. He gives a general survey of the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and pre-Aryan culture, showing how the various discoveries made in modern times successively throw light on the artistic remains of those ages. Archæo-

logical or other evidence regarding the extent of Persian rule in India is non-existent, and therefore Mr. Codrington has not been able to illuminate the question of the influence of Persian art in India, nor does he lay much emphasis on the fact of Greek influence. The Mauryan art shown in polishing large surfaces of sandstone and granite is certainly striking; and other existing monuments of that period consist of caves and columns, inscribed or otherwise. The style of Bharhut-Sanchi-Amaravati is compared with some of the cave-temples of Western India. The rock-hewn stupas at Bhaja resemble in certain details the stupa in the Chaitya cave. Mr. Codrington considers that "the paintings of the Ajanta caves are interesting." Surely they are more than that. The author, it is to be noted, cites Vincent Smith and Burgess, but makes no reference to the works of Lady Herringham or Mr. Mukul Day. In describing the four early Chaitya caves he deals only with technique; in the later caves great changes in construction occurred.

Sir John Marshall's opinion, that the "vitality and inspiration of early Indian art was drawn from the West," is challenged by Mr. Codrington, who says: "The motives and subject of the Bharhut sculptures are purely Indian, excepting those few motives which must rather be classed as 'Oriental,' having their parallels in the arts of Assyria and Egypt. The treatment, too, is increasingly individual and distinctive." Great progress in architectural as well as sculptural design was evident in the Sanchi gateways, in comparison with Bharhut; and the sculptures of Amaravati differ in design from the former. The author has failed to express any satisfactory conclusion as to the Gandhara sculpture. The discoveries of jewellery and coins at Taxila show a certain Hellenistic influence, and the monastery there contains groups of stucco figures which illustrate the lay-worshippers of that time. Architecture and sculpture attained their greatest perfection during the Gupta period, and the author unfolds many new points concerning these, which other writers have casually passed over.

The chronologically arranged plates are a valuable commentary on the text. Details of these plates are so minutely produced that they give distinction to the volume—a credit mainly due to the well-known publisher. Materials for the complete history of ancient India have yet to be discovered, but Mr. Codrington's contribution is a liberal aid in this direction. In the succeeding volume, we trust that Indian art and sculpture during the mediæval period will be treated at length, for during that time they assumed entirely different characteristics. The volume is a costly one and not within the reach of many private pockets, but as it is an indispensable work on Indian sculpture and architecture, the University and public libraries of India should certainly subscribe for it.

THE CHARM OF INDIAN ART. By W. E. Gladstone Solomon. (*T. Fisher Unwin.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Solomon is the Principal of the Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay, and Curator of the Art Section of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay: he is the author of a booklet on "The Bombay Revival of Indian Art" and

of "Jottings at Ajanta." In his present volume he brings together four "slight essays," as he calls them, on the Women of the Ajanta Cave-temples; the Worshippers of Beauty, a study of the Pâthâre Prabhu Caste; Sanchi and the Indian View-point in Art; the Indian Art Student, as the interpreter, as the humorist, and as the superhuman realist. To these he has prefixed a pleasant introduction and added an appendix of most useful notes on the festivals mentioned.

In the first two of these essays he sets forth, most interestingly, the Indian ideal of womanhood. He says that "in her triple artistic aspect, as the subject, the inspirer, and the artist, woman is still revered in India." He selects as the subject of his main study the artistry of women in Hindu family religious festivals and observances among the small Sivite community of Prabhus in Bombay. Women are the votaries of religion, a religion which has little to distinguish it from art itself. He describes in detail their designing and making of the rāngolis, or coloured sand pictures, and wall-drawings and paintings and panels for family worship; for the Vat-Savitri or the worship of the banyan tree; for the Nāg-Panchami or cobra worship; for the Mother's Day or Pithori holiday; for the Gauri puja or worship of Parvati, and for other festivals. On these and on his other topics Mr. Solomon writes from his personal experience, and after considerable research; evidently also with sympathy for the underlying religious spirit and symbolism of Indian art, and with poetic and artistic enthusiasm. The title of his book is perhaps unduly wide and may mislead; but though his selection of subjects seems to be rather limited, they are typical and suggestive, and his essays will no doubt, as he intends, serve to stimulate the reader's interest in further and wider study of the art of India. For those persons who are lovers of India, whether artists or not, the book makes pleasant and inspiring reading. Of the eleven main illustrations, some are by Indian artists, and two are by the author; but we cannot say we feel them to be adequate.

W. F. W.

DIE BUDDHISTISCHE SPÄTANTIKE IN MITTELASIEN. By A. von Le Coq. Vols. I. to III. Folio. (Berlin: *Dietrich Reimer.*)

This is a stupendous publication, on account of the attempt made within in the text to prove the connection between the art of Persia and North-West India and that of Buddhist China, as well as by the most beautiful reproduction of the works of art here depicted. It should be stated at the outset that never have we seen more beautiful plates except perhaps in the same author's "Chotscho," which is now out of print and well-nigh unobtainable. Professor von Le Coq deserves the highest praise for the difficult removal of the objects and for the careful and, if we judge rightly, almost loving supervision of the typography which the printer has done so well.

Several expeditions have been undertaken to Chinese Central Asia, by the late E. Chavannes, Sir A. Stein, P. Pelliot, and, not the least of them, by A. von Le Coq. We go as far as to state that, in our belief, when the description of this particular work and the further results of the expeditions undertaken between 1904 and 1914 have been com-

pleted, we shall obtain from these publications more light and in the most artistic form conceivable the greatest insight into the early art and civilization of Chinese Central Asia. Later generations, who will build upon the discoveries and researches and will thereby have a better knowledge than we can possibly possess at such an early stage, will look up to Professor von Le Coq, the printer, and the publisher with graceful acknowledgment.

The first volume is devoted to Plastic Art which belongs to the sixth to the eighth centuries A.D. The plates clearly demonstrate their relationship to the better-known Gandhara sculptures.

The second volume deals with the Manichæan Miniatures which were discovered. These miniatures are undoubtedly the forerunners of Mongolian and Indian pictorial art, although the author has not yet come to definite conclusions.

The third volume contains remnants of Wall Paintings which bear testimony of a very high civilization.

It is unnecessary to add that this work should not be studied merely by students of the Far and Middle East, but it should give pleasure and noble ideas to the lover of art in general. May these lines contribute to a wide sale in this country, as probably these volumes will soon be out of print and inaccessible except in museums.

FAR EAST.

SIBERIAN AND OTHER FOLK-TALES. By C. Fillingham Coxwell. (*The C. W. Daniel Company.*) 42s. net.

(Reviewed by N. M. PENZER, F.R.G.S.)

This large volume of Russian and Siberian folk-tales must be heralded with our unreserved applause and congratulation. It fills a long-felt want in the particular fields of enquiry to which it is confined—although those fields be so extensive that Europe would be lost in them! This work is not merely an interesting collection of stories that in many instances will remind us of similar stories we have read in Grimm and in the collections of Andrew Lang; it is one of the most important working tools for the student of comparative religion and folklore that has appeared for years—and as far as its own area is concerned it is unique. Its value lies primarily in the fact that it is a comprehensive work. In order to appreciate this fully it is necessary to see exactly the area covered, the differences of latitude and longitude encountered, and the position of the adjoining Asiatic countries with a view to facilitating the problem of story migration. The area stretches from Behring Strait and the mouth of the Amur on the east, to Finland and the shores of the Black Sea on the west. In latitude it stretches from about 75° N. to 40° N.—from polar to tropical conditions. The value, then, of collecting and classifying the unwritten religious beliefs, superstitions, and customs of all the peoples inhabiting this vast area by means of their folk-tales cannot be overestimated. It is obvious that in accomplishing the great task which Mr. Coxwell set himself, he could not rely merely on information picked

up during his personal visits to the homes of the Kalmucks, Kirghiz, Tatars, Georgians, Lapps, Finns and Lithuanians. He has, therefore, translated the cream of the extensive great collections of Russian authors such as Afanasief, Erlenwein, Khudyakov, Volper and Sadovnikov. Other translations are made from the German, and in cases where I have been able to compare translations with the originals, they are good. I may quote as an instance the Kalmuck stories translated from Jülg's *Mongolische Märchen*. It is a relief after having to put up with the incorrect and embellished "translations" of Miss Busk in her *Sagas from the Far East*, to find a reliable translation. [I may note that Coxwell does not seem to have realized that Miss Busk was the author of the above work.] A word must be said about the treatment of materials collected. The author, after printing the translations, gives short notes on every story. These are of distinct value, although very far from, in any way, being exhaustive. For instance, no mention is made of that wonderful work of Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen z. d. Kinder—u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*. With regard to the part played by the Mongols in the transmigrations of stories to Western Europe, Coxwell should not have overlooked the article by Cosquin—"Les Mongols et leur Prétendu Rôle dans la transmission des Contes . . .", *Études Folkloriques*, pp. 497-612.

Before closing this short review mention must be made of the format of the book itself, its map, index, etc. None of these really do the book justice. Such an important book of reference as this undoubtedly is should not be bound in a light-grey silk cloth with a white label. It is, moreover, a very bulky volume, and would have been much more handy in two volumes, strongly bound in dark cloth or buckram. The index is decidedly good, including as it does the names of all the chief authors mentioned and many useful cross-references. The only fault to find is that the index is not big enough for a work of over 1,000 pages. The bibliography is also good, but here again perfection is not reached. The names of the works should be given in their original language in addition to the translated titles. This omission will cause a lot of trouble in finding the works in library catalogues, particularly for the student who knows nothing of German or Russian. Mr. Coxwell has vastly underestimated the value of maps. He has been content to give a very rough sketch-map of the area under treatment. There is not a line of latitude or longitude shown, and some of the names (such as Sakhalin) are practically illegible. In such an important work as this, we should have liked to have seen both a racial and a political map, if the two could not have been clearly amalgamated. The scale should also be indicated. Thus a much better idea of trading routes, chief towns, distances, and the probable lines of story migration would be conveyed. We do not, however, wish to conclude on a querulous note. We would merely draw attention to these points which, alas! have so often been underrated or entirely overlooked by students of research, the absence of which is often the despair of subsequent authors, and as often as not condemns a work to the limbo of forgotten things. Such a fate would never overtake Mr. Coxwell's work. It will always remain an example of patient and scholarly research,

valuable alike to the student of comparative folklore, religion, history and sociology.

FICTION

"BUT IN OUR LIVES." By Sir Francis Younghusband. (*John Murray.*)
7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by MISS VERONIQUE RICE.)

Though its subsidiary title is "A Romance of the Indian Frontier," Sir Francis Younghusband's book cannot in any true sense be called a romance, and has in fact few of the elements of an ordinary novel. It is the expression and illustration of an ideal: "that we show forth Thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives; by giving up ourselves to Thy service."

The central idea is the biography, written by a friend and comrade, of a young man, Evan Lee, whose life was permeated by a sincere and very conscious religion, and who makes his military career a fulfilment of this ideal. He is brought up very strictly in a family whose principles are almost puritanical, and, after passing in the ordinary way through public school and Sandhurst, joins his regiment in India where he throws himself wholeheartedly into his profession and is not a little shocked by the frivolity and apparent want of serious enthusiasm amongst his brother officers.

The death of his mother and an unhappy ending to his only love-affair leave him for a time almost broken-hearted, but his sorrow leads eventually to the deepening of his religious tendencies and ideals. And friendship with men and a woman who are spiritually sympathetic with him still further strengthen them.

While he has no inclination for shooting, or indeed for any other sport, Evan loves nothing better than to get into the jungle or amongst the mountains, and there watch the animals in their native haunts. The descriptions of these expeditions are amongst the most attractive pages in the novel. Readers of the author's former descriptive work will not be disappointed.

Lee is eventually sent on a political mission to a small frontier state which the author calls "Chitas." The sympathy and tact which he shows in his work amongst the Chitasis is of particular interest, embodying as it does the best spirit of British Frontier policy, and revealing the author's own shrewd knowledge of the more primitive Indian tribes.

Evan would, in himself, be a more attractive personality if his creator had allowed him a larger share of that sense of humour of which we get faint gleams towards the end of his career. He does not escape, moreover, the self-consciousness inherent in his type of character. But there breathes throughout his life, from his school-days to his soldier's death in Chitas, the unyielding selfless spirit of our greatest Empire-makers—the spirit which does uncomplaining whatever it is given to do, and does it with all its might.

FRENCH BOOKS

MORCEAUX CHOISIS: FEUILLES DE SAINTS. Par Paul Claudel. (*Editions de la Nouvelle Revue Française.*) 9 frs.

(Reviewed by MISS VERONIQUE RICE.)

If to reach the distinction of publishing a "Collected Works" places an author, as it undoubtedly does, in a category where his success cannot be questioned, to achieve the popularity which justifies a volume of "Selections" is an almost more covetable honour. Yet such volumes might be said to do an author injury rather than increase his fame. At any rate, the reading of them should be confined to those who are already familiar with his work in its complete state.

Every true work of art is conceived and executed as a coherent whole, and the greater the artist the more surely is the beauty and significance of his work obscured by breaking it up into small pieces. A volume of "Morceaux Choisis" is, therefore, one of the most unfortunate introductions an English reader could have to a French author's work. The peculiar qualities of M. Claudel's thought and method make it doubly so.

His work is pervaded with a mysticism which one is tempted to attribute to his intimate knowledge and love of the East, and he leads his reader through winding corridors and puzzling mazes of thought to a conclusion, apparently always perfectly clear to him, but entirely obscure to those who follow. One reaches daylight suddenly, as it were, and breathes a sigh of relief that one did not hopelessly lose the way. It will be clear, therefore, that unconnected extracts—isolated scenes from plays, decapitated passages from essays—are calculated to leave the reader groping and bewildered.

Apart from a complicated and elaborate style, the author has another quality which makes him obscure to the English reader: a method of thought by which the objective and the subjective are merged together, and in which an image is so closely associated with the meaning it conveys that the two appear to be the same thing. This is particularly noticeable in his "Regard sur l'Ame Japonaise," a fairly long extract from which is given in the "Morceaux Choisis." In this sympathetic essay M. Claudel's manner and temperament are particularly illuminating; and in his dealing with the Japanese reverence for the mystery of life in every butterfly or falling leaf or fading flower, which makes it not merely a symbol of the ultimate mystery, but a part of that mystery itself, the reader may find an unconscious commentary on the author's own work. This recognition of spiritual significance in things, a significance which so fills and transcends the thing itself that it completely spiritualizes it—as in looking full at a bright lamp one sees only the light it contains—colours all M. Claudel's philosophy.

Those who cannot sympathize with this attitude of mind will find his essay on the "Développement de l'Église" both irritating and difficult to follow. It is a study of the spiritual influences in the development of church architecture from pagan times to the present day. Instinct with the strong and severely orthodox religious feeling which pervades all the

author's work, and especially his verse, it is rich with poetic, and sometimes even fantastic, imagery.

"Feuilles de Saints," generous extracts from which are given in the "Morceaux Choisis," contains short poems on a score or so of saints from the Catholic Calendar, but also includes verse on other subjects, among which are "Paul Verlaine" and "Dante," poems remarkable more for originality of presentation than for profundity of thought or poetic feeling. Indeed, to the English reader M. Claudel's imaginative genius seems to find greater freedom in prose than in verse, and he allows himself no verbal music to make his effect. Frequently the lines in one poem vary from the length of a prose paragraph to half a dozen words, and there is often not the slightest attempt at scansion of any kind. It reminds one of the monotonous beat of a tom-tom. It is, however, a deliberate effect, the outcome of M. Claudel's unconvincing theory of versification, which he describes, rather than discusses, in his "Réflexions sur le Vers Français."

It is in his interpretation of the spirit of the Far East that the author stands alone. His travels in China and Japan, and his recent post as Ambassador to the latter country, have given him unique opportunities for studying national temperaments, with which he had a complete sympathy. The love and respect which he has won amongst the Japanese are as great as his literary reputation in France, and there can be little doubt which M. Claudel would regard as the more desirable reward for his work.

ILES DE PARADIS: CEYLON, JAVA, TAHITI. By Robert Chauvelot.
(Paris: Berger-Levrault.) 25 frs.

(Reviewed by MRS. WESTBROOK.)

This is a volume of travel pictures of these three countries—with a few extra islands thrown in—by a French author who has several times visited the East, and has already written books on his wanderings: "L'Inde Mystérieuse" and "Japon Souriant." He enjoys passing from land to land, and has an observant eye and a gay and philosophic humour. He finds old friends and makes new ones; and wherever he goes he is prepared to find beauty, and to be interested—not feverishly or unduly—in history and tradition and folklore. He does not deplore overmuch the passing of the Old World and the coming of the West to the East. His Ceylonese friends have studied in Western Universities, and are proficient in the arts and sports of the West, and he likes them none the worse, or perhaps all the better, for that. He loves Ceylon so much that he even smells its spicy breezes when the ship that brings him eastward is three hours' sail from Colombo. He is full of praises for its loveliness. He calls it a jewel of coral and emerald—its red laterite roads, its green fields and woods in their setting of sapphire or turquoise sea; and he chants its cocoanut forests, its flowery bungalows smiling in their gardens of violet bougainvillæas and scarlet hibiscus, its mango groves, its flamboyant trees, that flaunt like oriflammes. He visits Galle, the oldest trading port in the world—the Tarshish of old Jewish times—whence came the ivory,

apes, and peacocks of the legend, now quiet, and reminiscent of early Dutch days, with its deserted ramparts and gates of the ancient citadel. Kandy, too, he sees, with its Temple of the Sacred Tooth-relic, and its fine houses of the Ceylon aristocrats embowered in their shady gardens round the beautiful lake in the centre of the town; and at the Gardens of Peradeniya, with its rivers and palm avenues, he finds the earthly paradise of flowers and trees. One chapter tells of the dead cities in the jungle—Anuradhapura, whose great day under King Dutugemunu was two thousand years ago, and Polonnaruwa of a thousand years ago, each with their remains of palaces and monasteries and temples, and with their enormous dagobas, those solid man-made hills marking the shrine of a relic of the Buddha or of one of his saintly companions. He leaves Ceylon the Fragrant with regret, and goes on to Java the Enchantress, after nearly missing the Dutch steamer, which was carrying mails from Holland, and had permission to be a day in advance of its scheduled time if it pleased. He finds in Batavia much that reminds him of Amsterdam—the houses grouped around the canals, the flat surrounding country. But here the sea is receding, and the land around the town is composed, not of artificial, but of natural, polders. He leaves the flat, unhealthy coast with pleasure to visit Buitenzorg, the hill-station, where resides the Dutch Viceroy, in an alpine situation cooled by fresh breezes in the heart of the most luxuriant tropical botanic garden that one could imagine. He speaks of the wood of orchids, and refers us to a "Roman d'Amour à Java," which he has already published; it would be interesting to know how one makes love in an orchid forest. He gives a delightful picture of riding out in the fresh dawn through the virgin forests on the mountainside, and of his thrilling visits to the craters of active volcanoes; and, above all, he describes how nice it is to be a journalist, for all the world loves publicity, and he gets more consideration and favours and honours than an ambassador, while escaping all the harassing solemnity of an official visit. How good the hotel-keepers were to him! He gives an interesting account of Javanese music, instruments, and singers, and of the graceful art of the dance which is practised both for the amusement of princes and for the enjoyment of peasants; also of the theatre and of the marionette shadow-show. Although the Javanese are mostly Muslims, their literature and drama are founded on that of the Hindus. Buddhism has almost completely disappeared from the land, but its chief architectural glory is the Temple of Borobudur, with its two hundred statues of the Buddha and its fourteen hundred bas-reliefs of Buddhist legends. He describes this wonder of the world with enthusiasm, and tells also of the famous Hindu temples at Prambanan.

Over Tahiti the Delicious M. Chauvelot becomes lyrical. He calls it the Terrestrial Eden of *far niente* and of love, where the least effort seems useless, since the sky is always blue, the sea always full of fish, the trees always covered with fruit. Tahiti, crowned with flowers; Tahiti, intoxicated with song; Tahiti, third isle of Paradise! He makes friends with a prince, who gives him a banquet one evening in the palace at Aroué, looking out on the foaming waves of the Pacific breaking on the

reefs of coral. It was a fine banquet, and sucking-pig, baked in banana-leaves with potatoes and green bananas, was the *pièce de résistance*. He gives us the rest of the menu—flying-fish eaten raw with citrons and onions is another interesting dish; and he tells us how the sucking-pig was pronounced sublime, ineffable, exquisite, divine. Then the moon came up, and to the music of an orchestra, composed of an accordion and a drum made of a petrol tin, lithe brown men and girls danced in the silver light. He did not, however, spend all his time in social joys, though he attended the marriage of the vanilla-trees, which is a great festival. He went to inspect and writes in an informative fashion of the phosphate industry; and he took part in a great hunt of the giant tree-climbing crabs of Makatea, which when chased can shin up a coconut palm and drop the nuts on the pursuer's head. He saw many islands and made many acquaintances, and was quite sad when the Union Line steamer took him off to California, and the little white handkerchiefs waved him adieu from the enchanted Tahitian shore. There are many photographs of much interest, though rather small, and the whole book is lively and entertaining.

CUVIER ET LA SCIENCE DE LA NATURE. By Louis Roule. (Paris: *Ernest Flammarion*.) 9 frs.

Monsieur L. Roule has brought before us in a well-planned and erudite volume the great anatomist, zoologist, and educationalist, Georges Cuvier, born in 1769 at Montbéliard, in the Franche Comté. The first part of his book is chiefly biographical, recording the childhood and early maturity of this famous man, laying stress on his extraordinary memory and his capacity for work, qualities which were to determine the great success he subsequently achieved in his comparatively short life, for he died when only sixty-three years of age. It is interesting to quote Cuvier himself, when speaking of his early youth and referring to his mother, for, as in the case of Goethe and other great men also, his mother seems to have played a great part in the education of her son: "Ma mère avait beaucoup d'esprit et de sensibilité. Sa fortune et celle de mon père s'était petit à petit réduites à peu près de rien; elle vivait fort retirée et ne s'occupait que de mon instruction. Bien qu'elle ne sût pas le latin, elle prenait la peine de me faire réciter mes leçons, et de cette manière j'étais presque toujours le meilleur écolier de ma classe. Elle me rendit un service encore plus grand en me faisant souvent dessiner sous ses yeux et en me faisant lire beaucoup de livres d'histoire et de littérature. Je pris ainsi une passion pour la lecture et une curiosité de toutes choses qui ont fait le ressort principal de ma vie." All his life Cuvier was given with great predilection to drawing, and it was this talent which gave him great advantages in his subsequent career. As M. L. Roule points out, it was astonishing that this extraordinary man was able to fill so many public functions, besides producing at the same time works like his "*Histoires des Sciences Naturels*," "*Le Règne Animal*," "*Les Recherches sur les Ossements Fossiles*," etc. His success as a professor made him in 1802 a general inspector of public instruction. In this quality he travelled to

Bordeaux, Nice, and finally to Marseilles, where he made a long stay, undertaking anatomical researches on fishes and molluscs. His prodigious activity afforded him time even for confidential missions. The Emperor Napoleon, recognizing his unusual capacities, sent him to Rome to organize the University in 1813, and asked him to establish the list of the books which were to form his son's bibliothèque. In the same year his administrative talents caused him to be nominated Councillor of State.

The second part of M. L. Roule's book is devoted chiefly to Cuvier's works. In his "*Histoires des Sciences Naturels*," from their origin down to our days, we find that he read and meditated on the works of renowned physicians, chemists, and philosophers, not only of Europe, but also of Asia. He revived the writings of the wise men of Egypt and those of Greece, and applied the essential facts of their researches to his own. In the first volume of his "*Histoires des Sciences Naturels*," from their origin to our days, he revives Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. In the second he treats on the achievements of the Renaissance in science in the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries. The three last volumes were published posthumously from his notes by his pupils and successors. As Buffon, his predecessor, wrote of Pliny, Cuvier possessed "*cette faculté de penser en grand qui multiplie la science*."

It is to the credit of his time that Cuvier's merits were recognized and highly cherished. He was created a Peer of France under Louis Philip. His obsequies were observed with great pomp at Père Lachaise, a monument was erected to him at Montbéliard, and his name is mentioned and referred to in numerous books and documents. The third part of M. Roule's highly meritorious book treats of the various phases of the Creation as Cuvier had explained them, and which in their concise way will greatly attract the naturalists and scientists of the present day.

L. M. R.

SHORTER NOTICES.

A LITERARY HISTORY OF PERSIA. Vol. I. By Professor C. G. Browne. (*Fisher Unwin*.) 12s. 6d. net.

The above is the fourth impression of the late Professor Browne's great work on the literary history of Persia, and extends from the earliest times until A.D. 1000. The publishers deserve credit for bringing it out at a price which makes it more accessible to the general reader. The author was for some years also a contributor to the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

TRAVELS IN INDIA. By Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. (*Oxford University Press*.) Two vols. 18s. net.

This traveller was born in Paris in the year 1605, and he undertook his sixth voyage to the East in 1663. He amassed a considerable fortune, largely in precious stones, and wrote in the years 1675-1676 his two great books—"Nouvelle Relation du Serrail du Grand Signior" and "Six Voyages." After suffering a relapse in his fortunes, due, it was said,

partly to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, as an octogenarian he set out once more to retrieve his fortune, and died, probably near Moscow. The present is the second issue of Dr. Valentine Ball's translation first published in 1889, and has been edited by Mr. William Crooke, C.I.E. Tavernier's description of India at the time of the Moghul Empire contains much that is of interest to the archæologist and historian, but he is not concerned with social conditions or the system of taxation.

TIBETAN TALES DERIVED FROM INDIAN SOURCES. Translated from the Tibetan by F. A. von Schieffner; into English, W. R. S. Ralston. (*Kegan Paul*.) 12s. 6d.

Welcome reprint of the same work published in the well-known Trübner Oriental Series. It is now included in the Broadway Series.

THE ETHICS OF BUDDHISM. By S. Tachibana. (*Clarendon Press*.) 15s. net.

Among the many books that have been published on Buddhism lately it is gratifying to find one that devotes itself to the ethical side. The author is Professor of Pali in Tokio University. He shows that the ethics of Pali Buddhism, with which the book is entirely concerned, is deduced from the doctrine of Karma. The representation of the ethics is equivalent to an interpretation of Buddhism in general. The work bears testimony to the thoroughness of Japanese scholarship. References are given to the Buddhist scriptures. A select bibliography is added, and a great advantage of the work is a complete index, which is unfortunately an unusual feature in books dealing with this subject.

TRAVEL AND TRAVELLERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Edited by A. P. Newton. (*Kegan Paul*.) 12s. 6d.

This volume forms part of the series entitled the "History of Civilization," edited by C. K. Ogden. It is a pleasure to note that this series is making such rapid progress. The book is for the greater part a collection of lectures given by various scholars in King's College. One chapter which is of special interest is that dealing with the Arab travellers (A.D. 1000-1500), by Sir Thomas Arnold. Our knowledge of them has so far been very limited. Another important article is by E. B. Power on the opening of the land routes to Cathay. In spite of the valuable references given we miss those by Bretschneider and Hirth. Another substantial contribution is by Sir Denison Ross on Prester John and the Empire of Ethiopia.

THE SACRED 5 OF CHINA. By W. E. Geil. (*John Murray*.) 24s. net.

In Mayers's Chinese Readers Manual we read in brief of the significance of numbers, and in the book here before us Mr. Geil, a well-known traveller, who has devoted considerable time to the Great Wall of China, deals particularly with the magic of 5. There are five planets, there are five tints of nature, there are five elements, etc. In the first part the author, who died on one of his journeys after he had completed the book and made arrangements with his publisher, deals with the sacred mountain

Tai Shan in five subdivisions. There follows Nan Yo (the red peak of the south) again in five subdivisions, and so throughout the book.

MONEY AND THE MONEY MARKET IN INDIA. By P. A. Wadia and G. N. Joshi. (*Macmillan*.) One guinea.

These authors are already known to the public for their work on "The Wealth of India," etc. There are now many books on Indian economics, but few of the high standard set by the present volume. There are chapters on currency, gold standard as well as paper, various exchange and joint stock banks, P.O. Savings Banks, insurance companies, indigenous banking.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH CHINA? By R. Gilbert. (*John Murray*.) 10s. 6d. net.

The author does not criticize the Chinese adversely, but insists that their good qualities should not be accentuated. It is in the main a psychological study, which shows the Republic to be almost a burlesque.

THE CHRONICLES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TRADING WITH CHINA (1635-1834). By H. B. Morse. Four vols. (*Clarendon Press*.) £3 10s.

The compiler of these volumes first became known through his works on the "Trade and Administration of China" and "International Relations of the Chinese Empire," books greatly appreciated and valued by students of political economy and commercial relations with the Far East. As there are few references to other works in this volume, we may conclude that it is largely pioneer research. For his purpose the author had access to the records of the India Office Library. It is not generally known that the English trade between Canton, the first port patronized by the British, and London was preserved as a strict monopoly for the benefit of the East India Company. The economic side of the trade has been kept in the forefront for the purpose of making the work one of valuable reference to students of commercial relations between England and the Far East.

MONGOLIAN GRAMMAR. By A. N. J. Whyment. (*Kegan Paul*.) 7s. 6d. net.

This is the first Mongolian grammar published in English. There are a number of very comprehensive grammars published in Russian, German, and French. On this account an exhaustive grammar would have been not so urgent as a more elementary one.

The book deals entirely with Khal Kha dialect, and to the beginner the grammar will be of great assistance, although on account of the typographical difficulties no Mongolian type has been used except in one plate, which is taken from the well-known grammar by Schmidt, now unobtainable. A vocabulary in five languages has been added (English, Mongolian, Russian, Chinese, and Japanese), and this again is of course only for beginners.

THE INDIAN COLLEGE, MONTPELLIER

A CIRCULAR signed by G. G. Advani, B.COM., D.LITT.; V. J. Shivdasani, B.COM., D.LITT.; P. R. Bharucha, B.A. (Bombay and Oxford); J. F. Bulsara, M.A. (Bombay); and Dr. Patrick Geddes has been received, which runs as follows:

Montpellier has the one adequately equipped University within the sunny Mediterranean climate, which has long been widely attractive to students of all nations, on account of the eminence of its departments, as of Science and Medicine, Letters and Law, Philosophy, Education, Agriculture, etc. It also provides excellent, rapid, and thorough courses of preparation and training in the French language for foreign students. It is situated between the sea and the neighbouring hill country and mountains, and is in the midst of cities of varied historic interest, presenting monuments and survivals of well-nigh all phases of European development, from its earliest times onwards. It is thus one of the most interesting and instructive of centres for students of natural science and of social and economic studies also; and for their excursions and tours, alike during terms and vacations.

The organization of a group of Halls of Residence for the students of many nationalities here represented—Oriental, European, and American alike—has been actively undertaken during the past two years by Professor Patrick Geddes. His long experience in University planning, and in provision of such hostels in Edinburgh, London, etc., and also for various Universities in India, has already enabled him to set considerable beginnings in operation. His initial foundation, the Scots College, is at present serving as startpoint for others. Thus five senior students from India (all so far from Bombay) have been in residence during the past winter and summer term; and of these two have already now taken their degree as D.Litt. (with honours), and the other three also hope shortly to do so. Hence the Indian College is now practically begun; and steps are being taken towards the erection for it of a suitable independent building within the extensive college gardens, which are situated on the northward slope of the beautiful heath north of the city, and overlooking it, with the sea beyond.

The above-mentioned Initiative Committee of the Indian College for Montpellier, and as now familiar with the University, city, and surrounding region, are desirous of bringing the advantages and interests of these, as among the best of European centres for education and vacation alike, before their Indian friends and countrymen, especially those who are attending northern Universities, or proposing to enter them. They are now able to invite a limited number, not exceeding twenty-five, for such period of residence as may be individually practicable during the coming long vacation, beginning the middle of July next (French and other tuition can be arranged as desired).

They have also arranged for a short vacation tour of three weeks, of which a fortnight would be spent in and around Montpellier. Excursions will be conducted by experienced residents, and in particular by Dr. G. G. Advani. The programme is as follows:

1. Journey from London to Paris; leaving Paris on or about July 20, visiting Toulouse and Carcassone on the way to Montpellier, and arriving there on July 22 or 23.

2. Stay at Collège des Ecosais, Montpellier, for about a fortnight, with excursions arranged almost daily; thus visiting the city, University, and leading places of interest in the surrounding district, and also the principal neighbouring cities with their monuments, etc.

3. Return journey to Paris via Avignon and Lyons.

Further information can be obtained from Dr. G. G. Advani, Collège des Ecosais, Plan des Quatre Seigneurs, Montpellier, France.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1926

THE ASIAN CIRCLE

A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., is President, and its membership include:

Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Sir Richard Dane, K.C.I.E.

Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Sir Harry Lamb, G.B.E., K.C.M.G.

Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.,

D.S.O.

Mr. Stanley Rice.

It is understood that where articles are signed in this section they do not necessarily represent the views of members of the Circle other than the writer.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA AND A POLICY

THE situation in China is very grave. Not since the year 1900, the year of the Boxer Rising, has the outlook been so menacing. For many months one of the chief causes of anxiety has been the possibility that amid the welter of internal discord, and with the complete collapse of the Central Government in Peking, some incident might at any time occur which would involve one or more of the

foreign Powers. In May last year one such incident did occur in Shanghai, and hardly yet has the British position in China recovered from its disastrous effects. More or less connected with it was the Hongkong boycott and the Shameen Bridge collision at Canton, the settlement of which seems as far off as ever. On the top of these troubles, in themselves serious enough, there now follow the tragic events of which we have been reading in the daily papers for the past two or three weeks.

Just before these events occurred a new and somewhat startling phase of the military position had emerged. It is but a short time ago that, by the use of the "pincers" form of strategy, Chang Tso-lin from the north-east and Wu Pei-fu from the south-west had compelled the army of Marshal Feng to evacuate Peking and retire to the borders of Mongolia. Now the tables have been turned. Marshal Feng in the north, in conjunction with Chang Kai-shek in the south, has employed the "pincers" method, but over a much more extended area, against Wu Pei-fu, who, absorbed by his and Chang Tso-lin's efforts to defeat the army of Feng in the north, had left his position in the south exposed. Added to these difficulties there seems to have arisen the embarrassment caused by the arrears of pay to the rank and file of Wu's armies and the uncertain loyalty of his subordinate generals. It is said that the loss of Hanyang was caused by the defection of Liu So-lung, who joined the enemy in attacking his colleague, Chin Yun-ao, who was defending Hanyang, with the result that the city and arsenal fell into the hands of the Reds.

One element in the situation, which was for some days uncertain, was the action which Sun Chuan-fang would take. Sun is Governor of the five provinces of which Kiang-su is the most important. He has for some time maintained an attitude of neutrality, asserting that he would protect his five provinces from external aggression. The advance northwards of Chang Kai-shek brought the

conflict to Sun's very doors, and for some time rumours were conflicting as to whether he would side with Chang or with Wu. It is now stated that he has issued a manifesto unequivocally declaring against Chang. This means that Chang's right flank is dangerously menaced.

It is said, however, and it has doubtless been suspected by many, that the southern army has been greatly strengthened by Bolshevist advice and assistance, and that Feng has been in negotiation with the Moscow authorities to ensure the predominance of "Red rule" throughout China. We very much doubt whether Feng is in any sense a Bolshevist, except it be that he strongly believes in government by small committees, preferably by a committee of one. But Feng belongs to the Kuomintang school of political thought, and is a pronounced Nationalist. It is not in the least likely that, while in Moscow, he would refrain from making such arrangements as might be possible for the achievement of the ends he has in view. If, then, it be true, as seems likely, that Feng and the Canton general are in league, and have the assistance of the Russian Bolshevists in their military movements, the outlook for their opponents is dark indeed, and Sun Chuan-fang's menace may very well turn out to be negligible.

All such speculations, however, are for the moment overshadowed by the occurrences at Wanh sien. According to official information, the facts appear to be these: A small British river-steamer, *Wanliu*, arrived in the neighbourhood of Wanh sien on August 29. While discharging passengers she was boarded by Chinese soldiers and fired upon from the river banks. In the midst of the confusion one of the sampans conveying Chinese soldiers collided with another boat and sank. The soldiers, having seized the comrade and threatened to kill the captain, remained on board the *Wanliu* while she proceeded to Wanh sien. On reaching that place the ship was cleared of the Chinese soldiers by H.M.S. *Cockchafer*, and went on up the river. The next day two other steamers, the

Wantung and *Wanhsien*, were seized by Yang Sen, a general of Wu Pei-fu's army, and at the same time, it seems, the *Cockchafer* was rendered incapable of giving any assistance. Ineffectual efforts were made by the British Consul at Chungking, dealing directly with Yang Sen, and also by the British Minister at Peking to arrive at a provisional amicable settlement.

H.M.S. *Widgeon* and a merchant steamer, *Kiawo*, with a naval detachment, were then sent up from Ichang to effect the release of six British officers who were detained in the two British steamers. The steamers were boarded by the British, and, according to Reuter, the result was the rescue of four of the officers. Of the other two, one swam to a French gunboat near, while the other, attempting to do the same, was hit by a bullet and drowned. Great dash and gallantry were shown by the crews of the *Widgeon* and *Kiawo*, as we might be sure would be the case. The fighting was "muzzle to muzzle," and the British were exposed to machine-gun fire from guns concealed behind the cargo. Three British officers, including Commander Darley, and four men were killed. It was only when lives had thus been sacrificed that the British replied to the Chinese fire, but then it was with deadly effect. It is stated that there were 300 casualties among the Chinese soldiers on the steamer *Wanhsien* alone.

As was to be feared, the trouble is not confined to the immediate vicinity of Wanhhsien. The situation further west—at Chungking and Chengtu, in Szechuan—is critical while in the neighbourhood of Hankow itself British shipping is exposed to rifle and artillery fire from both banks of the river; that is, from the Reds as well as from Wu's forces. It would seem, too, that both American and French, as well as Japanese, ships have been fired on, and two American sailors are reported to have been wounded.

It would be fatuous to suppose that in China there will not be a recrudescence of the anti-British feeling which it has taken so many months of patient, conciliatory efforts

to wear down. In Great Britain, too, and among British subjects in China, it is to be feared that there will be an outburst of impatience, and a demand for drastic action of the kind which would have been adopted half a century ago. It is, of course, obvious that whatever measures are necessary for the protection of British life and property must be taken. It is to be hoped, however, that not only the Government, but all those who have the well-being of both countries at heart, will keep their heads. The action of the British authorities, so far, let it be frankly recognized, has shown that dignity and restraint which we are accustomed to expect from them. The British Admiral, Sir Edwin Alexander-Sinclair, has been endeavouring to get into communication with General Yang Sen, and, according to latest advices, there are indications that some arrangement may be arrived at for the release of the two British steamers still detained at Wanhhsien. But it is obvious that whatever the result of such negotiations, they can only have in view the local situation and the cessation of hostilities.

So far as the immediate present is concerned, it is useless to look for anything more than the protection of British subjects in places where they can be protected, and the withdrawal to such places of those who are in positions of danger and beyond the reach of protection. There is no other policy possible, for the simple reason that there is no authority to which the British Government can address itself. The Government in Peking *non est*. Wu is powerless. The Reds are not yet installed, even if it is assumed that they will succeed in their present campaign.

But while that is true, it is necessary to have a policy ready to be carried into effect so soon as opportunity occurs. The policy of drift is the worst of all policies. What is needed is a definite objective, to be kept steadily in view through whatever vicissitudes may be experienced; and such an objective, needless to say, must be fundamental, dealing with the root causes of the difficulties, and therefore unaffected by those vicissitudes.

It must not be forgotten that the Yangtse tragedy is, after all, incidental to the major tragedy of China's internal chaos. Even if the former be settled, there still remains the latter problem, which, if it remains unsolved, will leave the door open to other and probably greater tragedies elsewhere. For, notwithstanding that for the moment the happenings on the Yangtse overshadow all else by their gravity, the fact remains that their origin lies in the internal situation, and so long as that remains what it is they may be repeated in any part of China. It is manifest, then, that whatever policy may be adopted, a solution of the major evil should be sought, and not merely a settlement of the local trouble as it affects British prestige and British interests.

Before anything like a definite policy can be adopted, however, there must be a true understanding of the underlying causes of the present chaos. These appear to be threefold—military, political, and psychological. What really is the origin of the so-called militarism with which China is now cursed? The answer is not very difficult to discover. When the Chinese Republic was established it was felt necessary to set up an army for the protection of the constitution. We may call it the President's Army. But with a country of such vast extent the army had perforce to be divided into sections, each under its own Commander-in-Chief. This Commander-in-Chief was placed in full control, political as well as military, in the region where his army was located. It is easy to understand how, under such circumstances, any one of these Commanders was in a position to ignore, and even defy, the presidential mandates. The only means by which the President could bring a recalcitrant general to heel was to call upon other generals to compel him, by military force, to obey the central authority. Naturally, such a possibility prompted one and another of these generals, in self-defence, to increase their armies, and the revenues which eventually came under their control enabled them to do this. It was

not long before the spirit of aggression supervened on the instinct of self-defence, and the armies were still more inordinately increased. Hence militarism.

The political factor is the struggle between two political ideals—Local Autonomy and Centralization—more or less subconscious, but to some extent articulate. It is evidenced, for example, in the policies of the respective political parties: the Kuomintang has in the past stood for Provincial Autonomy; the Anfu and Chihli parties for Centralized Government. It is seen in the attitude of prominent militarists individually. Wu Pei-fu has frankly taken his stand on Centralization; his slogan is Unification by Force. The Shansi Governor and Sun Chuan-fang, the Governor of the five provinces of Eastern Central China, are for local independence, and their attitude towards others is "hands off." But these two ideals may be said, with something of truth, to co-exist in every Chinese breast. You will find a passionate resentment at the bare suggestion of a partition of China, and at the same time a not less passionate demand for provincial independence; and so we find that at one time this or that province will declare itself independent, and at another time be fighting for a unified China. The trouble is that the Chinese people themselves have not yet realized that there is this conflict of ideals, and that in their reconciliation alone lies the road to a permanent peaceful solution of the present chaos.

But deeper than either of these two is the newly awakened race-consciousness. This is a fact of overwhelming significance. It changes the whole aspect of Far Eastern affairs as compared with, say, fifty years ago, and makes it futile to suppose that a policy that was effective then would necessarily be so now. To analyze this new psychology would be to go beyond the scope of this article. Let it be confessed that it is still in its crude stage, that it is young and frothy, that it takes distorted views of things. Nevertheless, it is there; its existence is not disputed, and

cannot be ignored. It must be taken into account in any solution of the problem which may be sought. In face of this, apart from any other consideration, all thought of any but an agreed solution of the present crisis, no matter how difficult it may be, must be set aside. Force was the only thing to which the old psychology submitted. The new psychology will do nothing of the kind. It is extremely difficult to convince, however reasonable you are. But it must be convinced, and therefore to reasonableness must be added conciliatoriness, and to conciliatoriness patience, and to patience persistence.

If this is a true diagnosis of the situation, then surely the policy of friendly Powers should be in such a direction as will promote an agreed solution of the internal problem in both its military and political aspects. In the political field what is needed is some sort of guarantee of full autonomy to each province in all purely provincial matters, leaving only the national services to the Central Government. In the military sphere the desideratum is the limitation of armed forces to normal peace figures; that is, to a force of gendarmerie in each province, sufficient to maintain order, and under the control of the civil authority, with a similar force of gendarmerie at the disposal of the Central Government. The two are obviously related, because if provincial autonomy is secured, not even self-defence can be pleaded as a justification for such armies as exist now. The only object they could have would be for the purpose of aggression or subjugation. There is no other purpose for which they can possibly be needed.

These are fairly obvious desiderata. The crucial question of course is: How are they to be realized? It is very much to be deplored that China has been alienated from the League of Nations. There is no people in the world to whom the idea of arbitration so strongly appeals, and it is within the range of possibility that had China retained a seat on the Council she might have been induced to resort to the League for help in the settlement both of her

international and internal difficulties. It is to be hoped that her application for a seat recently made will be acceded to. It is not inconceivable that she herself might express her willingness to accept the friendly offices of the League. In any case, as it seems to us, to endeavour to settle secondary problems such as tariff, extraterritoriality, the Canton and Yangtse incidents, without some effort towards a solution of this major problem, will in all probability be waste effort. For this reason, whether through the good offices of the League or otherwise, our policy should be directed towards securing a conference composed of representatives of the Powers concerned, say those represented at the Washington Conference, and of representatives of, not the Peking Government merely, but of the chief conflicting parties in China, civil as well as military. The aim of such a conference would be threefold:

1. To discover by friendly negotiation a solution of China's internal problems. The presence of the Powers would be not for the purpose of dictating or coercing, but rather to use such friendly offices as were used by Secretary Hughes and Lord Balfour at the Washington Conference in the settlement of the dispute between China and Japan. Those friendly offices would be directed towards the demobilization of the standing armies, and a settlement on an equitable basis of the relation between the Provincial and Central Governments. This was the policy urged by the late Sir John Jordan, and although it has not been carried into effect, and is difficult to carry into effect now, it is still the objective which should be tenaciously adhered to, for the simple reason that until the internal chaos is resolved in some such fashion, all other questions must in the nature of the case remain unsettled, and continue to be open sores leading to worse and worse evils.

2. If the Chinese representatives, with the friendly help and advice of the foreign representatives, succeeded in arriving at an agreed solution of the internal problem, both constitutional and military, the way would be clear, and not

otherwise, for a profitable discussion by the representatives of China and of the Powers conjointly of outstanding international questions, such as tariff and extraterritoriality.

3. With the settlement of the internal and international questions, it would probably be possible through the consortium to arrange for the financial assistance necessary to set China on her feet. The assistance would provide for the funding of the unsecured loans, the demobilization of the standing armies, and for administration. It should be:

(1) In such a form as in no way to interfere with China's sovereignty.

(2) Given not to the Central Government merely, but to each of the provincial governments and the Central Government in equitable proportions.

(3) Not one large loan, but, as far as possible, annual loans covering a term of years.

(4) Given to each government year by year conditionally upon the loyal observance by that government of the agreement arrived at by the Chinese representatives at the conference with regard to the internal problems.

Such in substance is what we conceive should be our policy. The details, of course, would vary according to circumstances and in co-operation with others, but in essence our objective should be a settlement of fundamental problems, including internal problems, by agreement; and a settlement which shall contain some sanction, if we may call it so, which will ensure permanence. In a word, a conference seems to us the only road to a real and permanent solution.

As in Europe, so in the Far East, the Powers must keep in line, and in particular the three Powers Great Britain, America, and Japan. The attitude of the last two in the present crisis has so far been one of reserve, and rightly so. For either of them to take any active steps at the moment might only serve to spread the flame, an eventuality which they and we alike must be supremely anxious to avoid. But so soon as a more comprehensive policy is possible, then these three Powers at least must work in the fullest

co-operation, united, as we believe they are, in one objective—a peaceful and permanent solution of the present chaotic situation.

In any case, we must avoid the fatal mistake of supposing that a settlement can be imposed by military force. Along that line we should come to an *impasse* as surely as we have done in Russia. It is conceivable that the Powers might have to do in China what they have had to do in Russia, leave her severely alone, which would mean that nearly half the globe would be immobilized from the economic point of view. But terrible as that is to contemplate, it is inconceivable that any number of foreign Powers can, at the end of this the first quarter of the twentieth century, and in the face of a newly awakened race-consciousness, force their will on 400,000,000 people inhabiting a continent. The alternatives are either a solution by agreement or no solution at all.

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

THE INTERNAL SITUATION

"FROM an economic and financial standpoint," writes Dr. A. C. Millspaugh, the Administrator-General of the Finances of Persia, under date March 21, 1926, "the situation of Persia is most encouraging. Constitutionalism is firmly established. The Parliament is pre-eminently interested in the economic development and social welfare of the country, and has already approved a body of sound and beneficial legislation. The Government shows convincing evidences of stability. National unity is increasing. Order and security exist throughout the country. The American financial mission receives in the course of its work a satisfactory measure of governmental and popular support. . . . Revenues are increasing . . . the public debt is decreasing. In the absence of international complications, which seem improbable, it can be confidently anticipated that there will be no halt in the remarkable progress under way in Persia."

It is an unwelcome task to criticize the confident hopes of a foreign official so well qualified as is Dr. Millspaugh, both by experience and temperament, to form a reasoned judgment on the state of Persia. But it is scarcely to be expected that in a pamphlet published in New York by the Imperial Persian Government, for the guidance of bankers and investors, any but rosy views would find their way into print; and developments during the last six months suggest that internal rather than external complications are likely, in the future as in the past, to be the most serious obstacle in the path of those reformers, both Persian and foreign, who seek to remodel the most ancient of "Bible lands" on "constitutional" lines. The man in the street, and his counterpart in the fertile plains and scarcely less fertile mountains of Persia, has not yet accepted the "constitutional" régime as a settled part of the government of the country; and the vagaries of military governors and the innumerable petty injustices, and worse, of military detachments all over the country, have done little to make the peasant regard the restoration of law and order with unmitigated gratitude.

All is not well in Persia. The correspondent of *The Times* in Tehran connects recent disturbances in various parts of the country with foreign policy, and considers that the Shah is being compelled by internal dissensions to make terms with the Soviet. Persians have always been prone to ascribe internal disorders to external causes, and observers in this country would do well not to jump to conclusions. Recent letters from Persians all over Persia to their friends in this country indicate a more probable and more immediate cause of trouble—namely, that the Army has in many places been without pay for six or seven months, and that other Government and municipal officials are in a similar plight.

From the admirable quarterly reports of the American Financial Mission it is clear that money is reaching the Treasury more regularly than ever and in larger sums, and

it is being disbursed, especially for military purposes, not less regularly, but that in certain areas it is not reaching the soldiery is indisputable. The remedy in a more highly organized country would be comparatively simple of application, but there are special difficulties in Persia. During the last few years the military administration has established itself independently of the civil departments, not only in the capital but throughout the country, and it seems fairly clear that the cost of maintaining the present force of over 40,000 men under arms is too heavy for the current financial resources of the country. Nor is the Army popular; in fact, it has become exceedingly unpopular in many districts, and particularly in the towns where the landed proprietors and merchants, who were wont to submit with reasonably good grace to the genial exactions of Governors-General of good family and good status with a stake in the country, resent the more legal but more irritating attentions of military officials, few of whom have either the administrative experience or the social status to ensure respect. But the difficulty confronting the Shah and his Government is not so much the lack of public confidence in individual members of the Government as a want of solidarity and of that cohesion which comes only from principles clearly visioned and strongly held. It is thus that a political party, in the hands of a conscientious leader (in this case the Shah), becomes an instrument of Government, always provided that the leader can count on the fidelity of his adherents. Discipline, of a kind, is not lacking, but it does not spring from common convictions or from high principles.

The religious leaders in the large towns, who have been content for some time past to play a passive part, seem to be contemplating a fresh bid for power and influence over the populace. The clerical party in Persia, though the term is not wholly applicable to them in its European sense, derive their influence not merely from their religious functions, but from the fact that they are very numerous and clannish, that there is a freemasonry amongst them

which gives them a hold over every part of the country, and the fact that as landowners and capitalists, albeit on a small scale, they have probably a larger stake in the country than any other single class. They have the cohesion and discipline which the military party lack. It is not unfair to them to ascribe to their influence the recent outbreak of fanaticism at Jahrum, south of Shiraz, where, despite the half-hearted intervention of the military, half a dozen Bahai were done to death in the streets. Outbreaks of religious intolerance are, as we know to our cost in Ireland, India, and elsewhere, a not infrequent accompaniment to ebullient nationalism, but whatever be the cause the task of the civil Government is made more difficult thereby. Recent Muharram celebrations in the larger cities where the military are in control are reported to have been more widely attended and to have been marked by a more fanatical spirit than for many years past—another danger signal.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Sardar Muazzam Taimur Tash, a leading member of the Cabinet, has been despatched to Moscow on a special mission to negotiate a settlement of outstanding matters, including Soviet fisheries in Persian waters, customs questions, and the existing embargo in Russia against Persian exports. If he succeeds in settling these points it will be upon one basis only—namely, substantial surrender to Russian demands—for new Russian diplomacy so far as Persia is concerned closely resembles the old; and it is impossible for Persia to escape the economic consequences of its geographical situation except by railway and road construction on a very large scale. Persia is, and will probably always remain, primarily an agricultural country, and, excluding oil, at least three-quarters of its exportable wealth—fish from the Caspian fisheries, timber from the Gilan forests, cotton from Meshed and Tabriz, wool, carpets, astrakhan, hides, nuts, silk, dried fruits, etc.—has no other

market than Russia owing to the high cost of transport. Thus it is that the Persian Cabinet, with the support of the nation, are accumulating a large sum with the object of financing road and railway extension, not only within Persia, but to the Black Sea via Trebizond. From Urmia through Mosul they hope to reach the Mediterranean, and from Kermanshah through Baghdad and from Hamadan to Khurramabad they hope to reach the Persian Gulf. All these schemes are, with the exception of the last named, commercially sound, and from an engineering point of view perfectly practicable. The completion of the route via Trebizond would, in the belief of the Persian Government, be remunerative if not a ton of goods ever passed over it, if it was successful in forcing the Soviet Government to reduce, if not to abolish, transit dues between the Azarbaijan frontier and Batoum, the natural port for the produce of Persia's richest province. No one in Persia doubts that in course of time Mosul and Baghdad will be linked up with the Mediterranean via Nisibin and Alexandretta. Less than 100 miles now separate Mosul from the real head of the old "Baghdad Bahn," near Nisibin, and a motor road from Saujbulaq through Rowanduz to Mosul would not only stimulate the trade of Persia with Europe, but would create a brisk and profitable trade between Iraq and Persia, as also would the Kermanshah-Baghdad route. Local trade of this sort is too often omitted by European experts from their calculations of traffic in Oriental countries. The internal movement of goods in Persia is probably at least ten times as great as the volume of external trade, and there are almost unlimited possibilities of profitable trade between the lowlands of Iraq and the highlands of Persia. Fresh fruit, cereals, and the raw materials of peasant industry are grown on either side of the frontier, but at different dates and of different qualities, and rapid and economical transport will make business possible in local commodities which could never bear the high cost of transport to Europe.

Of the Khurramabad route it is not possible to speak so hopefully. It passes through an area very sparsely populated, with few exportable products, and it would have to compete with river transport on the Karun from Shuster southwards. It is true that petroleum products would reach Central Persia more cheaply by this than by any other route from the south, but these would not go far to make a railway pay, much less a road, and Mohammerah is far from being an ideal port from the point of view of Persian commerce. Not only is it situated on the Shatt-al-Arab, which river is, except at Mohammerah itself, under the sovereignty of Iraq by the Treaty of Erzerum of 1848, but goods which reach that port destined for Europe have still to pass down the Gulf and up the Red Sea—a wearisome journey of a fortnight—through the Suez Canal with its heavy dues, before reaching the Mediterranean, where they come into competition with similar and cheaper agricultural produce from India and Egypt.

But such questions in reality touch only the surface of things. The future of Persia, like its past, depends on the genius of its race—passionate individualists; unlettered but not unlearned men and leaders of men; tribal chiefs in their mountain fastnesses, lean, bronzed, and hawk-eyed, with sons like unto themselves; contemplative greybeards in the village, patriarchs of a countryside, whose word carries more weight than the law of the land. Among such people the primitive passions run free, hardly deflected by moral or cultural conventions; but beneath the surface there are depths of feeling and romanticism not readily revealed to strangers, who only come to realize after many years of residence that it is true of the genius of the Persian race, as was said 4,000 years ago of Persian law, that it altereth not.

INDIAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: A SURVEY OF THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS

BY STANLEY RICE

MOST people to whom the Indian Reforms mean anything at all have a working notion of the general lines upon which they proceed. They know that the leading idea is a novel experiment in government, which has been christened dyarchy; that one branch is under popular control and the other is administered, as in earlier days, by a bureaucracy; that popular representation is secured by the creation of a Legislative Assembly, and that in cases of emergency the Viceroy is empowered to overrule the decisions of the Assembly. The details of the new Constitution are, however, not so clearly recognized, and in particular, as public opinion has been focussed upon the proceedings at Delhi and Simla, the effects of the scheme upon the Provinces are liable to be neglected. Yet anyone who knows India will admit that, just as the government of the country is said to be carried on by the district officers, so it is the orders of the Provincial Governments which control the administration, while the Government of India and the Secretary of State stand in the background, as the ultimate authorities, but also as Olympian deities. Although many books have been written on the subject, they are not easily accessible, and some at any rate are so minutely discursive that it is difficult for the reader to grasp the salient and essential features. In view of the fact that the Reforms are to be reconsidered in 1929, it seems a not inopportune moment to offer a succinct account both of the leading provisions and of their working, with the caution that, while the facts are, it is hoped, accurate, the opinions are those of the writer, and the discriminating reader is free to differ. The problems are so vast and so complicated and the opportunities for discussion in a quarterly review are so compara-

tively infrequent that a preliminary statement of the case at the time may be found useful, as affording the groundwork for thought and as giving sufficient time for the maturing of opinion.

The Government of India Act, as everyone knows, introduced a new principle into politics. It sought to fuse, at least temporarily, two opposing principles—the government of the people upon democratic lines and the protection of the people by the bureaucratic system to which they were accustomed against the possible vagaries of untried democrats. Professedly this was an experiment, not in the sense in which that word has been interpreted as meaning the subjection of a vast population to the empirical working of a political theory, much as rabbits or rats were subjected to the testing of scientific theories of hydrophobia or plague, but rather in the sense that, as no existing form of government exactly fitted the situation, some modification of political theory had to be devised, with such safeguards to ensure success as the most careful thought could suggest. It was in the nature of a “leap in the dark.” Never before has a people, which had grown up in the traditions of an autocratic monarchy and of what it is the fashion to call bureaucracy, but which in older terminology would have been called aristocracy or oligarchy, been offered consciously and at once so large a measure of democracy. The object was evolution; to have entrusted power at once to the representatives of the people on a scale approaching that of England would in the conditions of India have been frankly revolutionary. When, therefore, it is said, as it has lately been said by a thoughtful Bengali writer, that the principle of autocracy has not been abandoned, but that, on the contrary, the present Constitution contains many autocratic elements, it is overlooked that in following out the principle of devolution of power some elements of autocracy had to remain, if progress was to be gradual. It is no doubt unsatisfactory, as we shall see, that the resolutions of the popular Assembly should be liable to be set aside by the

single act of the Viceroy, because a certain flavour of unreality is thus added to these debates; but in the circumstances it seems to have been inevitable, and it finds a parallel in the veto of the English King, which, though now never used, was at one time a very real thing.

In the famous Declaration of August, 1917, two things were promised which, though inseparable as integral parts of a complete scheme, can nevertheless be distinguished. India was promised a great advance in the direction of responsible government as a stage towards complete fulfilment of her aspirations, and also an increasing association of her own sons with the Government. In other words, the aims were to be (1) the government by the people, and (2) government by Indians. Of these two aims it has always seemed that England laid the greater stress upon the first, no doubt because the greater included the less, for you cannot have a popular government without giving power to the people through their representatives, and these were bound to be Indians. India, on the contrary, set more store by the second; she perhaps recognized that in any case the franchise must be strictly limited, and her first and very natural desire was to gain control of her own affairs, as far as possible, by her own sons.

Putting aside for the moment the Constitution at Whitehall, the government of India is carried on by the Viceroy and his Executive Council, aided in the work of administration by the resolutions, discussions, and advice of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The Governor-General, called the Viceroy, is in supreme control of the civil and military government (Sec. 33). The members of the Executive Council, it is important to notice, are none of them elected; all are nominated or appointed by the Crown, in which also vests the limitation of their numbers (Sec. 36). The only restrictions on the choice of members is that three at least must have served in India for not less than ten years and one must be a lawyer of specified qualifications. It would therefore appear

that the Commander-in-Chief, though his appointment is clearly contemplated (Secs. 39 and 42), holds no statutory position. In practice the various departments are distributed among the members, one holding the portfolio of Education, another that of Commerce and Industry; a third is Home member, who is becoming by custom the recognized leader in the popular House; while the Viceroy himself usually takes the Foreign and Political Department. It follows from the constitution of the Council that it is not movable by any resolution of the Assembly, for only that authority can remove which has appointed. In this the Indian Constitution resembles the Imperial German rather than the English, for although the English Premier is appointed by the King, he cannot carry on the Government in the teeth of an adverse majority, and though the veto, now never used, is vested in the Crown, there is no power to restore a law which has been rejected. This difficulty has been met in India by a device to be described later, but it remains a difficulty, and in practice it has been found that the executive Government has to be carried on in spite of a permanent majority in opposition, though it is said that the defect is not so conspicuous as in theory it would appear.

The Indian legislature consists of the Governor-General and two Chambers (Sec. 63). The Upper Chamber or Council of State consists of not more than sixty members, nominated or elected under rules framed by the Government of India, and not more than twenty are to be officials. These rules differ from Province to Province. In all the franchise is pitched high, but the details are so varied as not to be susceptible of co-ordination. As an illustration of these variations it may be mentioned that the qualification of total income is fixed at Rs. 20,000 in Madras, of Rs. 30,000 in Bombay, of Rs. 12,000 in Bengal, of Rs. 10,000 in the United Provinces, and of Rs. 15,000 in the Punjab. Other qualifications are the holding of land, the occupancy of the chair in local boards and chambers of commerce, or of a seat on local legislative councils

or University senates. The actual representation according to a recent table is 16 Hindus, 11 Muhammadans, 3 Europeans, and 3 Sikh and general, or 33 in all. The life of a Council of State is normally five years. The Legislative Assembly is by statute limited to 140 members, of whom 40 are "non-elected" (Sec. 63B), and 100 are elected. Out of the 40 non-elected members 26 are official. The total number may, however, be increased under rules, and the proportions of classes may be varied, but at least five-sevenths shall be elected, and one-third of the remainder shall be officials. It appears that Government have notified 103 constituencies, of which 47 are non-Muhammadan, 30 Muhammadan, 9 European, and the rest are allotted to special classes. The franchise in this case has been pitched much lower. Here, again, the provincial rules differ in detail, and it would be unprofitable to make any attempt at co-ordination. It is difficult, however, to see to what further lengths the Government could safely have gone, though even the modest qualifications prescribed take in but a small fraction of the population.

Such is in outline the structure of the new legislatures, the leading feature of which is the predominance given to the elected element. The official *bloc*, though small, is of course influential, but the great majority of the House being elected, it could, if it were united in hostility, always outvote the Government, and so bring about that peculiar difficulty to which allusion was already made. Parties are obviously not formed as they are formed in England; the policy which the Government intends to pursue cannot be declared at the polls because the Government does not go to the polls. So far these parties have been formed more or less upon the principles underlying progress towards Swaraj, the extreme element forming the left wing; while the Moderates, Nationals, and Independents, or by whatever names they may be called (for parties appear to be still in a state of flux), are governed by their views as to the method of obtaining Swaraj, in which all differ from

the extremists, though all alike are aiming at the same goal. Consequently, the voting does not always follow the same lines. The Swarajist party, to do them justice, though they entered the councils with the declared object of wrecking them from within, have not consistently followed that policy; and indeed to oppose the Government simply because it is the Government would be a futile procedure, and would lead to the rejection of measures to which no honest man could possibly object, and hence to general unpopularity in the country.

The powers of the legislators are enumerated in Sec. 65, but only in the widest terms. Subject to certain limitations respecting Acts of Parliament and the unwritten laws or Constitution of the United Kingdom "whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the Crown of the United Kingdom or affecting the sovereignty or dominion of the Crown over any part of British India," it is empowered to make laws generally, but again no Bill can be introduced (Sec. 67) which affects the public debt, religion, the defence forces, or foreign policy without the sanction of the Governor-General.

We now come to that provision of the Act which, perhaps more than any other, has been criticized in India. The importance of it (Sec. 67B) justifies its transcription: "Where either Chamber of the Indian Legislature refuses leave to introduce or fails to pass in a form recommended by the Governor-General any Bill, the Governor-General may certify that the passage of the Bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India or any part thereof and thereupon—

"(a) If the Bill has already been passed by the other Chamber, the Bill shall, on signature by the Governor-General, notwithstanding that it has not been consented to by both Chambers, forthwith become an Act of the Indian Legislature in the form of the Bill as originally introduced or proposed to be introduced in the Indian Legislature, or (as the case may be) in the form recommended by the Governor-General; and

"(b) If the Bill has not entirely been so passed, the Bill shall be laid before the other Chamber, and if consented to in the original form recommended by the Governor-General, shall become an Act as aforesaid on the signification of the Governor-General's assent, or if not consented to, shall, on signature by the Governor-General, become an Act as aforesaid."

The power to "certify" a Bill is, and was intended to be, an extraordinary power of the Governor-General, to be used very sparingly. Its object was to empower the Governor-General in Council to secure in all circumstances legislation which is required for the discharge of his responsibilities. It will be observed that the Section contemplates three possibilities:

(a) A Bill passed by one Chamber but rejected by the other;

(b) A Bill not entirely so passed, that is, it seems, passed in a different or substantially amended form by one Chamber and assented to in the original form by the other;

(c) A Bill to which neither Chamber consents in the original form.

Every Act so certified is to be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and shall only come into force after it has received the Royal Assent, except that in cases of emergency of which the Governor-General is the sole judge, it shall become law at once, subject to disallowance by "His Majesty in Council." It has been remarked with truth that Parliament will ordinarily approve, partly because to refuse consent would probably force resignation, and partly because it would be a dangerous thing to do in the face of the implied opinion of those far more qualified to judge, who moreover know that they are doing an unpleasant and unpopular thing. Nevertheless, Parliament is made the ultimate judge, and though the action of the Governor-General may seem autocratic, the logical conclusion is that it reserves to Parliament the express power which is claimed throughout of the general control of Indian affairs. The particular portion of the Section to which the greatest exception has been taken is the words "and interests." It

is contended that whatever may be said of the safety and tranquillity of India—and there are probably few who would care to back their opinion in the face of the risk involved—the word “interests” is so wide that the Governor-General can hardly be expected to decide without causing friction, or, indeed, without injury to the Assembly; for every Bill introduced by the Government—and it may be assumed that no other is contemplated—is in the opinion of its introducers in the interests of India, and the Governor-General can thus override the Assembly to the extent of making it merely a recording agency of Government decisions. This criticism overlooks the word “essential” as well as the power of Parliament already referred to. There are many things which may be in the interests of India and yet are not essential; and the too frequent use of the power by the Governor-General to force legislation upon the country would certainly produce resentment in England and would indeed be a proof of incompetence. It has, in fact, been sparingly used—once in order to fulfil obligations to Indian States by preventing abusive articles in the Press, once in order to balance the Budget by restoring the Salt Tax, and again in order to restore the original Finance Bill of 1924 which was rejected by the Assembly. It is said that the first two of these cases have done much to make the Reforms unpopular. It is certain that when a measure of first-class importance is received by the Chamber in a hostile spirit an air of insincerity, or at least of unreality, is given to the debate; it becomes a matter of tactics, and the polls—of tactics by forcing the Viceroy into an unpopular act which can be represented as thwarting the will of “the people,” and of the polls, because political capital can be made out the apparently autocratic procedure of the Government to the advantage of the injured party. And since it does not matter much to the question at issue which way the Assembly votes, the debate may degenerate into a mere expression of opinion that may or may not be honest, but in either case is, as regards the direct question, futile.

So far we have heard nothing of dyarchy for the very good reason that it has not been introduced into the Central Government. We have there an irremovable executive responsible only to the Secretary of State in Council through the Viceroy. But the Provincial Governments are very differently constituted, and it is, as was already remarked, the Provincial Governments which carry on the everyday administration of the country. For a single order which the district officer receives from the Government of India he probably gets at least a hundred from his own Government, and it is from them, in so far as it is not from the district officer himself, that come the directions which deal with the peasant's life and which are suited to the peculiar circumstances of the Province. The Provinces of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam,* are now governed by a Governor in Council or by a Governor and ministers according as the subjects are “reserved” or “transferred.” This is a departure from the former practice. The Lieutenant-Governor was the historical outcome of the administration of Bengal by the Governor-General in Council, and as he was only the lieutenant of the Governor-General and subject to his orders in Council, he administered the Province without a council of his own. In recent years it was recognized that this was an anomaly; there was no reason for differentiating the Provinces of Bombay and Madras from the equally important Provinces of Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Punjab, and affairs had been tending towards uniformity for some time. The other provision for Ministers is, of course, quite new. The members of the Executive Council are not to exceed four, and although there is no statutory provision to that effect, it was no doubt the intention that as far as possible Indians should be appointed to at least half the posts, if not more, and when once an Indian is appointed there is set up a kind of tacit prescriptive right to further Indian appointments.

* Burma was added later.

These councillors are appointed by the Crown (Sec. 47); they are responsible to the Secretary of State and are removable only by him; the Ministers, on the contrary, are appointed by the Governor (Sec. 52). They must not be officials or members of his Executive Council, who, whether they were originally officials in the technical sense, become so on taking office, but they need not be members of the Legislative Council. They are, however, responsible to that Council, and their salaries are by statute votable by it. The position of the Ministers has been declared by critics to be anomalous. The idea was that while each section of the Government should be held strictly responsible for its own administration, the Government should work as a whole in consultation. This has led in some Provinces—notably in Madras—to a state of affairs which has been called “skipping dyarchy,” and the Governor has been blamed for not attempting to carry out the intentions of Parliament. Another critic has suggested the case of a Minister who had been overruled in his own department and yet must defend in the Council a policy of which he does not approve, because of the understanding, rational enough in itself, that members of the Government must uphold and not oppose one another in debate. Neither argument appears to the writer to be of great value in practice. For it is certainly open to the Governor to lean more towards collective than divided responsibility, and it is difficult to see in what way the broader intentions of Parliament have been frustrated, since collective responsibility affords as good training as the other. And again the suggested case is closely analogous to that which often occurs in the British Cabinet. There are two courses open to a Minister: either he can sink his own opinion, or if he feels too strongly and the question is of sufficient importance, he can resign. In the former case the policy becomes his own and he is pledged by his acquiescence to support it; in the latter his fate is in his own hands. We may, however, recognise that there is a difference between the Executive Councillor, who

is in no way subject to the Council, and the Minister who is its servant though not its nominee. But though at the time of his appointment he need not be a member of the Council, he must become one in six months or he must automatically vacate his post. The exact significance of these provisions is not very clear; it has been suggested that they were intended to secure the services of an eminently suitable man who did not happen at the moment to be in the Council.

Ministers, however, are confronted by more formidable difficulties, chief among them being finance and the control of the services. Under the Devolution Rules no difference is made between the transferred and reserved branches in the allocation of revenues; it is a matter of agreement between the two sections of the Government. As, however, some of the most important subjects, including justice, police, and control of the public services, come into the reserved branch,* it has sometimes been made a matter of complaint that the transferred branch has to be content with what is left after these essentials have been satisfied. That perhaps is the situation with almost every Budget that has ever been framed; fixed and essential charges must first be met, and those who find their pet schemes shut out by the exigencies of finance are dissatisfied. There is, however, a difference in India. An impression is left—rightly or wrongly—that the transferred subjects are considered to be of comparatively minor importance, and tends to strengthen a suspicion sometimes found that the real power is still retained by the Executive. This difficulty is further enhanced by the divided control. For if the Minister is attacked in the Council, and is forced to reply that there is no money, the inference is at once drawn that the Finance Member is unduly favouring the Executive, or that the latter has used pressure to obtain the lion's share. For in finance, as in all administration, the personal equation cannot be ignored. Even in so com-

* Army, railways, and post-office are not provincial subjects.

paratively small a matter as the framing of a local board's budget, education, roads, or medicine will be favoured according to the personal predilections of the President. But in the provincial budget, as the Executive is not subject to the control of the Council, they could not be forced by an adverse resolution to alter their fiscal arrangements, though they might be induced to do so by compromise. That this difficulty is a very real one was shown by the anxious care with which the merits of the joint purse and the separate purse were considered. The risk that transferred subjects might be starved, in appearance if not in reality, was foreseen, and it was proposed that each half of the Government should enjoy the revenues brought in by its own departments. The obvious objection to this is that there is no necessary connection between revenue and expenditure in any one branch, for by the nature of the case some are mainly receiving and others mainly spending departments. It is unnecessary to go into the matter in greater detail; it is sufficient to remark that although the rules have been framed with a view to creating the minimum of friction, the main factor on which reliance is based is that goodwill which should prevail among reasonable men. But although the popular houses cannot effectively interfere in normal times, it is in their power to embarrass the Government in lean years, and this is what actually happened when the Assembly refused to enhance the Salt Tax, though they were assured that without it the Budget could not be balanced.

The demand for an "increasing association" of Indians with the Government, which was the second part of the promise made in 1920 and the part most favoured by Indian opinion, was partially met by the appointment of Ministers, but also by allotting a definite and more generous proportion of posts to Indians. It should be remembered that for a long time past Indians were being appointed to posts which in still earlier times had been reserved for Europeans, and that these posts were by no means always

of a subordinate kind is proved by the inclusion of Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State, in the Executive Council, and in the High Court benches. There was therefore nothing peculiar in the proposal to accelerate the pace. But the changed conditions brought about by the Reforms, coupled with the unprecedented rise in prices and the unfortunate outburst of racial hostility due to the Non-Co-operation campaign, had brought about an unusual dissatisfaction amongst the European members of the public services. They were not only compelled to work in an atmosphere of financial anxiety and of racial hostility, but they could not feel any sense of security in the positions which they had always considered as practically guaranteed to them. Their demands were partially satisfied by the report of the Lee Commission, and it is an open secret that unanimity was only reached by the compromise of granting further concessions to Indians in exchange for the concessions to be allowed to the Europeans. But on one point the Lee Commission refused to move. The Ministers had represented that they had found difficulties in working with services over whom they had no effective control. A determined effort was made to get the control of the services working in the transferred subjects into the hands of the Indian authorities, but this was strenuously resisted, and as the event proved successfully. Some concession to opinion was, however, made by providing that in future recruitment for certain services—notably education, the roads and buildings branch of engineers, and the Forest Service in Bombay and Assam—should be confined to Indians. Here again it may be said that much depends upon the goodwill of the Council, and upon the harmonious relations between the two halves of the Government and also upon the loyal co-operation of the services themselves. These happily have not failed, and there seems no reason to suppose that they will fail.

It is in the power of the Councils to make the system of dyarchy unworkable either by refusing to vote the Ministers'

salaries or by other devices. It is rather doubtful if this contingency was actually foreseen, for it could only occur as a manifestation of hostility to the whole system, since dissatisfaction with the individual is best expressed by a vote of censure. There is no definite provision in the Act for such a contingency, and the transferred subjects (temporary administration) rules contemplate only a "vacancy." This no doubt suggests such temporary gaps as are created by sudden death or unexpected resignation, though it might, by an extension, be taken to cover also the general paralysis caused by political action. At any rate, that is what actually happened. The vote for salaries has twice been withheld by the Bengal Council, with the result that the Executive Government took charge of the administration. It has been questioned whether in law the Ministers might not have been paid their salaries, and also whether in rejecting the demand altogether the Council was acting legally. Those who voted in the majority were in hopes of paralyzing the Government altogether, and they so far succeeded that they frustrated the Government in its intention to rule according to the new plan; but the main result of their action has been to show that the Government cannot be paralyzed, that rules or no rules the King's Government continues, in one way if not in another, and that all the attempts to bring it to a standstill are doomed to failure.

It remains to consider the most controversial point of all. In a country like India, where there are two communities whose interests must in some respects clash with, or in some respects differ from, those of a third, who are in overwhelming majority, it was natural that there should be some expectation of special protection of those interests. In the case of the Europeans this was not difficult. Not only were they microscopically minute in numbers, but their vested interests, as large as, or even larger than, those of other communities, were, nevertheless, of so peculiar a kind that they only touched the general interests at various points, and could not be identified with them. The

English, moreover, had never taken root in the country. Those who were not in the service of the Crown were for the most part confined to special tracts—either to the ports and great commercial centres or to tracts specially suitable for commercial products. That was not the case with the Muhammadans, who were apprehensive of the devolution of power to a people who not only outnumbered them by four to one, but who had at one time been subject to themselves. They were also acutely conscious of their mental inferiority as a community in a country where the soldier had given way to the lawyer, and accordingly they approached Lord Minto for an assurance that in the Reforms then contemplated they would be given adequate and separate representation. They obtained a promise, which was regarded by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report as estopping them from refusing similar representation in the new scheme. That the decision was very reluctantly taken is clear from the whole argument of the report. It is there contended that communal representation is opposed to the real progress of India towards responsible government, that the "whole history of self-government among the nations who developed it and spread it through the world is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance: against the State arranging its numbers in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself." It deprecated "the creation of political camps organized against each other, and feared that it would retard, if not altogether destroy, the prospect of national representation." It held that such a system tended to stereotype existing relations, to harden class distinctions, and to induce a spirit of self-satisfied complacency by taking away the stimulus of a healthy competition. Nevertheless, they felt bound to admit the special case of the Muhammadans, and the precedent being established, they were willing to extend it to the Sikhs, but to none of the others who demanded it. A special outbreak of communal dissension

brought the matter into prominence. One school of thought considered that it was directly due to this provision of the Reforms, which had thus intensified feeling by adding politics to religion. Their opponents contended that, far from this being the case, mixed electorates would have made matters worse by bringing the two communities into conflict in support of rival candidates drawn from each. It is perhaps better to express no opinion on the immediate point at issue in an essay which, as far as possible, has avoided the expression of individual opinion. It may, however, be permissible to question whether both sides are not taking too narrow a view, and to suggest that the outbreak was really due to a combination of causes, of which the Reforms were at most only one, and that not the chief.

We have now arrived at the end of our survey. If the whole ground has not been covered that is because in a brief essay it is advisable to lay stress on the points of major importance. We have at least seen that the new system is workable and is being worked; we have seen that it has failed to satisfy in all respects the sanguine aspirations of Indians. We have noticed that some of the links in the chain are distinctly weak, and that, owing to the peculiar atmosphere into which the Reforms were born, unexpected developments have occurred, which have to some extent retarded progress, and which have had to be met by undesired methods. But notwithstanding the defects of the system, it is only with goodwill on both sides that it can be made to work smoothly, and it is pleasant to hear from competent authorities that that goodwill exists if at times it seems latent; among reasonable men it is sure to prevail, and is the best augury of ultimate success.

THE INDIAN STATES

II.—MYSORE

BY COLONEL M. J. MEADE, C.I.E.

MYSORE comes next to Hyderabad among protected Indian States in extent and population. The State, as it exists at present, was created by the British after the destruction of the Muhammadan kingdom ruled by the Mughal adventurer, Haidar (Hyder) Ali, and his son, Tippu Sultan. It originally formed part of the most extensive and flourishing Hindu kingdom south of the Nerbudda, known as Vijayanagar, and the extensive remains at Hampi, in the Bellary District, Madras Presidency, testify to the size and magnificence of the capital. For many years Vijayanagar resisted the inroads of the Muhammadan invaders from the north; but gradually these were reinforced from Central Asia, and the Muhammadans, being individually stronger and more virile than the Hindus, they forced the latter back, and founded the splendid Muslim kingdoms which kept Hindu rule to the extreme south of India. The Hindu States of Telingana and Vijayanagar appear to have reached the summit of their power about the middle of the sixteenth century, when a combination of the Muhammadan kingdoms further north was formed against them, and after a well-fought battle, near Talikota, in 1565, the Hindu power was totally destroyed, and the greater part of their territory passed under Muhammadan rule. The present State of Mysore is a part of what was left to the Hindus, and it became a flourishing, though small, kingdom under Hindu rulers, who were the ancestors of the present chief. How the State arose out of the ruins of the far greater Vijayanagar kingdom, or who the founder of the family was, I am unable to say. But it is generally admitted that they are not high-caste Hindus, and that the founder of the line was a potter by trade. However that may be, the Mysore Government played a worthy part in the incessant struggles which went on in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the south of India between the French and English, the Hindus and the Muslims, and it would probably have retained its position but for the usurpation of power by one of its own servants, an adventurer, Haidar (Hyder) Ali, son of a Mughal officer

in the Punjab. Haidar Ali was a very exceptional man, and though he was uneducated, his great natural gifts, his courage and tact, enabled him to rise step by step, until from having been at first only Haidar Naik, he secured all the power of the Mysore Government into his own hands. He deposed his master and took his place. This was in about 1760, and for nearly forty years Haidar and, after his death, his son Tippu Sultan ruled Mysore, which they greatly extended by the conquests of territory from neighbouring States. Undoubtedly, this is the most brilliant and interesting part of the history of Mysore. Like Napoleon in France, father and son knew they were intruders, always liable to be turned out, and they carried on incessant foreign campaigns to keep their subjects pleased.

Most of their earlier wars were successful, and the sight of captured officers and men of European and Indian nationality, trains of captured guns and munitions of war, must have done much to keep up the prestige of the rulers. It would be quite impossible to give even a cursory account of the constant wars in which all Southern India was involved during the period the Muhammadans ruled Mysore, but it is clear that Haidar Ali and his son were not only great leaders in the field, but excellent organizers, and that the Mysore army was a well-trained machine. This was chiefly due to the number of French and other European officers who took service in Mysore, and induced the Sultan to get in touch with France. That the Mysore forces were often successful was also due to the fact that the British interests, in peace and in war, were not at the time well directed, and that the famous leaders, Clive, Lawrence, and Eyre Coote, were employed elsewhere. In 1778 and subsequent years the Government of Madras seems to have been in very incompetent hands. "One Governor was sent home in disgrace," writes Trotter in his "History of India," p. 242. "Another, Lord Pigot, was held prisoner by his colleagues for several months; and his successor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, became from the first a mark for the many slanders which were destined long to survive him."

While the British authorities were thus quarrelling among themselves, Haidar Ali was preparing an attack on them, for which they seem to have been quite unprepared. He had an old grudge against the English, who had, he considered failed to help him against the Mahrattas, and in every mosque in Mysore a *jehad* against the infidels was preached. Then, at the age of seventy-eight, Haidar in-

vaded Madras, and carried all before him.* To meet the formidable invasion Sir Hector Munro, the Madras Commander-in-Chief, advanced with about 5,000 men. Another column, under a Colonel Baillie, was to have joined him, but was surrounded by the Mysore army and forced to surrender on September 9, 1780. Munro himself, who had won much renown at the battle of Buxar in Bengal, failed to come up to his old reputation, and retreated, though he was close to Baillie's force. Haidar and his son Tippu ravaged the Carnatic at will, and carried off many British officers and men prisoners to Mysore. Among them was a Captain David Baird, afterwards a well-known General (Sir David), who was destined to lead the final assault on Seringapatam, when Tippu was slain, and the Muhammadan rule was finally ended. He also led an army from India to the banks of the Nile by the Red Sea route, and held an important command in the Peninsular War. The campaign conducted by Haidar Ali in 1780 was checked by the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, who sent the veteran Sir Eyre Coote to oppose the Mysore ruler. A series of gains and losses ended in a peace, signed on March 11, 1784, which left things much as they were, but released over 1,000 English officers and soldiers from the horrors of Mysore dungeons. Before this the two old opponents, Sir Eyre Coote and the old Sovereign of Mysore, had died, and fresh names appear. Haidar Ali was succeeded by his son, known in history as Tippu Sultan, a brave but sanguinary bigot. The Hindus suffered from his religious fury as much as the English. He made, as has been mentioned, peace with the British Government, represented by the Madras Government, in 1784, but from the first he prepared for a renewal of the conflict. He entertained numerous French officers, and later on, when the Revolution broke out in France, emissaries from the Republic visited him at Mysore, and enrolled this despot as a member of the fraternity pledged to inculcate the equality and brotherhood of all mankind. Before this occurred, however, Lord Cornwallis, who had been appointed Governor-General in 1786, became engaged in a fresh war with Tippu. This involved much hard fighting, but eventually Cornwallis, who was above all a soldier, led in person a powerful army to the capital of Mysore, and there dictated the terms of a peace which deprived the Sultan of half his kingdom and obliged him to pay about three millions sterling towards the expenses of the war. Two of his sons were handed over to the

Governor-General as hostages for the due fulfilment of the treaty, and afterwards lived useful lives as British subjects in Calcutta.

For the next few years the Sultan was engaged in preparations for another trial of strength with his English foes, and his French friends urged him to resist the British in every way he could. Napoleon was then in Egypt, and Tippu endeavoured to get in touch with him and with other enemies of England. Unfortunately for him this was impossible, and eventually, after much fighting, Seringapatam, Tippu's capital, on an island in the Cauvery, was stormed by a British army under General Harris. This was on May 3, 1799, when the Sultan himself was killed by a private soldier in a gateway, by which he was endeavouring to leave the city. With his death the short-lived Muhammadan dynasty ended, and the British decided to restore the old Hindu family whom Haidar Ali and his son had dispossessed. The whole of Mysore lay at the feet of the victors, but the British Government felt that it was a case for generous treatment of a much-injured family, and the present State of Mysore was created under its Hindu rulers. Lord Mornington, the Viceroy, better known as the Marquis of Wellesley, had the greater share in the destruction of the Muhammadan State and the construction of the Hindu Raj. No Governor-General did more to start the creation of the Indian Empire, and the Mysore State was one of the earliest portions of it. He went from Calcutta to Madras and personally directed the arrangements, first for the conquest of Tippu, and afterwards for the construction of the new State. Mysore is the first of the many Indian States which owe their existence to the British, and it has in return always been loyal to us. The districts annexed by Haidar Ali and his son from neighbouring States were returned; but the British retained certain parts of Mysore itself, and maintained a strong force, which was stationed at Bangalore, a large walled town about thirty miles from the capital. Bangalore under our control has become one of the most popular cantonments in India. It is about 3,000 feet above sea-level. The climate is delightful for India, as it enjoys both monsoons, is never hot except for a short time in May before the south-west monsoon begins. The soil is very fertile, and produces all kinds of English fruits and vegetables; while the vast open plains and the ample grass lands provide splendid training sites for all arms and abundant forage for mounted troops. It has seemed necessary to

go at some length into the long-drawn-out conflict with the Muhammadan rulers of Mysore to show how much the present Hindu Raj owes to the British, when it was originally started, and a brief account of the State since it came into existence 126 years ago is now desirable.

"The modern State of Mysore is a tract of hilly tableland about twice the size of Switzerland, on the south-western side of the Indian Peninsula, between the Western and Eastern Ghats, forming the water-parting between two river systems—the Janga Bhadra and Krishna on the north and the Káveri (or Cauvery) on the south" (*vide* Thornton's "Life of Sir R. J. Meade," p. 146). The climate of this tract is, on the whole, fairly temperate, and it has a light but constant rainfall of about 30 inches. This is much heavier on the Ghats or sides of the plateau. The soil is fertile, chiefly rice and other cereals, and from remote times a wonderful, though crude, system of artificial lakes and ponds supplies water to innumerable fields of paddy. From the summit of Nundigrug, a lofty hill near Bangalore, where the British Resident had a house, an enormous number of these small lakes or tanks can be counted, and it is said that there are as many as 40,000 throughout the State. Even this wonderful system, however, is not sufficient in periods of protracted drought, and in the great famine of 1877 it is said about a million people perished.

As already stated, after the death of the usurper Tippu Sultan, Lord Mornington, who was created Marquis of Wellesley for the successful termination of the war, conferred a portion of the Muhammadan State on a descendant of the old Hindu family upon condition of his providing the cost of a subsidiary British force, to be stationed in Mysore, and assisting the British Government in time of war. At the same time power was reserved to the British, if failure of payment was apprehended, to resume the whole or a portion of the grant, or to regulate the administration. From the first the Hindu Government appears to have failed, and perhaps it could hardly have been expected otherwise after the many years of incessant warfare and an alien rule. In 1831—that is, after a little over thirty years of the new Government—gross and continued misgovernment by the chief plunged the State in debt and drove the people into armed revolt. The Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, though averse to any interference in Indian States, was forced to take a hand, and the Maharajah was deposed. The administration was assumed by

the British Government, and ultimately General Sir Mark Cubbon, who was a well-known member of the school of soldier civilians which has done so much for India, was appointed Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Commissioner of Coorg, a small, hilly district on the Malabar coast, inhabited by sturdy Hindu hillmen, who had been subdued, but not really conquered, by Tippu. Coorg has a peculiar soil, which is particularly favourable for the cultivation of coffee, which had been introduced from Arabia in former times by Arab emigrants, and had done so well that it became a great centre for coffee planters.

The district came under British protection in 1790, but had its own Rajah till 1837, when a rising took place, which necessitated its being placed under British administration as a non-regulation province, the Chief Commissioner of Mysore being also *ex-officio* Commissioner of Coorg. It may be mentioned that ever since its annexation this little province has been the home of a large number of British planters and their families, and has advanced wonderfully in every respect.

The Chief Commissionership of Mysore was held for the long period of twenty-five years by Sir Mark Cubbon, whose patriarchal, but wise, rule changed the condition alike of the people and of the country. Under his fostering care the country was opened up by railways and good roads. The people were made happy and contented, and a ruined State was restored to financial prosperity. Debts to the extent of 85 lakhs of rupees were paid off, and a large sum was placed as a reserve in British securities. Bangalore was made the headquarters of the British Chief Commissioner, and fine public buildings in a splendid park, appropriately called after Sir Mark Cubbon, came into existence. The State was divided into a number of Deputy-Commissionerships, each of which had its own headquarters, where a regular staff was located, and the administration of the province was carried along on the "lines of a benevolent despotism worked by carefully selected British officers."

At length Sir Mark Cubbon was succeeded by Mr. Bowring, an Indian civilian, who had been Private Secretary to the Viceroy, Lord Canning, during a portion of the Mutiny, and it was decided to place the administration of Mysore on a more modern footing. Mr. Bowring found an overflowing treasury, and for seven years—that is, from 1862 to 1869—he used the money thus available in the best way that was possible to improve the condition of

the people of Mysore. In 1869 Colonel Meade succeeded Mr. Bowring, who retired then, but has only recently died at a very advanced age, and found a province under his charge which was rapidly improving in every way in consequence of the wise arrangements of his predecessor, who, with Sir Mark Cubbon, may be regarded as the founders of the present prosperity of the Mysore State. It is impossible within the limits of this article to go into all, or even a portion, of what was done, but again to quote from Thornton's "Life of Sir R. J. Meade": "Prosperity increased. Capital was attracted to the province. English planters were encouraged, and British interests in the shape of coffee estates and mines began to be developed." Both these industries have brought much wealth to the Mysore Government as well as given much profit and employment to British subjects. Coffee and tea planters number many hundreds, who lead useful and happy lives; while the great Kolar goldfields have made the fortunes of many well-known English families, and given employment to hundreds of Englishmen and natives of India. They were starting when Colonel Meade was Chief Commissioner, and I well remember going with him to inspect the Mysore mine, which was then commencing to be worked. This was in 1874, and no one could have foreseen the enormous amount of gold which this and the other mines of the Kolar goldfields produced and are still, after nearly fifty years, producing.

While the province was rapidly improving under British supervision, the deposed chief kept on petitioning to be reinstated in power; but his request was rejected by four successive Governor-Generals—viz., by Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, Lord Elgin, and Sir John Lawrence. This was in each case confirmed by the Secretary of State, and "everything pointed to the early absorption of Mysore into British territory." The chief was childless, and his adoption of a son was not recognized by the Government. It is not clear why this was changed, or why the refusal to restore Mysore to Indian rule was not adhered to, while in the case of the Berars the restoration of those districts to the Nizam was so sternly and persistently refused. In 1867, for reasons with which I am not acquainted, Her Majesty's Government reversed their previous decision, and agreed to recognize the boy whom the Rajah had adopted as heir to the Mysore Gadi, undertaking, on this boy (who afterwards became His Highness Rajendra Wadia, the Maharajah of Mysore) coming of age, to

entrust the government of the country to him, provided he was then found qualified for the position, and "subject to such conditions as may be determined at the time." This very important change and the determination of Government to restore the old dynasty was very gratifying to the people of Mysore and to the chiefs and people of India generally; but many who had the welfare of this magnificent province at heart dreaded that it might lead to a return to the evils which had led to the deposition of the old chief. I think we may say at once that these fears have not been justified, and that the administration has been very well carried on by the chief who succeeded to the State and was formally invested with full powers, subject to certain conditions, some of which are given below, on March 25, 1881. He had to pay a tribute of 35 lakhs of rupees annually; was not allowed to build or repair forts or strongholds, or import arms, ammunition, or warlike stores without the express sanction of the British Government; British cantonments were to be established in the State whenever and wherever the British Government thought it advisable. He could hold no communication with any other State or Government except through the British Government and with their sanction. He could make no change in the system of administration without the approval of the Government of India, and he had to maintain the laws which were then in force, conform to the advice of the British representative, etc. Finally, no succession to be valid until it was approved by the British Government. These and other conditions guaranteed that the excellent administrative arrangements which had been introduced by able British officers would not be set aside, and as the young chief who was the first Maharajah under the new regime was by training and character well qualified to rule well and wisely, all promised well for the future. Unfortunately, the young Maharajah died in 1894, when he was only thirty-one, a great loss to his State and to all who knew him. He had been brought up at Mysore, his guardian being Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Gordon of the Indian Civil Service, who afterwards became Resident; while his tutor was Colonel Malleon, c.s.i., the well-known historian, whose admirable works on the Indian Mutiny, the French in India, etc., won for him such a high position. Chanda Rajendra Wadia died, as I have said, 1894, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the present Maharajah, then a young child. The affairs of the State were in the hands of a Council of Regency, chiefly com-

posed of various well-known Indian administrators, but closely supervised by the British Resident for the time being. The young chief, Maharajah Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, lived at Mysore, and for a considerable time his tutor was Mr. (now Sir) Stuart Fraser, who eventually succeeded to the post of Resident when the young Maharajah came of age and took over the administration of his State.

His Highness Maharajah Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur was born on June 4, 1884, and was given full administrative powers on August 8, 1902. He has no son, and his heir is his brother, the Yuvaraja, His Highness Sir Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahadur, born June 5, 1888, who has, I understand, a son. In the spring of 1910, or sixteen years ago, we attended a large gathering at Mysore to witness the marriage of the Yuvaraja. This was duly solemnized with much ceremony and profuse hospitality to the many English and Indian guests. Among other excursions in the neighbourhood was one to Seringapatam on an island in the Cauvery River, about ten miles from Mysore. This place was strongly fortified by Haidar Ali and his son, and it was the centre of the Muhammadan rule. The British army under General (created Lord) Harris, breached one of the faces, and stormed the place on May 3. This was done in the middle of the day, in the hot weather, and was a very gallant feat of arms. Our loss was about 1,000, but the conquest was complete, and the breached wall still stands marking the scene of a great achievement. Tippu Sultan was killed, and another far greater career commenced at the same time, for Colonel Wellesley, brother of the Viceroy, and afterwards the Duke of Wellington, who had taken part in the attack, was appointed Military Governor of Seringapatam. It is interesting to reflect that but for the presence of the British the Muhammadan rule would probably have been firmly established in Mysore, and the present Hindu dynasty would never have returned to power. The present flourishing condition of the State and the people of Mysore is entirely due to the powerful help and generosity of the British Government and to the long periods the province has been well governed by good administrators, English and Indian, selected by the Government of India. The present chief and his father proved themselves worthy of the excellent training they received and of the examples of so many first-class English officers. We must hope that the State will continue to progress along its present lines.

BURMA: AN ATTRACTIVE PROVINCE*

BY TAW SEIN KO, C.I.E., I.S.O.

PUBLIC servants at home or abroad retire after a service of strenuous labour, and are in the habit of putting on record their recollections, anecdotes, or shrewd and sagacious observations which came within their knowledge or experience. Some of them, while in active service, bore rule over several millions of their fellow-subjects, and acquired valuable experience as administrators, while others developed into statesmen; but the high qualities of genius, the faculty of organization and statesmanship, remain under a veil, because of their extreme modesty or the want of the power of expression. In most cases the gift of the power of expression, either in speech or writing, is denied to great soldiers, sailors, and administrators who bore rule over their fellow-beings. Each book that is issued from the press is a contribution to the world's stock of knowledge, and is the embalmed soul of its author, and the world will not easily allow it to fall into oblivion if it contains truths and observations of universal application or of applicability to human conduct.

Mr. R. Grant Brown was a member of the Indian Civil Service, who served in Burma for twenty-eight years—from 1889 to 1917. He came to the province four years after the annexation of Upper Burma, and left it six years before the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme was launched into operation. He, therefore, saw the country in its normal condition, and is in a position to describe its events with a calm and detached mind. The book under review consists of twelve chapters. The first, on "The Country," is somewhat disappointing. The author had before him Harvey's "History of Burma," and yet he fails to give us the salient and outstanding features of Burmese history. Authentic Burmese history extends over at least one thousand years, and his views are summarized succinctly in the following passage:

"My impressions of Burmese history are of three great kings, and after them of three British annexations. The kings are Nawayāta of the eleventh, Bayinnaung of the sixteenth, and Alaungpaya of the eighteenth century. The annexations are of Arakan and Tenasserim in 1824, Pegu

* "Burma as I saw it" (1889-1917), by R. Grant Brown, I.C.S. (retired). London: Methuen and Co.

and the rest of Lower Burma in 1852, and Upper Burma in 1886." This is, however, more than compensated by his able handling of the ethnological and linguistic problems. Thus on pp. 30-31 the Burmans are classified as the Oceanic Mongols according to Keane's "Man." These Mongols are described as follows: "In temperament they are excitable rather than sluggish, not remarkable for great endurance, easy-going rather than thrifty and industrious, and inclined to be daring and adventurous." This chapter raises three questions, namely: (a) Whether the Burmese race would soon become extinct? (b) Whether the Burman is lazy or not? (c) Whether Burmese labour should be supplemented or replaced by Indian labour? As regards the first question, Mr. Grant Brown appears to think that the Burmans are not likely to be extinguished in a hurry. They have an expressive language, a popular literature, an organized monkhood, and a gentle and humanitarian religion. The tribesmen on the borders of Burma, like the Assamese, Nagas, Chins, Kachins, Shans, and the Karens, are continually being Burmanized and merged into the Burmese population. Even the Mons or Talaings, a race which maintained its distinct nationality until the eighteenth century A.D., is also becoming Burmanized. A certain number of the descendants of the Indian settlers are also proud to call themselves Burmese. The author is decidedly sympathetic and pro-Burman, and does not hesitate to defend the lazy Burman in the following terms: "Granted, then, that the Burman is lazy, his is a reasoning indolence. It is accompanied by a careless good-nature and open-handedness, an easy tolerance, and a desire to keep on good terms with others, which make him habitually courteous and considerate. Perhaps it will be said that all this is merely the result of his indolent disposition; his kindness to his children, who to an outsider seem to do pretty well what they please, is what one might expect from a lazy man." The gradual supersession of Burmese by Indian labour is a difficult problem, which is not easy to solve. The population of the Burmese plains is about ten millions, and there is not sufficient labour available for the construction of roads and railways, for the handling and transportation of produce in the mills and factories, and on the wharves and jetties, for doing the work of lascars on the numerous shipping on the sea as well as on the rivers of the country, and for the cultivation of cereals and the harvesting of crops. Before irrigation works were undertaken or improved in the

districts of Shwebo, Mandalay, Kyaukse, Meiktila, Minbu, etc., Burmese coolies migrated periodically from Upper to Lower Burma. This migration has now practically ceased, and Lower Burma, especially the delta districts, where the soil is extremely fertile and the crops are bountiful, must look to the Madras Presidency for the supply of its unskilled labour. To endeavour to check or stop the flow of Indian immigration to Burma is both futile and unwise from an economic point of view. In the following passage the author correctly summarizes the essential differences between the Burmese and the Indian labourer: "He (the Burman) has been called by some a Nature's gentleman and by others a lazy rotter. The last term is applied to him by our captains of industry, who would like to employ him, but have usually to content themselves with the unpleasant Madrasi, at least for unskilled labour. It is quite true that the Burman, who has a higher standard of living, and is generally able to maintain it, will not work for the same wage as the coolie imported from India, and expects shorter hours and more frequent holidays. He is also more restless and unstable. An Indian will work for long hours day after day at the same task, doing as little as he can, but never demanding a holiday. If a Burman wants a holiday nothing will keep him at his job, and this unreliability is disconcerting to employers. His work done, an Indian sits still and does nothing; a Burman goes off to enjoy himself. Europeans accustomed to Indian servants often find Burmans impossible."

Among the provinces of the Indian Empire Burma is the most attractive and fascinating. After a few years' residence foreigners become spellbound in its favour. The reasons are not far to seek. It is well wooded and well watered. It has large forests, and its hills are covered with a green verdure. Its cattle are fat and sleek and are well fed, and are taken care of with the humanitarian spirit of Buddhism. Its people are clad in silk of the colours of the rainbow, and are good-natured and fond of laughter. The joy of life or the *joie de vivre* accompanied by *abandon* is the most prominent feature of their social gatherings. Freedom is accorded to Burmese women, and there is no *purdah*. Burmese women taken a prominent part in social and official life, and such is the purity of their conduct that in chapter iii. Mr. Grant Brown records that, during his long experience in Burma, no Burmese woman or any woman of Burmese stock has ever been accused of adultery. The intelligence of the Burmese woman and the enjoyment

of freedom by her, which is denied to her sisters in the adjoining countries of China and India, is probably due to the prevalence of matriarchy in the country. There are still traces of it at Yenangyuang, which produces earth-oil, where in certain families property is inherited by females to the exclusion of males. Even in the days of Gautama Buddha—i.e., over 2,000 years ago—his right-hand disciple, Sāriputta, was known after his mother. The custom was still in vogue in Asoka's time, when the President of the the Third Buddhist Synod, Moggali-putta-tissa-thera, was also called after his mother's name. There was no patronymic in those days.

Chapter iv., dealing with the communal life of the Burmans, is of extreme interest to the student of sociology. The author says: "Though the Chinese, both as individuals and as a nation, have always been looked up to in Burma, they seem to have had curiously little influence on Burmese history." This dictum is certainly wrong, and is not supported by facts. In physics there is always mutual attraction between a large and a small body. The attraction of the former always predominates. Here we have two countries in juxtaposition—namely, China, with a population of over 450 millions, and Burma, with a population of 13 millions. The attraction of China by means of conquest, colonization, and commercial intercourse must be predominant in Burma, as it is in Siam, Annam, Tonkin, Japan, Korea, Tartary, Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Nepal. In Burma the left is the side of honour in civil life; in the Burmese palace, as in the Chinese palace at Peking, a special hall was assigned for the custody of the golden images of the king's ancestors; the village was a unit of administration; the higher grades of officials were called "wuns," which may be interpreted as "wangs" or princes, as in Chinese, and not as "burdens," as commonly interpreted according to popular Burmese etymology. These customs and practices are certainly in accordance with Chinese habits of thought. What I wish to emphasize is the extraordinary resemblance between the democratic self-government of the village in China with that of Burma. A village in Burma is governed by a headman, whose office is either hereditary or elective. In the assessment of taxes he is assisted by a council of elders. He is a judge, magistrate, and executive officer all combined, and is a representative of a village community. About 70 per cent. of the people in Burma live in villages, and about 80 per cent. depend upon agriculture. If the villagers

are wisely governed in accordance with the ancient ideas of Burmese polity and with British ideas of justice and equity, there would be peace, order, contentment, happiness, and prosperity throughout the length and breadth of Burma.

Anybody who writes about Burma, must touch on its abnormal criminality, as it has been called the "most criminal province of the Indian Empire." Mr. Grant Brown's opinion on the causes of the recent increase in crime may be quoted: "For the recent increase in crime official reports add other reasons: the political ferment following the war, and the decline in the feeling of common village responsibility and of readiness to accept the headman's authority, which is a natural result of economic changes. Among permanent causes of criminality must be placed the adventurous and restless character of the Burman, and corruption and inefficiency in the subordinate police." In the Durbar speech delivered by His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler on February 26, 1926, a gloomy picture of the criminality of Burma was painted as follows: "Meanwhile, as I have already said, immediate action has been necessary and has been taken. The great increase in crime has taken place in crimes of a violent nature—robbery, dacoity, and murder. The number of robberies and dacoities amounted in 1913 to 709. In 1922 the figure had reached 1,188; in 1923, 1,117; in 1924, 1,590. In 1925 a change in the classification of robberies was made, all petty robberies being excluded from the returns of serious crime, and, on the new basis of classification, the figures for 1925 exceeded those of 1924 by 220. The number of cases in which firearms were used also showed a marked increase from 451 in 1924 to 635 in 1925. Already some progress has been achieved in breaking up gangs of dacoits. The figures for murder are, however, disquieting. In 1915 there were 474 true cases of murder. In 1922 these rose to 610, in 1923 to 658, and in 1924 to 763. In 1925, 1,151 cases of murder were reported, of which probably 900 were true cases. The exact figures are not available. The figures up to February 19 show that 166 cases of murder have been reported since the beginning of 1926, or about four cases a day on an average. The epidemic of murder can hardly be dissociated from the infrequency of the death penalty and immunity from punishment. In the last four years the number of persons hanged has been in 1922, 51; in 1923, 59; in 1924, 71; and in 1925, 84. On an average about two out of three

murderers escape any penalty whatsoever." In 1924, 763 persons were murdered and 71 murderers were hanged; in 1925, 1,151 persons were murdered and 84 murderers were hanged. The number of murderers hanged was utterly disproportionate to the number of persons murdered. These statistics indicate that the police did not succeed in arresting the true offenders of the law, that, if they did succeed in doing so, neither complete nor convincing evidence was forthcoming, and that the magistrates and judges, who insisted on a high standard of evidence in accordance with the British ideas of justice and equity, refused to convict them or have them hanged.

In March, 1926, there was a discussion in the Burma Legislative Council regarding the causes of the increase of crime and the remedies proposed to be adopted. Some of the speakers suggested that industry and education should be subsidized more liberally, while others recommended that the extensive traffic in liquor should be abolished, and that Burma should be declared "dry" as the United States and Russia. None of the speakers succeeded in diagnosing the true symptoms of the disease in the body politic. In 1923 the Reformed Legislative Council amended the Village Law of Burma, which was enacted by Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Chief Commissioner of Burma in 1889, who embodied in the new law the principle of corporate responsibility in village administration, which had been the pivot of local government in Burmese times. Sir Charles was a gifted administrator, and was the pacificator of United Burma. The pacification of the country took about ten years, and was not effected till the year 1895. In the Law, as amended by the Reformed Council, this immemorial principle was very much restricted, and Communism was superseded by Individualism according to the ideals of Western jurisprudence. In the East generally people are governed in groups or communities, and the heads of families, communities, and societies are held responsible for the conduct of the subordinate members. The adoption of this principle, which is tantamount to the constitution of each man as his "brother's keeper," practically reduces the number of public functionaries, soldiers, policemen, etc., thereby reducing taxation to a very low figure, and affording an immense relief to the people at large, as in China during the régime of the Manchus. Further, under the amended Law, the maintenance of village fencing, which prevented the ingress of robbers, dacoits, and murderers; the maintenance of night watchmen or *chowkidars*, who

kept watch and ward at the village gates, and who scrutinized the entry of villagers after nightfall; the maintenance of a village register, wherein were recorded the ingress and egress of villagers—all these were rendered either voluntary or nugatory. Besides, the authority of the headman, who was a kinglet in his own village, is now shared by a council of four, who are not always loyal to the British Crown. In the sphere of police supervision, the number of policemen and police-stations was reduced by one-half, in order to double the pay of the police-constables. In the Pakokku district there is a wild tract of forest country extending over forty miles from the district headquarters to a place called Pauk. In that intervening tract of country there is not a single policeman or police-station, and the escort of under-trial prisoners to criminal courts from village tracts is undertaken by Burmese women. These new arrangements have apparently succeeded in opening the flood-gates of criminality in Burma. Political ferment has something to do with the increase of crime, but certainly it is not the main or only cause.

From crime and criminals it is pleasant to turn to chapter v., which deals with education in Burma. The Education Despatch of 1854, which was indited by Sir Charles Wood, the grandfather of our present Viceroy, Lord Irwin, established education on a systematic basis throughout India. The Education Department of Burma was constituted in 1864 under the administration of Sir Arthur Phayre, the first Chief Commissioner of the province. Mr. Grant Brown has some striking suggestions to offer in the sphere of education. After the expiry of sixty-two years, the products of the Education Department cannot be pronounced to have achieved much success, and the following indictment of the learned author deserves a careful consideration: "The lack of men of first-rate ability, now that Burmans are called to high places in the Government, is painfully obvious, and may seem surprising in so intelligent a race. But the supply cannot be increased by inducing a larger number of rich men's sons and of the population of Rangoon to enter the University. That would produce more educated men, but not more men of ability. The only way to get more men of ability for the administration is to seek them out up and down the country, and to educate them at the public expense."

Owing to the limitations of space, we may pass over in silence the succeeding six chapters, which do not present us with any important or burning questions of the day. There

still remains chapter xii., dealing with the recent events and the future of Burma, which is the real *pièce de résistance* of the book, and which may be commended to the serious consideration of the Statutory Parliamentary Commission, which will be appointed in 1929 to investigate the condition of the Reforms in India and Burma. Mr. Grant Brown considers that the electoral system in vogue in Burma, which was introduced upon the recommendation of the Whyte Committee in 1923, and which is modelled upon the English system, is quite unsuitable for Burma. He would prefer the electoral system prevailing in Switzerland. In that country there are no parties in the English sense, the executive is habitually re-elected, candidates are chosen by the people and not by a caucus, and the tendency of the electorate is to pick the best man for the job rather than one who will support a particular policy. It would appear that separation from India is desirable, but Burma must remain within the British Empire. If the Burma Reforms Scheme is modified in accordance with his suggestions, *mutatis mutandis*, Burma is likely to become the home of culture, refinement, and civilization.

Mr. Grant Brown concludes his book with the following peroration: "Burma has a long start over other countries on the road towards an ideal social organization. Her land is nationalized. Her resources are great, and her population small. Her wealth is still, in comparison with more advanced countries, evenly distributed. She has no industrial proletariat, and no feudal or caste system to break down. Her people—men, women, and children—are as free as any in the world from all kinds of restraint and tyranny, official, priestly, economic, and domestic. She has indigenous systems of self-government and education. She has no serious racial questions, no religious differences, a compact and homogeneous population, and excellent boundaries. With good government she has nothing to fear except attack from without, and from that she is protected by the Power best able to protect her. We shall be indeed to blame if we do not set her on the road to still greater happiness, and the Burmese people will have only themselves to thank if they do not climb from height to height of prosperity."

HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S GUARANTEED STATE RAILWAYS, HYDERABAD, DECCAN, INDIA

By ETHEL ROSENTHAL, F.R.G.S., A.R.C.M.

THE first proposal to establish railway communication between the city of Hyderabad and British India was made in the year 1861. In that year the Government of Bombay proposed to survey a line from Sholapur to Hyderabad, to be supplementary to the suggested line of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway (G.I.P.) to Mudgal. His Highness the Nizam offered to contribute 5,000 rupees towards the expense of the survey, which was sanctioned by the Secretary of State, who, however, held out no hope of a guarantee for the line. No further advance was made immediately, but in 1862 the Governments of Bombay and Madras advocated that the main line from Bombay to Madras should be constructed via Hyderabad city.

After a comprehensive discussion of the best method for effecting the connection between Bombay and Madras the Government of India decided in favour of the present route via Wadi and Raichur, whilst approving of the construction of a branch line from Gulbarga to Hyderabad. The Nizam's Government, headed by the great Minister Sir Salar Jung I., who held office from 1853 to 1883, was quick to realize the advantages which would accrue to the State were railway communication to be introduced between the capital and the three Presidency towns, and offered substantial financial support to the scheme. In 1869, on the representation of the Nizam's Government, it was agreed that the whole of the capital should be subscribed by that Government, and that the line therefore would be the sole property of the State of Hyderabad.

The constructive management and working of the railway was to be carried out by the British Government under the general supervision of the Resident in agreement with the Nizam's Government. The survey, which commenced in 1869, progressed favourably, although the location of the eastern portion of the line and the question of gauge involved many complicated problems. For political reasons Wadi was selected as the western junction between the G.I.P. and the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway (N.G.S.R.) in preference to the important city of Gulbarga, a few miles west of Wadi. The Nizam's Government laid stress on the value of the railway to Hyderabad city, and was anxious that no station of importance should be erected near the capital which might divert trade from Hyderabad. It was finally agreed that the main line should be carried direct to the capital, with a branch line to the north extending to Secunderabad. The standard broad gauge of 5 feet 6 inches was adopted, and on October 8, 1874, the first portion of the line from Wadi to Hyderabad and Secunderabad was opened for traffic amid great rejoicings.

For the first few years the financial returns were so unsatisfactory that a heavy strain was placed on the Nizam's treasury to cover the guaranteed interest on the capital, and in 1885 the line was taken over by the present company. The Hyderabad Government guaranteed interest in sterling at 5 per cent. per annum on the company's share (£2,000,000) and debenture capital (of which £1,500,000 have been issued) for twenty years. The guarantee ceased in respect of the share capital on June 25, 1904, but the guarantee in respect of debenture capital ceased, or ceases, on various dates ranging from June 30, 1904, to January 31, 1928. The Government also guaranteed interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for twenty years on £2,500,000 debentures, issued in 1897 and subsequently, for the construction and equipment of the Hyderabad Godavery Valley line. The guarantee expired in October,

1920. The Government has authorized further debentures for the broad-gauge line, called "Third Debentures," amounting in all to £1,500,000 without any guarantee. Up to date the Government has purchased £1,094,100 of these debentures. According to the terms of the agreements between the company and the Government, the company is to be entitled to the whole of the net earnings of the broad-gauge line after the Government has been reimbursed all sums paid under the guarantee together with simple interest at 5 per cent. on all such sums. This liability is in course of liquidation by payment to the Government of one-half of the surplus earnings of that line. In the case of the H.G.V. line, all sums paid in respect of the guarantee have been refunded with simple interest, but under the terms of the agreement the Government continues to receive half the surplus net revenue after payment of all fixed charges for debenture interest, etc.

The line has been worked so economically that it is now in a very sound financial position. For the year 1924-25 a dividend of $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was paid on the capital stock, which is now quoted at about £185 on the London Stock Exchange. A dividend of 15 per cent. is proposed for 1925-26. The company is an English one, controlled by a board of directors with offices in London. The agent and chief engineer, Mr. C. W. Lloyd Jones, C.I.E., is stationed in Secunderabad, Deccan, India, the headquarters of the railway. He is the chief of a staff comprising 49 officers and 3,348 subordinates. When to these figures the number of 11,300 workmen is added, the grand total of persons employed on the railway amounts to 14,697.*

In 1894 the engine-sheds and other workshops were removed from Secunderabad to Lallaguda, where a large

* Despite his many important duties, Mr. C. W. Lloyd Jones, C.I.E., has been good enough to peruse the draft of this article, and to make many important suggestions. I take this opportunity of expressing my profound thanks to him for his valuable assistance.—E. R.

railway colony has sprung up, comprising officers' bungalows, subordinates' quarters, a hospital, recreation grounds, a social institute, etc. It is situated at a distance of about a mile and a half from the centre of Secunderabad in a healthy locality, and has a large English population.

The country traversed near Wadi is singularly flat and ugly owing to the black cotton soil. The only verdure to be seen is at harvest time, when the cotton and jowari crops are full grown. A stratified limestone close to the surface of the soil is abundant in this district. The centre of the stone country is Shahabad, a few miles west of Wadi, on the G.I.P. Railway, where a new cement factory has recently been erected; Shahabad stone also is used extensively for building purposes. The character of the landscape gradually changes on the way to Secunderabad, until near Hyderabad the whole country is covered with large granite boulders and muram soil formed from decomposed granite. The second concretionary limestone is known as "kunkar," and there are beds of china clay in certain areas, which are deserving of exploitation. In his "Geology of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions" Mr. Leonard Munn states: "Enormous rounded and smoothed 'boulders' stand one over the other and sometimes in groups, which surprise the uninitiated. But a slight acquaintance with the nature of the rock at once shows that this appearance is due entirely to sub-aerial denudation. The granite gneiss through action of heat splits vertically; these vertical cracks reaching the planes of foliation make the rock split horizontally along those planes, the result being a mural arrangement of broken blocks of rock. Rain and wind then commence their action; the carbonic acid gas in the rain dissolves the feldspar, the corners of the rock get rounded off, the side blocks fall away, and the result is one or more huge rounded boulders, standing, sometimes balanced on one or more blocks of the same kind, now presenting a fantastic group, though originally a portion of one and the same hillock. Good examples of

this action of sub-aerial denudation are to be seen along the railway line from Hyderabad to Lingampalle; the most remarkable occurs between miles 107 and 108."

Since the company purchased the line in 1885 many important extensions have been completed, whilst others are still under construction. As shown on the map, the system comprises lines belonging to the company and lines belonging to the State and worked by the company. It is of interest to note that all the recent lines have been constructed at the expense of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.

The broad- and metre-gauge lines aggregate over one thousand miles, made up as follows :

BROAD GAUGE.			Miles.
Wadi to Bezwada, including the Mineral Branch*	...	...	355
Kazipet to the Godavari River	...	...	58
Karepalli to Kothagoodium	...	...	26
METRE GAUGE.			
Hyderabad and the Godavari Valley	...	...	385
Hingoli Line	...	...	50
Secunderabad to Allumpur	...	...	145
			1,019

There are no frontier stations between the Nizam's dominions and British India, but there are several junctions at which branch lines join the main line from Wadi to Bezwada.

Amongst the most important of these junctions is Secunderabad, where the metre-gauge line, which extends for 377 miles to the north-west of Secunderabad and 135 miles to the south, joins the broad gauge. Between Secunderabad and Manmad, the northern junction with the G.I.P., and the terminus of the metre gauge, there are many places of historic interest, such as Aurangabad, Daulatabad, and the Caves of Ellora. The last mentioned

* The Bezwada Extension Railway, 21 miles in length, from the British frontier to Bezwada, is owned by the Government of India, but it is worked by the company.

are amongst the finest show places in India, and are best reached from the N.G.S.R. by alighting at Aurangabad or Daulatabad stations. From either place it is easy to proceed by road to Ellora, whilst both cities are well worth a visit, which may be combined with the excursion to the caves. The distance from Aurangabad to the caves is about fourteen miles, and from Daulatabad to the caves about seven miles.

At Purna, halfway between Secunderabad and Manmad, a branch line extends to Hingoli, formerly a military station. It is an important commercial centre, the chief product being carried by the railway from this quarter being cotton.

Another place of historic interest on the metre-gauge line is Nanded, the scene of the assassination in 1708 of the great Sikh leader, Guru Govind. A magnificent temple has been erected to his memory, and each year the railway carries a large number of Sikh pilgrims, who flock to Nanded from all parts of India. Nanded also is one of the few towns in the dominions that can boast a commercial reputation extending beyond the confines of Hyderabad State.

The Secunderabad-Gadwal metre-gauge line is already open to traffic as far as Allumpur, 136 miles south of Secunderabad. When the proposed bridge across the Tungabhadra river is constructed, this line will connect with the metre gauge of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway at Kurnool in British India, and it will be possible to go from Manmad to Southern India without break of gauge.

The next junction after Secunderabad in the direction of Bezwada is Kazipet, situated at a distance of 202 miles from Wadi. From Kazipet the broad-gauge branch line will run north for 145 miles to Balharshah. The line is already opened to traffic as far as the Godavari river, and on the completion of the Godavari bridge, which is now under construction, the N.G.S.R. will join the G.I.P. at Balharshah junction.

A special line extends from Dornakal, mile 261, to Singareni. This is known as the "Mineral Branch," and was constructed for the purpose of serving the Singareni collieries. Singareni coal, which is carried via the N.G.S.R. to all parts of Southern India, appears to be an outlying deposit of the seams found in the valley of the Godavari river. A further branch of the mineral line is to be opened between Karepalli and Kothagoodium to facilitate transport in this area, as other mines are being sunk at Kothagoodium. It is hoped that sufficient coal will soon be carried to justify the expense of construction of this extra twenty-six miles of broad-gauge line.

By means of the various junctions and branch lines of the N.G.S.R. Hyderabad State is now connected with the three Presidency towns, as foreseen by Sir Salar Jung the Great. The means of communication are shown below :

From Wadi to Bombay via Poona by the Great Indian Peninsular Railway.

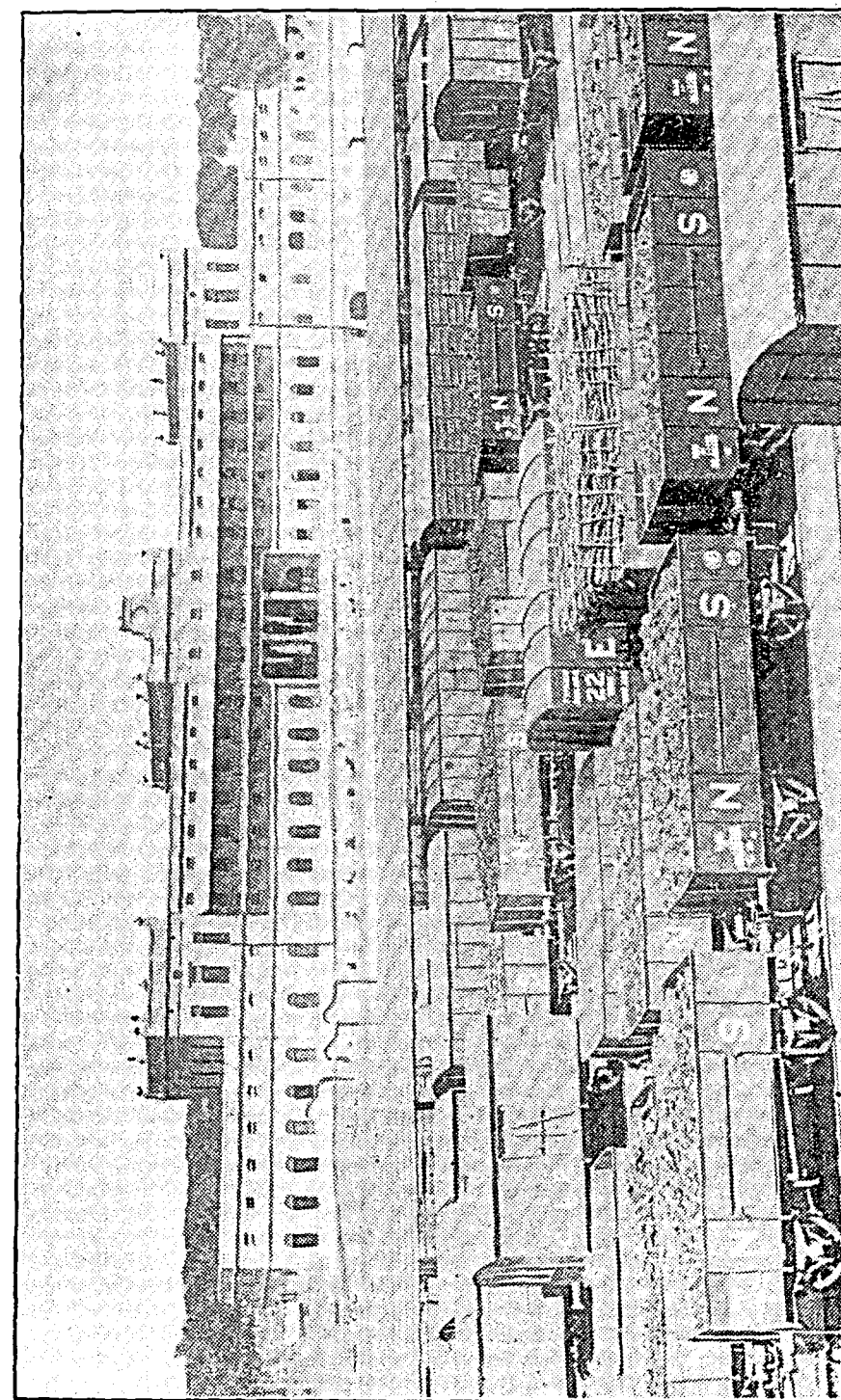
From Wadi to Madras via Raichur and Guntakal by the Great Indian Peninsular and Madras and Southern Mahratta Railways.

From Bezwada to Calcutta by the Madras and Southern Mahratta and Bengal and Nagpur Railways.

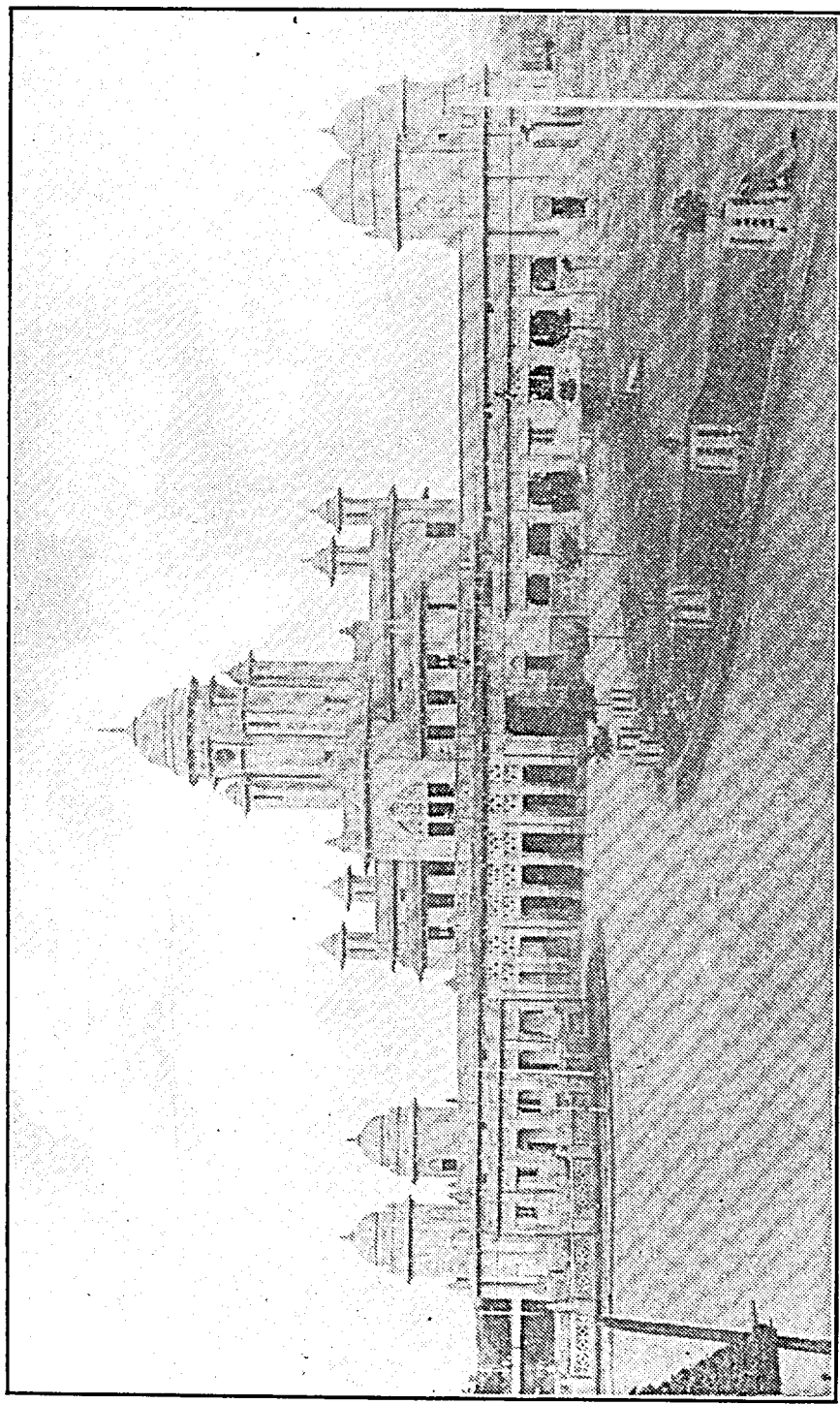
From Bezwada to Madras by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

Manmad, the northern terminus of the metre-gauge line, is one of the most important junctions of the N.G.S.R. At this station passengers join the main broad-gauge line of the G.I.P. for Jhansi, Agra, Delhi, and the north. At Jhansi through connection is obtained with Cawnpore and Lucknow.

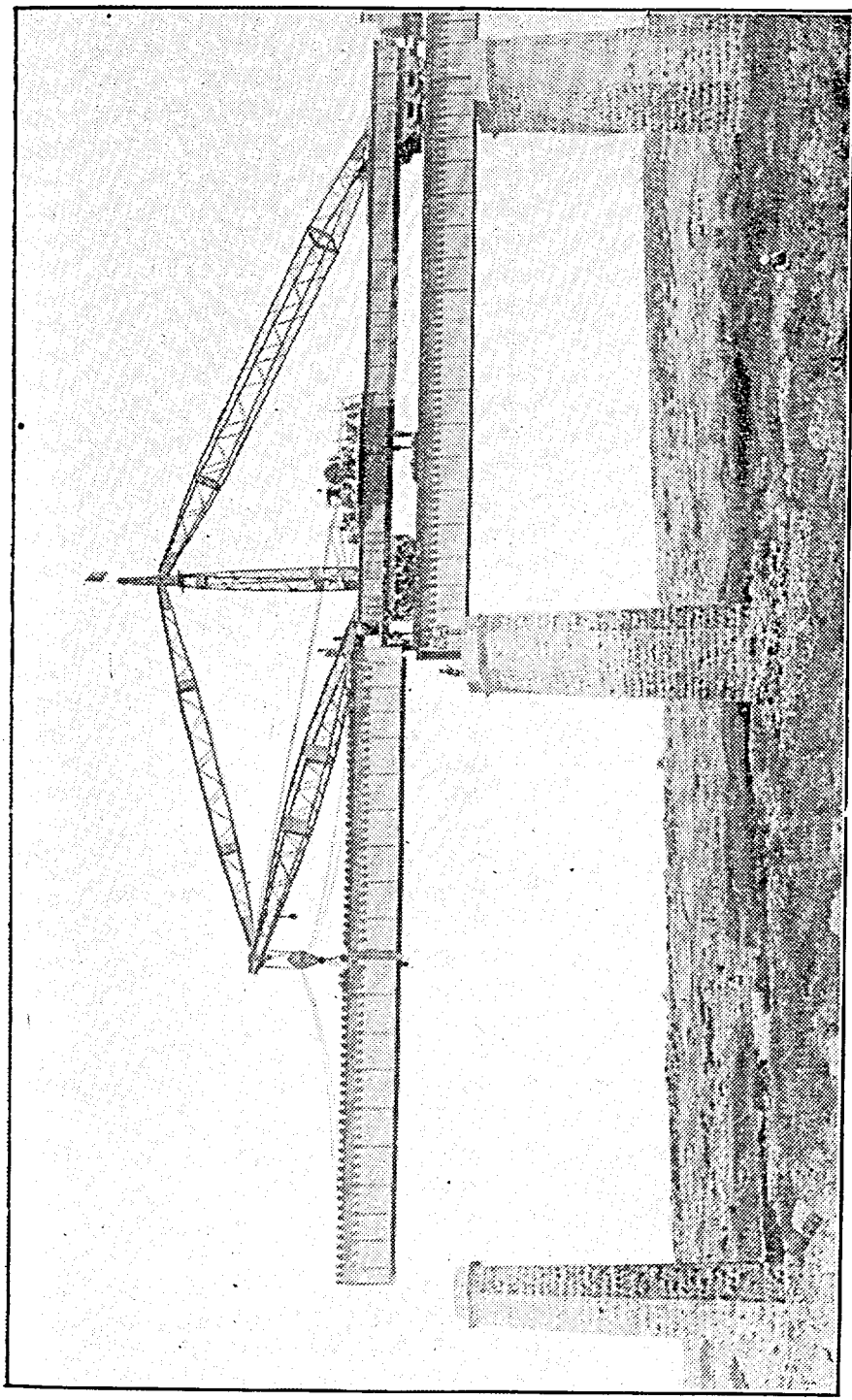
The rolling stock of the N.G.S.R. compares very favourably with that of other Indian railways, and the permanent way is most carefully maintained. The largest profits are derived from the third-class passenger traffic, the traffic in the upper classes being practically negligible. The rates charged for third-class passengers are as follows: $3\frac{1}{2}$ pies, equivalent to a fraction over a farthing, per mile for mail



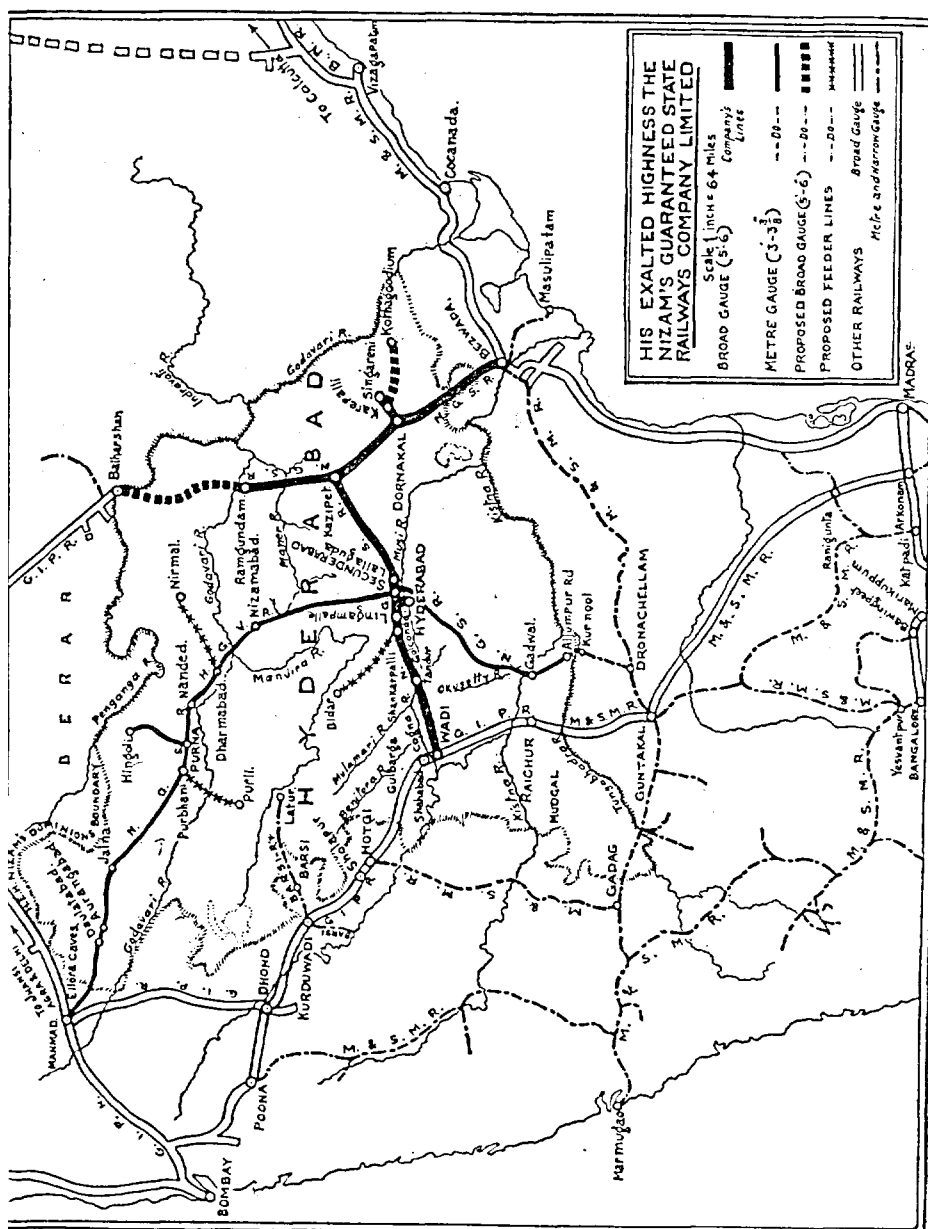
SECUNDERABAD STATION AND GOODS YARD



HYDERABAD METRE GAUGE STATION



HEDRICK CRANE AT WARD NO. 100



trains, and 3 pies, or a farthing, per mile for other trains. When compared with the third-class English fare of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per mile, it will be found that the average fare on Indian railways is about one-sixth of the fare charged in England. During the year 1925-26 the number of third-class passengers carried on all branches of the N.G.S.R. amounted to 10,937,257, and the income derived from this source totalled 5,227,863 rupees. This throws an interesting side-light on the large amount of travelling done by the poorer classes in India. Hours before train time the Indian waiting-rooms and the platforms of the stations are thronged with third-class passengers, who patiently await the arrival of the train, and at every halting-place of any importance vendors of Indian food, sweetmeats, and fruit abound whenever a train is expected to arrive.

The European refreshment rooms are a great boon to English passengers on the long-distance trips which are unavoidable in India. By telegraphing free of charge in advance, passengers will find well-cooked meals ready at important stations on the N.G.S.R. between Wadi and Bezpada and Secunderabad and Manmad. Refreshment tickets also may be purchased in advance at the booking offices at reduced rates. The trains usually halt long enough for meals to be consumed in comfort in the station dining-rooms.

The company owns a large number of rest houses erected principally for the use of railway officials, whose duties entail constant travelling up and down the line. These rest houses, which are furnished, are maintained at the expense of the railway, and in a country where hotels exist in the principal towns only, these bungalows serve a most useful purpose.

Throughout the districts traversed by the railway coal, cotton, and castor form the principal freight carried by the goods trains, and in consequence the financial returns of the traffic are dependent in great measure upon the quality of the harvests. Cotton is exported principally to England

and Japan via Bombay. A very large number of cotton-mills exist, however, in and around Bombay, whilst others are springing up in Hyderabad State itself, where the raw cotton is converted into cloth for the Indian market. Castor is sent to Bombay and to the east coast ports for shipment to the United Kingdom, America, and Japan. The oil is used commercially for lubricating purposes, although it is more famous for its medicinal properties, and the cultivation of the castor plant is a source of considerable wealth to the State.

Besides the technical and industrial side of railway existence there is another aspect of life—namely, the life of the railway engineer. To young men full of vigour and blessed with good health this offers much that is pleasant and interesting. In Hyderabad State in particular, where there is no political unrest, the tide of life flows through peaceful channels; and in Secunderabad, the railway headquarters, there are many European comforts, such as electricity, a municipal water supply, and last, but not least in a hot country, artificial ice. There is still a fair amount of shooting obtainable in the neighbouring districts, although with the continued advance of the railway the jungle is fast disappearing.

Possibly the most interesting branch of railway life is to be found in the construction of bridges across the gigantic Indian rivers. There are seven important bridges on the various sections of the system extending across the Cogna, the Musi, the Purna, the Godavari, the Okusetty, the Kistna, and the Maner rivers. The accompanying photograph was taken during the construction of the Kistna bridge, and illustrates how the girders were placed by means of a special derrick crane.* The Maner bridge is the latest to be opened to traffic, and is situated on the new

* This special derrick crane was designed by the chief engineer, Mr. C. W. Lloyd Jones, C.I.E. After work at the Kistna river it erected the girders of the Maner bridge, and is now ready for use at the Godavari river. The Kistna girders are of 80 feet span and weighed, as erected, 54 tons each.

line from Kazipet to Belharshah. On the same route the bridge across the Godavari river is under construction, and the engineer in charge lives on the spot. His love of an English home has enabled him to achieve wonders in the matter of converting virgin jungle into a luxuriant garden, in the midst of which he has erected a comfortable bungalow for his wife and family. With cows and poultry imported from Secunderabad and vegetables grown in his own garden he has rendered his household practically self-supporting, and independent of the bi-weekly consignments of food which reach him from the market towns. His amusements consist of riding, shooting, and fishing, varied by the useful if not pleasurable task of killing crocodiles and snakes, so there is plenty of scope to gratify his sporting tastes.

Between Gadwal and Kurnool, near the southern extremity of the metre-gauge line, a new bridge is about to be constructed over the Tungabhadra. The engineers engaged on this important work will also be required to live on the spot to superintend operations. However, they will be nearer civilization than their colleague on the Godavari, for Kurnool, on the south bank of the Tungabhadra, is an important town in British India; whilst Gadwal, a few miles north of the river, is one of the quaintest spots in H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions. It is an old mud-walled city belonging to the Raja of Gadwal, the principal chieftain tributary to the ruler of Hyderabad. His officials are very friendly towards the engineers who visit their town, and are always willing to show them hospitality and offer them facilities for the continuation of their work. In 1911, when the first survey party of engineers arrived at Gadwal in a single-cylinder De Dion car, the inhabitants mistook the automobile for a train. They had heard that a train was a vehicle which advanced very rapidly without animals to draw it. Naturally enough they imagined that it would resemble a bullock cart, minus the bullocks—hence their mistake. However, since the open-

ing of the railway to Gadwal their knowledge has increased prodigiously, and nowadays they are able to discriminate between passenger, goods, and ballast trains with the air of experts.

Golconda, the ancient capital of that part of the Deccan now forming Hyderabad State, was noted for its diamonds in the seventeenth century. Indeed, the name Golconda has become associated with diamonds throughout Europe partly through the descriptions of the gems by the French travellers Messieurs Tavernier and Thevenot, who visited India some two hundred and fifty years ago. The diamond mines were situated at a considerable distance from Golconda proper, in the valley of the Kistna, the great river crossed by the metre-gauge line of the N.G.S.R. in the vicinity of Gadwal. At Allumpur, mile 145, and along the left bank of the Kistna, diamond quartzites occur, whilst the diamond gravels are the only alluvial deposits of any importance from this river. Although the ancient diamond mines in Hyderabad State are now idle and the former workings are exhausted, it can be only a question of time before modern machinery is erected to obtain diamonds by up-to-date methods.

The facilities of railway transport which stimulate all classes of industry are already established in H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions, and increased industry means a proportionate increase in traffic. The development of Hyderabad State under the enlightened government of His Exalted Highness the present Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, indicates that the future of H.E.H. the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway is likely to be exceedingly prosperous.

IN THE NEAR EAST: A LETTER FROM A TRAVELLER

BY DARIUS TALAYARCARN

(Continued from p. 416, July issue.)

FROM Damascus I went to Haifa, at the foot of Mount Carmel. The journey is exquisite all through the Lebanon, between hedges of pink-flushed briar—the mountains above, the orchards around, and the sea below. Indeed, for the last eleven miles we drove on the sands right at the very edge of the sea at a speed that made one gasp for breath. It is impossible to complain of *tædium vitæ* in this country. I stayed for a few hours at Tyre and Sidon, but of the pride of the Phœnicians nothing remains now but a few straggling cottages and an unpicturesque bazaar. Wandering along the shores, one vaguely wonders whether the Tyrian dye was extracted from the deep purple thistles that lie in long-stemmed chequers by the fishermen's huts. The only memory I brought away with me was of an exquisite mulberry syrup and a basket of crisp-baked pineapple bread. The sect of Bahis, founded by a Persian named Abdul Baha, have formed a small colony on Mount Carmel, and my short stay at Haifa was made doubly interesting by meeting some of them. The main idea of their belief is universalism and the truth of all religions, all religions having sprung from one source.

From Haifa it is only two hours by car to Nazareth, Tiberias, and the Lake of Gennesareth. The intense blue of the sea rippling over the white-foamed sands, the long distances and dreamy silences of white sandy streets, and

the flat, terraced houses surge with the wonderful atmosphere of history. At the corner of the market-place the blue-eyed, brawny carpenter in his workshop is bending plinths of pinewood to make those famous circular boxes. Centuries have passed since another Carpenter, blue-eyed, and with the beauty of a flower-white purity, left His workshop to give Himself to the world.

Bethlehem is the same as Nazareth, as a matter of fact, so far as scenery, customs, and architecture are concerned—everything is the same in this glorious part of the world. It is only the traditions with which each tiny town is saturated that help to reveal some perfectly new phase, some subtlety of tint, that was lacking in the last. The time I spent there was exquisite, but I noted something quite unusual, and that was that my hostess, a charming old woman with white hair, never cooked any food or did any marketing. Twice a day her husband, an old potter, would come staggering into the house, carrying a goat-skin bag, exuding rich odours, and moist with fresh hot food. It is a custom there to buy everything freshly cooked from the cook-vendor, who offers the most delectable meals. On his khumsha of bamboo and vine-leaves are steaming rows of crisp, brown khabos, patties of minced kidneys mingled with marrow and flavoured with lemon, tender morsels of meat, pierced by thin rods, sizzling on a grill, and tiny smoking balls of buttered wheat. In the nature of condiments are sliced cucumbers, pickled olives, and large scarlet tomatoes stuffed with sage, charoli, and walnut. For the sum of five piastres you may indulge in a banquet. On the entrance of her husband my hostess would spread a carpet under the tree in the courtyard, heap all the food on a khumsha, around which we would sit and eat, cleaning our hands on vine-leaves when taking a different platter. This mode of eating is in perfect harmony with the surroundings, and, besides the novelty,

is exquisite in its utter primitiveness and freedom from alien influences. It seems strange that it is only the lower classes that preserve the artistic expression of a nation. I suppose it is their poverty that prevents them from becoming uncivilized by civilization. The highest form of civilization is merely concentrated individualism.

I returned to Mount Carmel and left for Jerusalem by donkey. I was to have gone by train, but a Syrian silk merchant, with whom I had become friendly on the way, invited me to join his caravan. The donkey is harnessed with two large saddle-bags, in the middle of which is a cushion on which you sit, and as you trot along the great hanging tassels sway in the wind. The journey lies between orchards and vineyards, and at night we used to sleep under a sycamore-tree or else in the cottages of the husbandmen. Another thing that I enjoyed immensely was the wine of the country, which one could purchase all along the way; indeed, for the three days of our journey I drank nothing but this warm, red, and fresh beverage.

In Jerusalem I stayed at the monastery. It is a quaint old building of curious architecture, and although in the market and next to the post office, it is completely surrounded by olive and fig-trees and long trellises on which the purple grapes hang in long clusters. In the sun-soaked silence of this place you feel you are transported to some sanctified spot in mediæval Lombardy. But it does not typify Jerusalem. The Hospice of the Knights of St. John, the Russian Hospice and Chapel, the German Church of the Domnites of Mary—all these, though wonderful in themselves, do not typify Jerusalem. They are totally out of harmony in an atmosphere where Oriental mysticism predominates. The Jerusalem that has come down to posterity is the Jerusalem of Christ, and the Crusadic influence is a most lamentable intrusion to one who goes there with the motive of tearing aside the veils of

centuries and stepping into the dim recesses of the Bible. On the wooded slopes of the Mount of Olives and in the cool bronze shadows of Gethsemane, in the grey wastes of Aceldama, and in the fallen splendours of the palace of Caiaphas you realize to its utmost, untarnished and untrammelled, the city of the Christ.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the Proceedings of the Association for the year 1925-26:

The Association elected 53 new Members, but lost 31 by death and resignation. On both sides of the account the figures show an improvement upon last year's, and if the increase of membership is not startling it shows that at least the Association is making steady progress. Some of the new Members are persons of distinction in India, but we have especially to deplore the loss of H.H. the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior and of Lord Carmichael, two of our Vice-Presidents, and of Sir Krishna Gupta, a familiar figure at our Meetings, and a Vice-Chairman of the Council.

Lord Lamington was re-elected President of the Association, and Sir Louis Dane was elected Chairman of Council. Sir Edmund Barrow and Mr. F. J. P. Richter have been co-opted as Members of Council, and the question of Trustees was settled by the appointment of Sir Patrick J. Fagan, Sir Montagu Webb, and Mr. G. M. Ryan as Trustees of the Association's properties.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to increase the revenue, has cast his net wide, and has gathered in many Societies hitherto exempt from income tax, including this Association. The matter was carried as far as the Commissioners of Income Tax, and the Hon. Secretary spent a morning in trying to convince them that this Association ought to be exempted. He was, however, unsuccessful, and the Association is thus deprived of funds to the extent of about £45 a year at the present rates of tax. As a set-off against this a generous legacy of £500 by Mr. A. K. Connell, formerly a Member of the Association

and also of its Council, has now been invested by the Trustees, and yields some £25 gross income.

Eight papers were read during the year. Two of these dealt, in a non-partisan spirit, with the position of the Indian States in the fabric of the Indian Empire. The present Editor of the *Pioneer* (Allahabad) drew a graphic picture of personalities in the Legislature, while Village Panchayets and the Criminal Tribes represented important aspects of administration. Industry was the subject of Sir Montagu Webb's paper, and Mr. Sorabji entered an eloquent plea for co-operation in India. In view of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, of which he is deservedly a member, Professor Gangulee's lecture on Rural Problems deserves special mention.

It is gratifying to be able to record that Indian students come more frequently to the office for advice, conversation, and so forth. The Association is not organized for giving direct assistance, but the Hon. Secretary does what he can to help students with advice, recommendations, and, it is hardly necessary to add, sympathy.

The principal event in India itself was the change of Viceroys in the ordinary course; Lord Reading's report on arrival in England of better prospects in India is noted with satisfaction.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation :

Sir Charles Armstrong.
Sir Valentine Chirol.
Sir John G. Cumming.
Mr. W. Coldstream.
Sir William Ovens Clark.
Sir Frank C. Gates.
Colonel M. J. Meade.
Mr. John C. Nicholson.
Miss F. R. Scatcherd.

It is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Accounts show a balance at the bank of £203 3s. 9d., as compared with £168 11s. 8d. last year.

(Signed) L. DANE, *Chairman of Council.*

STANLEY P. RICE, *Hon. Secretary.*

BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 30, 1926

ASSETS.				LIABILITIES.	
<i>Investments in India:</i>					
Government Promissory					
Notes for Rupees 92,400	£	s.	d.		
(present value) ...	5,220	12	0		
India Stock for £570 (present value) ...	530	2	0		
War Loan (present value) ...	306	8	11		
Balance at Bank ...	203	3	9		
Cash and Stamps in hand ...	1	2	5½		
Deposit Account ...	56	0	0		
	£6,317	9	1½	Nil.	
Examined and found correct.					
				F. R. SCATCHERD, Member of Council.	
				G. M. RYAN, Member of Association.	
May 26, 1926.				STANLEY P. RICE, Hon. Secretary.	

APPENDIX A

The following Papers were read during the year :

May 18, 1925.—“The Problem of Rural Life in India,” by Professor Nagendra Nath Gangulee. The Right Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E., in the chair.

July 13, 1925.—“Recent Progress in India,” by Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E. Sir Charles Armstrong in the chair.

October 19, 1925.—“Village Panchayets in India,” by C. A. Silberrad, I.C.S. (retd.). Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the chair.

November 9, 1925.—“The Warp and the Woof of the Fabric of Indian Life,” by R. K. Sorabji, M.A. Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

January 18, 1926.—“The Indian Legislature,” by Edwin Haward (Editor-Designate of the *Pioneer*). Sir Joseph Nunan, K.C., in the chair.

February 15, 1926.—“The Position of Indian States,” by K. M. Panikkar. Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the chair.

March 8, 1926.—“Some Views of an Indian Ruler on the Administration of an Indian State,” by Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Luard, C.I.E. Sir Robert H. Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., in the chair.

April 19, 1926.—“The Criminal Tribes of India,” by

Commissioner F. Booth-Tucker (the Salvation Army).
Colonel Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E.,
C.S.I., in the chair.

APPENDIX B

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

C. A. M. M. Anis, Esq.
Sir Rayner C. Barker, C.I.E.
Frederick Gatus Bowers, Esq., C.B.E.
Captain H.H. Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan,
K.C.V.O., Nawab of Bahawalpur.
Milton Brooks, Esq.
Vasudev Gopal Bhandarkar, Esq.
Bhagwan Das Bery, Esq.
The Rev. Arthur Ernest Brown, C.I.E.
Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, K.C.I.E.
Maharaja Shoshi Kanta Acharyya Chowdhury (Life
Member).
Hugh G. Cocke, Esq., M.L.A.
Archibald Allan Crawford, Esq.
Rai Bahadur Gyanendra Nath Chakravarti, I.S.O.,
M.A.
Sir Shanker Madho Chitnavis, I.S.O., M.L.C.
D. F. Cama, Esq.
Bhagwan Singh Chaudhri, Esq. (Student Member).
Phiroz Ardeshir Dalal, Esq., L.M. and S. (Bombay).
Sulakhan Singh Dhillon, Esq. (Student Member).
George Cecil Golding, Esq.
William Gaskell, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Sir Leslie Sewell Hudson, M.L.A.
Henry Harcourt, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S. (retd.).
Kenneth Arthur Lulham Hill, Esq., I.C.S.
Kashinath Shriram Jatur, Esq., C.I.E.
Sir Arthur Rowland Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E.,
I.C.S. (retd.).
Raja Sir Venganad Vasudeva Raja, Valia Nambidi
of Kollengode, C.I.E.

Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E.
Aloysius de Mello, Esq.
Archibald Morven MacMillan, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Edwin Somerville Murray, Esq., O.B.E., F.R.G.S.
Khan Bahadur Abdul Kadir Mackawee.
Dudley Borron Meyers, Esq., O.B.E.
S. V. Nathan, Esq.
Sir Samuel Perry O'Donnell, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.
The Hon. Sir T. N. Sivagnanam Pillai.
Raja Ravu Sri Rama Krishna Rangarao Bahadur,
Zamindar of Kirlampudi.
Sir Muhammad Rafique.
Major Alexander James Hutchinson Russell, C.B.E.,
I.M.S.
Frederick John Richards, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
Syed Ahmed Rafique, Esq. (Student Member).
Richard Kaikhusroo Sorabji, Esq., M.A.
John Armstrong Shillidy, Esq., I.C.S.
Krishna Appaji Shirpurkar, Esq. (Student Member).
John Ford Sale, Esq., I.C.S.
Dewan Bijoy Kumar Sen, B.A., B.L.
Ramaswami Srinivasa Sarma, Esq., C.I.E.
Ambalal Sarabhai, Esq.
Durga Dass Tangri, Esq. (Student Member).
Harold Anselm Bellamy Vernon, Esq., I.C.S.
Miss Mary C. Vaughan.
Maurice Emyadius Watts, Esq.
Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha.
Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.).

APPENDIX C

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members :

T. V. Seshagiri Aiyer, Esq.
I. W. Bowring, Esq.
Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta, K.C.S.I.

Major-General H.H. Sir Madho Rao Sindhia,
Bahadur of Gwalior, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., A.D.C.
Lieut.-General H.H. Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh,
Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,
G.B.E.
Sir Bradford Leslie, K.C.I.E.
E. Meyer, Esq.
Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.
Robert Sewell, Esq.
Lieut.-General F. H. Tyrrell.

APPENDIX D

The following have resigned membership during the year:

Captain U. N. Bannerji, I.M.S.
Rai Tarak Nath Sadhu Bahadur, C.I.E.
Frank Douglas Bennett, Esq., C.I.E.
Manchershaw B. Chothia, Esq.
Ram Chandra, Esq., M.B.E., I.C.S.
Colonel A. H. D. Creagh, C.M.G., M.V.O.
K. S. Choksy, Esq. (Student Member).
Sir Alexander G. Cardew, K.C.S.I.
K. C. Ray Chowdry, Esq.
Lady Giffard.
E. S. Keymer, Esq.
Rai Sahib Lakshmi Narayan Lal.
Syed Ross Masood.
Dr. S. S. Mohamedi.
Lieut.-Colonel P. W. O'Gorman, C.M.G., I.M.S. (ret'd.).
Sir P. Rajagopala Chariar.
W. C. Shepherd, Esq.
Miss Ida S. Scudder, M.D.
F. H. Skrine, Esq., I.C.S. (ret'd.).
Dr. H. Carey Vincent.
A. A. Waugh, Esq., I.C.S.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE fifty-ninth Annual General Meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, June 21, 1926.

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following members, among others, were present: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B. G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Selwyn H. Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Muhammad Rafique, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Major Gilbertson, Mr. M. A. J. Noble, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. C. A. Silberrad, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, and Mr. Stanley Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before I proceed to deal with the Agenda, I have to express my very great regret that Lord Lamington, our President, is unavoidably prevented from being with us, and I am sure you will regret his absence almost as much as I do. Unfortunately, in his absence, I have to undertake, imperfectly, I am afraid, his duties. You all know what he has done for this Association—(hear, hear)—how very earnest he is in the discharge of his duties in connection with the Association. Mr. Stanley Rice, our Honorary Secretary, can tell you a great deal more with regard to that than I can. But even during the short time that I have been with you I know that he has taken a very great interest, not only in India, because that we all do, but more particularly in the work of this Society. He has done all he possibly could to help us in every possible way, and we are very grateful to him. I am sure we all hope that next year he will be able to come and speak to us himself.

Now the Council regret to announce the deaths of some of our most leading members, some of them very old friends of mine, like the Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh Bahadur, of Jammu and Kashmir, whom I first met in 1876, and whom I have known very intimately all through my service. Then there is Sir Madho Rao Sindhia Bahadur, of Gwalior, with regard to whom I had an opportunity of saying something to you at the time when we first heard of his unfortunate death. He was certainly one of the most distinguished Chiefs who have ruled in India. His loss is a great loss, not only to his own State, but to the Government of India, and the whole community of India at large. (Hear, hear.) Then I see another old friend and fellow civilian, Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta, has also died. He was a man whom it will be very hard to replace in India, a very enlightened Indian, a most useful Government servant, and untiring in the discharge of his duties to the public. (Hear, hear.) His career was that of one of the earliest pioneers in the Indian Civil Service from India, and he rose to the highest eminence in that service, finally becoming a member of the Secretary of State's Council. I think he was the first Indian appointed to it. Altogether it is a record of which his family might very well be proud.

Then I see another old friend, Sir Bradford Leslie. One can hardly imagine the time when Sir Bradford Leslie and Sir Guildford Molesworth were not. They were both great builders and pillars of the Empire. I believe up to the very last Sir Bradford Leslie was actively engaged in his profession, and gave advice about the new bridge at Calcutta, which is to take the place of the bridge across the Hoogly. I only hope that the new bridge will do its work as well as his bridge, which is of very original conception, and that in addition to the joining up of Howrah and Calcutta may form a bridge in a moral sense between the various communities who seem to be distinguishing themselves at present in Calcutta by the greatest of disunion. Then, Ladies and Gentlemen, General Tyrrell will be a great loss to the literary side of the Association. Although we have had severe losses this year, owing to the untiring efforts of our Honorary Secretary we have succeeded in going ahead, and increasing our numbers. They are not very great, but at any rate we are on the right side both in the number of members and in the matter of income.

The lease of our present quarters is drawing to an end and we must soon consider the question of premises when that lease expires. I wish I could see my way to getting some substantial increase in the revenue, that would enable us to take rooms which were more spacious and which were either lower down, or to which there is a lift. I see from our Report that we do get a contribution from "East and West Ltd." in the matter of rent and light. The motto of the ASIATIC REVIEW is *Ex Oriente Lux, Ex Occidente Lex*, which is an expansion of the motto of the Punjab University. I suppose that the grant for light comes from the East, and that for the rent from the West. I hope that the REVIEW will so prosper that it may see its way to do something better for our joint uses in the future. I believe that "East and West Ltd." are publishers of the ASIATIC REVIEW, and this Association owes a great deal to the REVIEW, because they print at a very reasonable cost the Proceedings of our Meetings, and our Meetings appear all the more brilliantly in the setting of the more erudite articles which appear in the ASIATIC REVIEW. I hope that you all read your ASIATIC REVIEW; if you do not you ought. I confess I am not a Pundit in these matters, but I find topics of the extreme interest discussed in the most able way in the ASIATIC REVIEW. I am sure we, on behalf of the Association, wish all possible success to the ASIATIC REVIEW—and incidentally that we hope that success will be represented in a little more for light from the East, and a little more for rent from the West.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not know that there is anything much more that I need speak to you about. During the year past, you have no doubt seen the Report and the Accounts. The annals of the Association were uneventful, and we have not to report anything of very great consequence, but we have had some extremely interesting papers, and I think I should like to class as the most interesting of all, the paper by Sir Montagu Webb, a paper which I should like to call "Prosperity in India." Then Professor Gangulee's lecture was an excellent one, and he has now an opportunity on the Agricultural Commission in India to give effect to

some of his ideas as regards agricultural progress. That field is an exceedingly wide one, and I think he will find that the further experience he will gain of other Provinces in India will give him even wider views about agriculture than he has already expressed here. Then we had a very interesting lecture by Mr. Silberrad on "Village Panchayets in India." That reminds me that I understand from the Honorary Secretary when he was pleading our case in the matter of income tax, in which he unfortunately did not succeed, because we were held to be "patriotic." The Solicitor representing the Treasury pointed out in triumph that we were partly political, and instanced Mr. Silberrad's lecture on "Village Panchayets in India." That shows the danger of a little knowledge.

Nothing could have been further from Mr. Silberrad's idea when he lectured upon Panchayets than politics, and even the most energetic of our Members in that discussion were not really seriously able to drag in the question of politics. The paper on "Criminal Tribes of India," by Commissioner Booth Tucker, might have been more exciting in the matter of politics, but I believe that passed off quite quietly. I was not able to remain for the whole of the meeting. Then there were the papers upon the Indian States, in which considerable mention was made of his late Highness, the Maharaja of Gwalior; one was an exceedingly interesting paper from an Indian gentleman, Mr. Panikkar, on "The Position of Indian States"; and there was also another paper from a political officer who had been all his life in Central India. Altogether I think the tone of the lectures given before this Association during the past year was quite up to its generally high standard, and I sincerely hope that will always continue.

Now there is only one other matter which perhaps ought to have come first, although I think one generally likes to reserve the greatest to the end, and that, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the home-coming of Lord Reading, and the departure of Lord Irwin for India as Viceroy. Lord Irwin was good enough to give us a word of God-speed through the ASIATIC REVIEW, which I dare say you have all seen. Those of us who were privileged to attend the banquet given to him by the London Section of the Indian Chamber of Commerce can only have heard with the greatest of pleasure the very sane and sound views which he expressed. I am glad to think that Lord Reading has added further laurels to those he has already gained in his wonderful career, and I am sure that we as an Association can thoroughly congratulate him upon the great success which attended his administration. It is very difficult for a man going to India straight from England really to get hold of Indian topics until the last two years of his term of five years. It is extraordinarily fortunate for India that Lord Reading during his last two years should have done so much to bring about union and harmony in India. But there is no royal road to union and harmony in India; not even personal influence which you hear so much about is really able to quiet the troubles of a jarring Continent, and I am sorry to say that the same old troubles which existed in India when I went out, as long ago as 1876, still continue in the same places and under very

much the same conditions as they did then. I am very much afraid that, whatever may be done by eminent persons to exercise a personal influence and by legislative bodies to avoid raising troublesome questions, it will be some time before the tiger and the goat, without some control from without, can drink water, as the Indians say, from the same spring. I remember that in my time I was believed to have accomplished a miracle in the matter of control. I think the only reason was that in my time they had exceedingly good harvests, and they had quite enough to do to gather their crops without worrying about the spring at which they drank. However, I am sure we all wish Lord Irwin every possible success, and we hope his career will be as distinguished and useful to India and everybody there as Lord Reading's has been. (Hear, hear.)

Ladies and Gentlemen, the first item on our Agenda is to pass the Report and the Accounts. And I have, therefore, very much pleasure in proposing that the Report be accepted and adopted, and that the Accounts be passed. I will call upon Sir Patrick Fagan to second that proposition.

Sir PATRICK FAGAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not know that any remarks are needed from me in support of the Resolution which our Chairman has just moved and has so ably spoken to. The Accounts speak for themselves, the Balance Sheet shows the state of our affairs, and you, Sir, have already summarized the Report, and I therefore beg to second the proposal that the Report be adopted and the Accounts be passed.

The HON. SECRETARY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before we pass the Report of the Council, I should like to submit one or two more matters to you. I do not want to comment on the Report in any way, but I should like to bear testimony to the devotion and untiring energies of Mr. King, and I think it is only fair that I should say so. (Hear, hear.) There is one other supplementary remark on the Report that I should like to make, and it is that the Balance Sheet is slightly more favourable than it was. You know that we have passed through rather a difficult time during the last year or two. There have been times when Members have resigned because they said they could not afford even the twenty-five shillings a year which they were asked to pay to this Association. However, I think on the whole things are beginning to look up a little bit now.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, as I do not want to inflict a second speech upon you, may I take this opportunity of thanking Sir Louis Dane for the assistance which he has given us; he has given a great deal of help and has given up a good deal of his time to the affairs of the Association, and I should be very glad if you will join me in thanking him for all the trouble he has taken. (Applause.)

The Resolution was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The next item on the Programme is the re-election of the President and Vice-Presidents. I will ask Sir M. M. Bhownaggee to kindly propose the re-election of the President and Vice-Presidents.

Sir M. M. BHOWNAGGEE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in proposing the re-election of the President and Vice-Presi-

dents for the ensuing year. The annual proposal in respect of the election or the re-election of President is in accordance with the practice of most Societies like ours and enables Members to testify their appreciation, in the case of re-election, of the work done by a President in the past year. In that sense I submit the re-election of Lord Lamington, as worthy of the compliment which we wish to pay him. When his distinguished predecessor, the late Lord Reay, left the office vacant, we had grave doubts if a fitting successor could be found, and it is a pleasure to express, by this resolution, what I believe to be the unanimous opinion of us all, that in Lord Lamington the Association has secured a thoroughly sympathetic and useful head. (Cheers.)

As regards the Vice-Presidents, I am not sure that it has been our practice to propose their re-election. Their list is unchanged, and year after year retains or contains eminent names; but in the course of my fairly regular attendances at our Meetings I do not remember having seen any of them even at our annual gatherings. I welcome the opportunity of proposing their re-election every year, as it might serve to remind them that in appointing or retaining them in the honoured class of Vice-Presidents the Association expects them to take some interest in its proceedings. (Cheers.)

Being suddenly called upon to lay this proposition before you and so conclude the meeting, I can only briefly add my testimony to that borne by the Chairman regarding the zealous performance of his duties by our Hon. Secretary, and the very valuable assistance which Mr. Rice has himself so fittingly acknowledged having constantly received from Mr. King.

I beg to propose the re-election of the President and Vice-Presidents.

Sir MONTAGU WEBB: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in seconding the proposal for the re-election of the President and Vice-Presidents as given on the first page of the Report.

(The Resolution was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.)

The HON. SECRETARY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—During the year we co-opted two Members of the Council. One was Mr. F. J. P. Richter, and the other was Sir Edmund Barrow. We now require your confirmation of the Council's action.

Mr. SILBERRAD: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in proposing that Mr. Richter and Sir Edmund Barrow be elected as permanent Members of the Council.

Mrs. JACKSON: Mr. Chairman,—I have much pleasure in seconding that Resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: It is proposed that the co-option of General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., and Mr. F. J. P. Richter, M.A., be confirmed, and that they be elected as permanent Members of the Council.

(The Resolution was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.)

The HON. SECRETARY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As regards the re-election of the Council you will see in the Report that the following Members of the Council retire by rotation: Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir John G. Cumming, Mr. W. Coldstream, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Frank C. Gates, Colonel M. J.

Meade, Mr. John C. Nicholson, Miss F. R. Scatcherd. I have received letters from all of them—most of them in a modest vein—in which they say that they do not think they will be much use to the Council, but will be quite willing to serve if re-elected. The only resignation we have had is, unfortunately, Sir John G. Cumming, who does not wish to go on. He says he has too much to do otherwise. Therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, the names that are at present before you are: Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Valentine Chirol, Mr. W. Coldstream, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Frank C. Gates, Colonel M. J. Meade, Mr. John C. Nicholson, Miss F. R. Scatcherd. I have not any name to suggest in the place of Sir John Cumming, but the usual practice is, I think, to co-opt a member during the year, and have that confirmed by the Annual General Meeting later.

Sir SELWYN FREMANTLE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in proposing that the Members of the Council who retire by rotation, that is to say, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Valentine Chirol, Mr. W. Coldstream, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Frank C. Gates, Colonel M. J. Meade, Mr. John C. Nicholson, and Miss F. R. Scatcherd, be re-elected.

Sir MUHAMMAD RAFIQUE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in seconding the proposal of Sir Selwyn Fremantle in connection with the re-election of those members of the Council named. We are all sorry, I am sure, to hear that Sir John Cumming is not in a position to continue his activities on the Council. (Hear, hear.)

(The Resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

The Annual Meeting was followed by a *Conversazione*, which was attended by a large number of Members and their friends.

SOME POINTS OF DIFFERENCE IN THE CRIMINAL LAW OF ENGLAND AND INDIA

BY F. G. BUTLER, I.C.S.

THE subject chosen for this afternoon's lecture is a large one, and the time at my disposal is too brief for any treatment in detail. Nor would details be of interest to the bulk of my listeners. I propose, therefore, to select for comment what I consider to be salient points of difference in the criminal law of the two countries, and to deal with the topic from the three points of view—form, substance, and procedure.

In form the criminal law of the two countries differs fundamentally. This is a matter of historic development. The criminal law of England has for its trunk the Common Law, itself rooted in national custom. It is uncodified and in a sense unwritten. True it is that you will find the law expounded in Bracton, Coke, Hale, Foster and other great authorities, but however great the respect they may command, they are not the law, nor can they command the universal assent such as only attaches to a statute. For, after all, they can but tell us what, in their opinion, the law is, and like any other opinion theirs may be dissented from. When, however, a dictum has been quoted with approval and followed in case after case and from century to century, its authority becomes unquestioned and unquestionable. Such dicta, however, depend upon acceptance for their authority, which is entirely different from the authority which attaches to an Act of Parliament. In the middle of the last century there was a great movement in favour of law reform, and there was much talk of codification, but though commissions sat and issued reports over a period of forty years, the movement did not fructify. In 1861 a large portion of the criminal law was consolidated, but consolidation is not codification. Look at the Offences Against the Person Act and the Larceny Act of that year, and you will

find no definition of murder, manslaughter, larceny, and embezzlement. It is assumed that it is known what constitutes murder and what are the ingredients of theft. More recent Acts, such as the Perjury Act of 1911, the Forgery Act of 1913, and the Larceny Act of 1916, do define certain offences, but the definitions do not purport to contain the whole law, nor is any attempt made to put the law on a logical basis. The terms "rob" and "embezzle" are used without definition. One result of this unwritten character of the law has been to give it a certain fluidity, which might not have been possible had it been codified, and has given the law a chance of keeping in consonance with public opinion. In days when capital punishment was provided for a very large number of offences, and when conviction for felony involved forfeiture of property, both judges and juries at times strove to find loopholes through which the prisoner might escape. Probably many of our legal anomalies, *e.g.*, in the law of theft, may be attributed to this tendency, and the still prevailing tendency of coroner's juries to find the deceased of unsound mind at the time he took his own life is certainly due to the fact that formerly a verdict of *felo-de-se* involved not only a degrading form of burial, but also the forfeiture of his property, and though these evils have long ago been almost entirely removed, the form of the verdict had become so well established that it still persists in spite of the stigma that it conveys.

The substantive criminal law of India is embodied in the Indian Penal Code. The original draft appeared in 1837 and was the work of the Indian Law Commissioners, over whom Macaulay presided. It was published at a time when law reform and codification were very much in the air in England. Shortly after its appearance the English Law Commissioners published their draft code in 1843, and the draft Indian code was reconsidered in the light of it, and substantially modified, but it was not until 1860 that it was enacted as law. In India codification was practically inevitable. The old Hindu penal law had been ousted every-

where, where the Muhammadans had conquered, by the Koran, and it was this law that the East India Company found in force, when they first began to acquire sovereign powers under the Moghal Emperor. In the Mufassil this law was largely retained, but the Courts established by Royal Charter in the Presidency Towns administered the English Common Law, and the same was applicable to Europeans in the Mufassil. Thus at the time the Law Commissioners drew up their report, there were two systems of criminal law in force in India, the Muhammadan Criminal Law modified by local Regulations and judicial rationalization (in Bombay the criminal law was entirely the creature of local Regulations), and the unreformed English Common Law. The Muhammadan Law, the Commissioners found, had been so distorted as to deprive it of all title to religious veneration, but retained enough of its original peculiarities to perplex and encumber the administration of justice, while in their opinion "the Common Law was a very artificial and complicated system, a foreign system, framed without the smallest reference to India, a system which, even in the country for which it was framed, was generally considered as requiring extensive reform, and had been pronounced by a Commission to be so defective that it could only be reformed by being entirely taken to pieces and reconstructed." The Commissioners felt, therefore, that they could accept neither of the prevailing systems of law, and were thus forced to create a new system of their own, and this inevitably meant codification. Of course, in drawing up the draft of this Code, they had regard to the existing system of law, but they also went further afield and consulted other systems also, notably the French *Code Pénal* and Livingstone's Code for Louisiana. The result is that the law has been declared with legislative authority, but to find the whole law we must look not only to the Code but also to the decisions of the Courts. In France the *Code Pénal* retains its vigour unimpaired. It is self-contained: no judicial decision can modify it: each case is decided with

reference to the words of the Code, and decisions of the tribunals, however long established, are in no way binding, and may at any time be ignored. In India this is not so. Courts are bound by their own decisions and those of courts to which they are subordinate.

The unwritten character of English law obtains also with regard to evidence and procedure, while the Indian law is embodied in statutes. There is also this fundamental difference in the sphere of evidence: the English law lays down what is not evidence, while in India the attempt has been made to define evidence positively.

So much for differences of form. Coming now to the substantive law, I do not propose to discuss the question of punishments. The penal systems of the two countries are very different, and lie outside the scope of my subject. It was inevitable from its history that the Indian Penal Code should be more logical and less anomalous than the English common law. Both systems base criminal responsibility on the existence of *mens rea* in the criminal. *Mens rea* is "a blameworthy condition of mind. Sometimes it is negligence, sometimes malice, sometimes guilty knowledge." It is true that some acts are so prohibited by statute that it matters not what may have been the condition of the doer's mind; but this is not so unless it is clear by the express wording of the enactment. The law of the two countries, however, is not, it seems to me, in exact agreement as to the doctrine of *mens rea*. In the Indian Penal Code there seems to be an attempt to provide that a man shall only be punished for the act he intended to commit. But such a theory is obviously inapplicable in cases of negligence, where admittedly there is no intention, and in many cases intention being only ascertainable from overt acts, the law has to provide that a man is deemed to intend the natural and probable consequences of his act. This, too, is the law of England, but the law seems to go further than this in what is sometimes known as the doctrine of constructive malice. Some writers have asserted that where death is

caused accidentally in the commission of a felony, this is murder. Whether this was ever the law is doubtful, but it is certain that death unintentionally caused by an act of violence in furtherance of a felony is murder. However, there seems to be an inclination on the part of the Courts to mitigate the rigour of the rule, as juries have been told in more than one case of death caused in procuring abortion, where the woman was a consenting party, that if there was no intention to cause death and no knowledge that death was likely to result, a verdict of manslaughter might be returned. In India death caused through procuring abortion is not murder, but the offence is specifically provided for.

Speaking broadly, I think it may be said that the two systems of law differ more in detail than in principle. Names and punishments may differ, but it will usually be found that the same acts are treated as crimes under both systems of law. Thus dacoity is unknown to English law as a specific form of crime, and it is entirely ignorant of thuggee, but should such crimes be committed in this country, I think that the law of robbery and conspiracy would be adequate to deal with them. It is also to my mind of no great moment that what might in English law be reckoned manslaughter, which in some respects is the equivalent of the Indian culpable homicide not amounting to murder, might under the Penal Code be treated as simple or grievous hurt. What seems important is that both countries will punish the crime, and it is unlikely that in practice, having regard to the conditions prevailing in the two countries, there will be any marked divergence in the punishment awarded.

Before I speak of particular crimes there are a few points in the matter of general criminal liability that deserve attention. Both countries agree that a child under the age of seven is incapable of committing a crime. But while the English law is that children between the ages of seven and fourteen are presumed to be incapable of the necessary criminal intention, though it is open to the prosecution to

prove the contrary, the Penal Code puts the presumption the other way, holding that a child between the ages of seven and twelve is possessed of sufficiency of understanding, unless the defence can prove the contrary. Children of twelve and over are deemed to have sufficiency of understanding, and it is not open to prove the contrary. Children in India undoubtedly mature more quickly, but it may be doubted whether the conditions in the two countries are such as to justify this difference in the law, and it might be desirable that the law in India should be amended. It may be noted in passing that Indian law knows nothing of the presumption of English law that a boy under fourteen is incapable of rape, nor does it know of the doctrine of marital coercion which still lingers in the English courts, though a presumption of it has just been abolished. Indian conditions might surely better justify it.

There is one other point in the matter of criminal liability in which the law of the two countries differs, and that is in the law of the private defence of person and property. The authors of the Code intended that there should be a difference. "The people," so runs the report of 1837, "are too little disposed to help themselves. The patience with which they submit to the cruel depredations of gang robbers, and to trespass and mischief committed in the most outrageous manner by bands of ruffians, is one of the most remarkable, and at the same time one of the most discouraging symptoms, which the state of society in India presents to us. Under these circumstances we are desirous rather to rouse and encourage a manly spirit among people than to multiply restrictions on the exercise of self-defence." This, then, was their expressed intention; the difference in the law of the two countries appears, however, somewhat fine. The law of England, according to the authors of the draft code of 1879, "though it sanctions the defence of a man's person, liberty, and property against illegal violence, and permits the use of force to prevent crimes, to preserve the public peace, and to bring offenders

to justice, yet this is all subject to the restriction that the force used is necessary—that is, that the mischief sought to be prevented could not be prevented by less violent means, and that the mischief done by, or which might reasonably be anticipated from, the force used is not disproportionate to the injury and mischief it is intended to prevent." It is in this insistence on the just proportioning of the force used to the harm anticipated that the law of England differs from that of India. Section 99 Indian Penal Code, it is true, lays down that "the right of private defence in no case extends to the inflicting of more harm than is necessary to inflict for the purpose of defence," but force may be necessary to prevent a wrong which is not proportioned to that wrong, and the effect of Sections 100 and 103, which lay down when death may be caused, is in no way to limit the right of private defence. If the law were the same as that of England they would be entirely unnecessary. Whether the object aimed at by the Commissioners has been achieved, or whether the law has not given undue encouragement to faction fights arising out of disputes relating to land, is a matter for speculation.

I come now to the chapter relating to offences affecting the human body. Briefly put, murder in English law is unlawfully causing the death of another with malice aforethought, express or implied. Unfortunately the expression "malice aforethought" has acquired such a technical significance that it conveys nothing to the lay mind. It is true that most cases of murder are clear enough; the prisoner intended to cause the death of the deceased and the crime is clear; but the English law goes further, and quite apart from the question of constructive malice, to which I have already referred, punishes as murder the killing of another, where there was an intention to cause grievous hurt, or where a person does an act intrinsically likely to kill, though without the intention of killing or harming anybody. The Code is at pains to put the matter more logically, but finds much difficulty in doing so. So

much so, that it is extremely difficult to distinguish manslaughter from murder. This may be true also in English law owing to the facts, but the law, technical though it is, is to my mind clearer, and English law looks upon all unlawful killing as *prima facie* murder, and it is for the prisoner to prove the mitigation of the offence. By the Code it is culpable homicide to cause the death of another by an act intended to cause death, or intended to cause bodily injury likely to cause death, or with the knowledge that death is likely to result, and all that separates simple culpable homicide from murder appears to be the difference between an act that is likely to cause death and an act which either is known to be likely to cause the death of the person to whom the harm is caused, or is sufficient in the ordinary course of nature to cause death, or is so imminently dangerous that it must in all probability cause death. The distinction is fine. In India persons charged with murder can be convicted of causing grievous hurt or merely of simple hurt. This is not the law in England. A person causing death by an act intended to cause grievous hurt would be guilty of murder, while to cause death in committing simple hurt would be at least manslaughter. But the distinction in the latter case is not of much importance, as the punishment for manslaughter in England is most elastic, but the punishment for murder is death, and death alone. There is no discretion in the judge or in the Court of Criminal Appeal to award any other punishment. Probably judges in India do not welcome the responsibility of having to decide between death and transportation for life. There is a further important respect in which the law of the two countries differs. The Code recognizes consent as sufficient to reduce murder to culpable homicide; the English law does not. By the law of England no man can consent to his own death or even to accepting the risk of death. Thus death in a duel is punishable as murder, and the survivor of a suicide pact is indictable either for murder or for abetment thereof, and in England anyone who

abetted *satti* would undoubtedly be indicted for abetment of murder. So, too, a doctor who yielded to a patient's request to be released from life would be guilty of murder. In England there is a technical rule that for a prosecution to lie for murder death must ensue within a year and a day of the act causing it; there is no such limitation in India.

I saw recently in *The Times* a suggestion by an ex-judge of the Madras High Court that there should be a provision in English law corresponding to Section 304A, Indian Penal Code. Offences under Section 304A seem to me to be already covered by the law of manslaughter, and to this extent the proposal appears unnecessary. If death is caused by an act amounting to criminal negligence, that is manslaughter, but manslaughter is an ugly word that juries do not like, and there is often much reluctance to convict; and experience shows that while in motor cases, which the writer had in mind, juries are willing enough to find civil negligence, they are most unready to find criminal negligence and to bring in a verdict of manslaughter. Perhaps, therefore, such a provision of law might be desirable, though I confess that it would be difficult to fit it into the existing law.

Before leaving the subject of murder and manslaughter I should perhaps mention that English law does not recognize murder by perjury, as is done by the Code. This may seem curious in view of the wide scope of the English law of murder, but the law seems to place the sole responsibility on the judge and jury trying the case, and to refuse to regard the perjured witness as the abettor of the act of an innocent agent.

There is just one other point that I should mention. Both English and Indian law recognize provocation as a mitigating element in crimes of violence, and though it is not expressed in the definition given in Section 300, I think that Indian law agrees with English law that the provocation must be such as would move a man of reasonable firmness. But Indian law differs from English law in recognizing mere words to constitute provocation.

Passing on to crimes against property, it is interesting to compare the definitions of "theft" and "stealing" given in the Indian Penal Code and the Larceny Act of 1916 respectively. Section 378 Indian Penal Code defines theft thus: Whoever, intending to take dishonestly any movable property out of the possession of any person without that person's consent, moves that property in order to such taking, is said to commit theft. Section 1 of the Larceny Act states: A person steals who, without the consent of the owner, fraudulently and without claim of right made in good faith, takes and carries away anything capable of being stolen with intent, at the time of such taking, permanently to deprive the owner thereof. It will at once be apparent that there are several points of difference. The Indian law looks to the possession of the property, while the English concerns itself with ownership; under English law the intention must be to deprive permanently, while in Indian law temporary taking may be sufficient to constitute theft. There was also at one time considerable difference as to what could be the subject of theft, but the Larceny Act has swept away many anomalies by declaring that "everything which has value and is the property of any person, and if adhering to realty then after severance therefrom, shall be capable of being stolen," which is much the same as the Indian law; but there is an important proviso to the English law, which effects that growing thing and things attached to or forming part of realty, and wild animals not reduced into possession while living, shall not be capable of being stolen by the person severing or killing them as the case may be, unless possession has been abandoned after severance or killing. This proviso serves to keep alive the old doctrine that things which savour of realty cannot be stolen, but offences against the excepted kinds of property are made punishable by later sections of the Act. The Indian law, not having the English conceptions of real property, steers clear of these complications; in fact, the whole law of offences against property is far simpler and better ordered.

In English law it may be larceny to keep a thing that one has found, while in Indian law this would amount only to criminal appropriation; but in English law there must be a dishonest intention at the time of finding, while under the Code it does not matter at what time the dishonest intention is formed. The offence, which the Code knows as "extortion," is larceny in English law. The definition of stolen property in Section 410 of the Code is narrower than that in Section 33 of the Larceny Act of 1916, which renders punishable the dishonest receiving of any property known to have been obtained under circumstances which amount to a felony or a misdemeanour, and thus covers property obtained by cheating or false pretences. As to the crime of "cheating," the Code does not accept the English view that dishonest expressions of intention do not amount to a false pretence, and in consequence does not differentiate between obtaining goods by false pretences and obtaining credit by false pretences. The Indian law of "cheating" is also much wider in that it covers both larceny by a trick, and the procuring of acts by false pretences other than the obtaining of chattels, money, or valuable securities. Similarly, the Indian law as to housebreaking is considerably wider than the English. The English law insists on an actual breaking, while the Indian, perhaps wisely, in view of the different conditions prevailing, adopts a constructive breaking if entrance is obtained or exit made through what may be called an unauthorized entry or exit such as a window.

There is nothing in English law directly corresponding to the chapter dealing with criminal breach of contract of service. Most of that chapter has been repealed, and the principle underlying Section 491 is recognized in English law.* There is also an important difference in law in the chapter dealing with offences relating to marriage. Adultery by a man is punishable in Indian law; it is not by the

* The principle is also recognized in Section 4 of 38 and 39 Vict., c. 86 (Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875), with regard to gas and water works employees.

law of England. It is interesting to note that the authors of the Code did not propose to make adultery an offence, but they were subsequently overruled. Whether this has been of advantage to the community in the result is a matter for individual opinion. My personal experience is that both Section 497 (adultery) and Section 498 (enticing of a married woman) are only used by the lower caste people, who use the sections to squeeze money out of the adulterer either to recoup the wedding expenses or to recover the value of the woman's jewels. Adultery pure and simple among these people does not seem to be viewed as a crime.

The Indian law of defamation also differs widely from the English law of criminal libel. In the first place, slander in English law is never a crime, and a libel is a crime only if it tends to create a breach of the peace. The authors of the Code argue with some force that a slander may be much more likely to provoke a breach of the peace than a libel, and that some of the worst defamations are those which cannot provoke such a breach because their authorship remains unknown. On the other hand, it may be argued that the Indian law both as to defamation and as to offences against marriage reflects the vindictive aspect of the criminal law, and that it is in a spirit of revenge that the law in practice is invoked.

I now come to the adjectival law. Both English and Indian law have many fundamentals in common, but the systems of administering justice are inherently different. Both recognize that a man must be regarded as innocent until he is proved guilty: both insist that the prosecution shall prove its case: in both the duty of the prosecution is to place the whole case before the court, and it is the honourable practice of both the English and the Indian Bar in conducting prosecutions to endeavour to arrive at the truth, and not to press for a verdict against the prisoner. It is often said that the English law holds it better that ten guilty men should go unpunished than that one innocent

man should be convicted. I do not think that the English law holds anything of the sort. But what it does hold, and what the Indian law holds too, is that no one, innocent or guilty, shall be convicted except on sufficient evidence; for it is only by insisting on the sufficiency of the evidence in every case that miscarriages of justice can be avoided.

The Indian system of administering criminal justice differs widely from the English. The latter is the result of slow historic growth, a fact which explains why things must be different in India. In England, speaking generally, all petty crime is dealt with by the Justices at their Petty Sessions, or summarily, while grave crime is dealt with at Quarter Sessions or Assizes, where trial is by jury. Justices have for the most part no judicial training or experience before appointment. In towns there are stipendiaries with legal qualifications who do the work of the justices, but the system taken as a whole is as I have stated. In India there is really nothing as yet corresponding to the English Justices, and trial by jury is not only of limited application, but differs markedly from the English system. Bench courts, which to some extent are modelled on the English Petty Sessions, are as yet, so far as I know them, in their infancy, and the bulk of petty and grave crime is dealt with by the three classes of stipendiary magistrates, while of the crime that is grave enough to be committed to the District Courts, in Madras the most serious of all is tried not by jury but with the aid of assessors. In other parts of India the practice differs: in parts of Bombay trial is by jury in all cases where there may be a death sentence. As to trial by jury, in England there are twelve jurors, who must be unanimous; in India there are nine jurors in trials before the High Courts, and in District Courts of Session the number may be fixed between five and nine by the Local Government, and in neither case need the jury be unanimous. In courts of Sessions a bare majority verdict may be accepted, while in the High Courts the judge may accept a verdict of not less than six to three. I do not wish here to

enter into any criticism of the jury system in India : to do so would be outside my province. I must, however, state that the Indian system is in my view fundamentally different from the English. Unanimity is of the essence of the English trial by jury. Whatever may have been its origin, it is regarded to-day as an assurance not only that the administration of justice shall be in accordance with popular opinion, but that the guilt of the prisoner shall be made clear to his fellow-citizens—persons of but ordinary and untrained intelligence—beyond any reasonable doubt. If the jury are unable to agree, they must be discharged and the case retried before a fresh jury. Indian law does not insist on unanimity, and though this may avoid the inconvenience of retrials, a majority verdict is very different from a unanimous one. Whether it would be practical to insist on unanimity in India is not for me to say, but I may say in passing that though the letter of the law with regard to judge and jury appears to be the same, in practice, English juries—at least, such is my impression—receive more guidance from the summing-up of the judge than they do in India. At all events, I have listened to summings-up in the English Courts that I do not think my own High Court in Madras would view with favour. English judges, however, have regard to the particular jury with which they have to deal, and if one case goes wrong for want of sufficient direction from the Bench, there is a tendency for the judge to make sure that there shall be no mistake in the next. But if the summing-up to juries in India is apt at times to be inadequate, the position is still worse with regard to assessors. At the best they can only express an opinion by which the judge is not bound, and very often, though this is a matter of practice with individual judges, they have to express their opinion without any guidance by way of summing-up at all. The law makes summing-up to assessors optional, and the cautious judge, knowing that he may be upset for giving the assessors too much guidance, while he cannot be if he gives them none at all, is apt to

think it safest to omit summing-up altogether. This, of course, hardly tends to make the system of trial with assessors efficient.

I now pass on to the subject of appeal, and here again there is a very important difference of law. In England the facts are found by those who hear the evidence ; in India this is true only where the trial has been by jury. In England there are two systems of appeal. In the case of all convictions by a court of summary jurisdiction, where the prisoner has not pleaded guilty, and where a sentence of imprisonment has been awarded without the option of a fine, there is an appeal to Quarter Sessions. There is also an appeal in certain cases of fine, in London all fines over £3 being appealable. These appeals are by way of retrial, and the court, which sits without a jury, hears the whole of the evidence again, and possibly fresh evidence, and it is for the prosecution to prove its case, and not for the appellant to show his innocence. Where the trial has been by jury, there is always an appeal on a point of law. There is also an appeal on a question of fact or mixed law and fact with the leave of the Court of Criminal Appeal, or by the certificate of the trial judge. There is further an appeal against the sentence with the leave of the Court of Criminal Appeal. The Court of Criminal Appeal consists of the Judges of the King's Bench Division, three Judges form the Court, and the Lord Chief Justice generally sits as president. There is, however, as a rule, only one judgment. As a matter of practice the Court will not interfere with the verdict of a jury unless the verdict is unreasonable or cannot be supported having regard to the evidence, and leave to appeal on grounds of pure fact is very seldom granted. The Court can quash the conviction, and can alter and even enhance the sentence, but unlike Indian Courts of Appeal it cannot order a retrial. It has the advantage of a verbatim report of the evidence and of a report on the case by the trial judge as well as of his notes. The appellant has a right to be present at the hearing of an appeal, unless it is on a

question of pure law, but he has no such right with regard to applications for leave to appeal.

In India things are very different. The grounds for appeal are wide, and they are also absolute. There is never any question of obtaining leave to appeal. The verdict of a jury cannot be upset, unless it is erroneous owing to misdirection or to a misunderstanding by the jury of the law; but in all other cases the appellate court forms its own opinion of the facts, and it has to do this without either hearing the witnesses or having a verbatim report of the evidence before it. The system of making a memorandum of the evidence in narrative form, which prevails in India, is often of far less assistance than a record which gives both the question and the answer. Further, the trial magistrate or judge makes no report on the case, and the appellant, if in custody, is not present. The High Courts have power to enhance sentences, but inferior courts of appeal have not; but all courts have power to order a retrial, the absence of which power appears to me to be a defect in the English law. Except in the High Courts the appeal is heard by a single judge or magistrate; in the Madras High Court appeals are heard by one or two judges. In English law there are no provisions analogous to those under Section 307 for referring cases where the judge differs from the jury, or of submitting death sentences for confirmation as provided by Section 374; nor does English law know anything of revision. In English law, too, there is no original appeal by the Crown from an acquittal, though there is a right of appeal from the Court of Criminal Appeal by either party to the House of Lords on an important point of law. There is no appeal in India on fact, from the decision of a jury, for where the trial judge considers the verdict perverse he may refer the case to the High Court. This being so and the judgment in other cases being given by trained judges or magistrates, it may seem anomalous that there should be any appeal against acquittal except on a point of law, and that there should be

no appeal even on a point of law where the trial has been before the High Court.

The next point with which I wish to deal is the position of the accused. Under Indian law the accused enjoys certain privileges and labours under certain disadvantages which do not exist under the law of England. I have already mentioned those connected with the right of appeal, and I will now consider others. Perhaps the most important point of difference is that in India the accused cannot, except in a few cases of a quasi-criminal character, give evidence on oath on his own behalf. Some may consider this an advantage, others may look upon it as the reverse; but to me it appears to work in a way precisely the opposite to that in which any provision of law should. For in my view it is an advantage to the guilty man and a handicap to the innocent that he is not allowed to enter the box. True it is that he can make a statement not on oath, but this is a very different thing from offering himself for cross-examination, by which alone the value of his evidence given can be tested. In England it is only since 1898 that the prisoner has been allowed to give evidence on oath.

One advantage that the accused enjoys in India, which he does not in England, is in the matter of attacking the character of witnesses for the prosecution. By the Criminal Evidence Act of 1898 a prisoner may be asked questions tending to show that he has committed other offences or is of bad character, if he or his counsel has set up his good character, or the nature and conduct of the defence is such as to involve imputations on the character of the prosecutor or the witnesses for the prosecution. In India evidence of the bad character of the accused can only be given when he has put his own character in issue. It may seem rather hard that in England a prisoner is liable to have the whole of his character laid bare if his counsel ill-advisedly attacks a witness for the prosecution; but counsel for the prosecution do not grasp at opportunities for such cross-examination, and the attitude of the English law

appears to be that if the prisoner sets out to show that a witness is unworthy of credit, the prosecution should be allowed to prove that the prisoner is himself equally unworthy of belief. In India this consideration does not apply, as not being able to give evidence on oath, he does not set himself up as a witness of the truth, and also, as he does not go into the box, there is no possibility of cross-examining him as to his character or otherwise.

Another matter in which the Indian prisoner is privileged is in the matter of cross-examination. The art of cross-examination is little known in India, where it depends largely for its efficacy on its length and the possibility of involving the witness in contradictions. The privilege that the accused has of reserving his cross-examination in magistrates' courts is thus a valued one, and in warrant cases he has the right of cross-examining both before and after the charge, with a possibility of recalling a witness after he has entered on his defence. The latest amendment to the Code of Criminal Procedure renders necessary an adjournment of the case after a charge has been framed in order to give the accused an opportunity for making up his mind as to further cross-examination. I have no experience of the practical working of this amendment, but it must make for delay, and must be highly inconvenient to the witnesses for the prosecution. It will doubtless be chiefly exploited by those who set out to be obstructive. The idea underlying the Indian law appears to be that the accused is to be deemed to be an entirely innocent person entirely ignorant of the matter with which he is charged; while the English law, which moves more rapidly, assumes that by the time a person is brought to trial he will have had ample opportunities for acquainting himself with the subject-matter of the charge and of preparing his defence.

The last and most important particular in which the accused enjoys different treatment under the Indian law is in his relations with the police. English law admits in evidence all statements made by the prisoner to the police

voluntarily. It is usual to administer a caution to the prisoner, but this is not essential. But the courts insist on the voluntary character of the statement, and strongly repress any inquisitorial proceedings on the part of the police. It is not at all unusual for persons on being charged with an offence to make frank admissions to the police. These statements, made without premeditation and before there has in many cases been any time to concoct a defence, naturally carry great weight. The statements, however, do not always go to prove the guilt of the accused; for it is often a great point in a man's favour that he took the earliest opportunity of denying his guilt or of explaining apparently criminal conduct. Be this as it may, many convictions are secured in England which would be impossible if police evidence were excluded. In India evidence may not be given of any statement made to a police officer unless it leads to the discovery of some material fact. This is certainly a great handicap to the police, but equally certainly the law reflects public opinion, popular as well as political, as to the reliability of police evidence. In England it is a maxim with defending counsel that to attack the police is generally the last refuge of a bad case, but in India it is a commonplace not only to attack the police evidence in detail, but to assert that the case from beginning to end is a concoction. I do not wish to give my own opinion on the police in India, but that there is a very general distrust of the police and police methods is, I submit, a fact that can neither be denied nor overlooked, and is a fact that is strongly reflected in the law of the country. If one assumes that the police evidence could be relied on, this ruling out of evidence of statements made to the police might at times operate to the detriment of an innocent accused.

There is another matter in which Indian law excludes evidence. In English courts it is the commonest thing after a person has been convicted for the court to enquire what is known about him. Then as a rule a police officer steps

into the box and gives what is known of the accused's antecedents, both good and bad. He may be cross-examined, and I believe that the court does not as a rule take into consideration anything that is denied by the prisoner. The prisoner has also an opportunity of calling evidence in mitigation of punishment. The evidence of the police is, so far as my limited experience goes, extremely fairly given, and must be of material assistance to the court in determining how to deal with the prisoner. Of course, this evidence is double-edged, but it works in the right way: it is in favour of the man of comparatively good character, but it is hard on the man whose record is undilutedly bad. More than once have I heard a recommendation to mercy made to appear singularly ill-advised after the prisoner's record has been put in, while on other occasions the evidence, either of the police or of witnesses called by the prisoner, has been of material assistance in procuring for him a light sentence or merely an order to come up for judgment if called upon. In India, as I understand the law, the court has no power to receive such evidence—at least, the Code is silent, and the evidence would certainly be strongly objected to if it were to the prejudice of the accused. The Courts thus have very little knowledge of the prisoners whom they are called upon to sentence, and to me it seems a pity that more knowledge is not placed at their disposal. However, here again it is a question of the trustworthiness of the police, and it is at least doubtful whether an amendment of the law in the direction indicated would be popular. The Indian, I am inclined to think, has a feeling that even the guilty should have a sporting chance of getting off, and the fact that some persons might benefit would not make up for the certainty that a number of malefactors would not. As in cases of dishonesty evidence of previous convictions, though not other evidence as to character, can already be given, I am inclined to think that such apprehensions would not be justified. It has occurred to me that it might tend to the improvement of the relations between

police and public, if the police in India were relieved of the duty of prosecuting grave crime in the magistrates' courts, and their duties limited to its detection. In England the police do not, except at Petty Sessions, attend to conduct the prosecution, a solicitor or counsel being instructed to appear where necessary. I think it also a pity that we have not in India, at least in Madras, someone corresponding to the Director of Public Prosecutions to supervise the prosecution of crime, and to ensure that cases are properly prepared for presentation in court.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W. 1, on Monday, July 12, 1926, when a paper was read by F. G. Butler, Esq., I.C.S., entitled, "Some Points of Difference in the Criminal Law of England and India," Sir Francis Oldfield in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Selwyn Howe Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Rustom P. Jehangier Vakil, Sir George Shaw, C.S.I., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mrs. Butler, Miss Butler, Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. J. P. Bedford, Mr. A. de Mello, Miss L. Sorabji, Miss Corner, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mrs. Herron, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Dr. Shah, Mr. T. Sadasiva Ramachandran, Mr. W. Westbrook, Mr. Q. Wischam, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Butler, who for some time was Registrar of the Madras High Court, and I am sure we shall all look forward to his address, because he is eminently qualified to deal with his subject.

(The lecturer read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are greatly indebted to Mr. Butler for the learned and instructive paper which he has read, and I think we are also indebted to him for his choice of subject. In this Association, so far as my experience goes, we are apt to turn frequently to the more attractive fields of social and industrial development, and very naturally so; but I think it is desirable that, from time to time, we should be reminded that the Government of India has also other functions to discharge, and that we should not be allowed to take for granted, as there is some danger of our doing, the efficiency of the administration of criminal justice, the security—which I believe is as necessary now as at any time—for the safety of persons and property, that being really the substance and indispensable purpose of the State.

Mr. Butler has rather avoided, if I may say so, any generalization; I have no doubt he hopes that will follow in the forthcoming discussion from the materials which he has provided. I may mention one point which has occurred to me in his paper—that is, that those who framed the Code were very successful so long as they confined themselves to removing the obscurities and anomalies of English law, obscurities and anomalies mainly due to the course of its historical development. Mr. Butler gave us one instance of that—namely, the law of larceny. I do not think that Mr. Butler was at all too hard on the English law of larceny. It is my

duty from time to time to try and explain it to the youth of a northern University, and I may say I remember gratefully the half-dozen clear and compendious sections in which the Code deals, so far as my experience goes with very fair success, with offences relating to property, when I set them in contrast with the section of the Larceny Act, which requires a lengthy exposition with careful reference to a number of decisions, which it is not always easy to reconcile. May I suggest one other instance in which the framers of the Code have earned the gratitude of India—that is, with reference to the charge, the statement to the accused of the offence, the matter in respect of which he will have to defend himself. Contrast the charge with the English indictment. The charge is clearly put in untechnical language, and can, if necessary, be amended at any stage, so long as the accused is not prejudiced. The indictment has only reached its present condition of comparative clarity within the last ten years; for at the time when the Code was framed, there was ample scope for the ingenuity of the accused or his counsel to enable him to escape owing to any mistake, however technical and unsubstantial, in the wording of the indictment. I think we have been saved from many miscarriages of justice in India by the substitution of the simple procedure which we have for the English procedure.

But when we have made that acknowledgment to those who framed the Code, we come to another matter—namely, the instances in which they attempted to adopt the English law, or to modify the English law, in order to make it suitable to Indian conditions; and there, at least, it is very doubtful whether their work was as successful. It may be that they did not anticipate the progress of the country and the progress of education, the improvement in the competence of the magistracy, and in the learning of the Bar and the increase of its numbers. But they left us in certain parts of the Code with provisions which, no doubt, were desirable or even necessary as things stood when the Code was framed, but which have since ceased to be so, and which, to me at least, appear as an obstacle to the enforcement of law and order, and to the administration of justice.

Mr. Butler gave us one illustration, the law relating to the right of self-defence. He showed how the Code was framed in order to encourage a healthy spirit of self-defence, the absence of which the Commissioners regretted. I think nowadays most of us, certainly in the south, and I believe also those from Bengal, would agree that what we have had to correct is rather the type of man who goes out, in the case of a dispute regarding land, resolved to meet force by force and even to anticipate force, and then to rely on the plea of self-defence to escape the consequences. Those of us who have had magisterial and judicial experience know the danger of those agrarian disputes, ending very often in serious riots, in injury, and in loss of life, and we know how the tendency to resort to force in those cases is promoted by the very great chance of a plea of private self-defence being successful. Nowadays I think many of you would agree that a desirable piece of legislation would be a restriction of that right, and its withdrawal perhaps—I am speaking very generally—in cases in which not merely there is time to have recourse to the authorities, but in

cases in which there is no immediate prospect of irreparable loss, and in which adequate compensation can be recovered by future proceedings. As it is, I think unfortunately, the view taken by the Commissioners has received effect, and has continued to receive effect, notwithstanding the very great changes in the country during the past sixty years.

Mr. Butler has referred to the law relating to further cross-examination and the fact that a witness can first be cross-examined when he gives his evidence, or his cross-examination can be reserved and taken after all the witnesses have given all their evidence, and then the fact that the accused can, as of right, practically get a further cross-examination at a later stage in the trial. That, of course, may have been, and probably was, a necessary protection to ignorant people when legal assistance was difficult to obtain, and it probably was at that time abundantly justified, but it is a very grave question whether it is justified in the altered conditions. There is, moreover, another kindred matter which Mr. Butler has not referred to, perhaps because it has been corrected very lately—the enormously cumbrous procedure which, until lately, had to be gone through before a man could be prosecuted for perjury or other offences connected with public justice. That, again, involved a full preliminary inquiry; it involved in some cases two or even three appeals before the trial could begin, and then, of course, if the accused were convicted, he would have another appeal. With regard to this matter of further cross-examination and the preliminary inquiry, the sanction proceedings as they are called, you can imagine the anxiety of those responsible for the Code to prevent any chance of oppressive proceedings or of the poor and ignorant accused being taken by surprise. But, as it has turned out in fact, these provisions have simply in most cases provided an opportunity for the legal advisers of the accused in most parts of the country to avail themselves of every possibility of advantage to him by prolonging the proceedings by insisting on the repeated attendances of the witnesses and the like. The result is that what was originally a safeguard to those who required one is now an obstacle to the administration of justice in two ways: first, because the proceedings are prolonged and the chance at arriving at the truth is minimized; next, because, owing to the prolongation of the proceedings, the punishment awarded loses much of its deterrent effect owing to its postponement.

The great misfortune of this feature of the work of those who framed the Code is that, contrary to what I believe was Macaulay's intention, the Codes have not been revised periodically on fundamental points. The consequence has been that until lately the question whether these provisions should be dispensed with has never been completely considered, and they have remained, with the result that those concerned regard themselves now as having a vested interest in these parts of the law. It would, therefore, be hard, in spite of the development of the country and in spite of the improvement in the legal profession, to withdraw them. I think that this contrast between the two branches of work of the framers of the Code in simplifying the English law and in adapting it to India is worth noticing, and may be worth consideration by those who may be respon-

sible for the provision of similar codes for other undeveloped communities. (Applause.)

Mr. CASPERSZ said that, after thirty-four years in India, three matters of difference in procedure stood out in his recollection; the first was in a trial, at which he presided, for murder in connection with a dispute for the possession of land, which lasted for seventeen days, at the end of which time he and the assessors were unable, on the evidence, to arrive at a conclusion as to which party the murdered man belonged. Obviously, if the murdered man had belonged to the party of the accused, there was no case against them; whereas, if the prosecution could prove that the murdered man was on their side, the conviction of the accused would follow as a matter of course. Such was the conflict of evidence that, after seventeen days, it was impossible to ascertain to which side the murdered man belonged, and the accused were acquitted. He did not think such protracted disputes regarding land had been present to the minds of the framers of the Code.

The second point concerned the question of appeals. There was no second appeal on questions of fact in criminal cases, but the elasticity of the law was such that in almost every case of importance there was, virtually, a second appeal on facts to the High Court. The High Court Judges were not supposed to decide questions of fact on revision, but the whole evidence was gone into even in cases where there had been a verdict of a jury.

Thirdly, with regard to statements made to police officers; there was a section in the Criminal Procedure Code by which police officers could obtain statements of witnesses, and it was the object of accused persons, by some means or other, to get copies of those statements, so that the defence might be assisted, and so that any inconsistencies might be put in cross-examination to the witnesses when the case came on for trial. He did not know how it worked in practice at the present time, but when he was in India there was a great contest with regard to the question of relevancy of statements made to the police. There were two sections, under one of which copies of such statements could not be furnished, and under the other section could be given. But copies were generally given, as a matter of practice, and utilized for the purpose of the defence. With regard to Mr. Butler's remark that the art of cross-examination was little known in India, that mainly arose from the Indian Evidence Act, to which every advocate referred, chapter and verse, in support of his argument as to a particular statement being evidence or not, and the court was inclined to give the benefit of the doubt on the question of relevancy of evidence to the accused, the idea being that, if the court made a mistake, it would be put right in appeal.

Sir RUSTOM JEHANGIER VAKIL said, not having any legal qualifications, he was not competent to speak on a technical subject such as that before the meeting, but as a layman he could speak upon facts. They were greatly indebted to the lecturer for his very interesting paper. (Applause.) Mr. Butler had stated that there was nothing in India corresponding to the petty sessional courts in England. He wished to point

out that in the Bombay Presidency there were honorary magistrates, who discharged almost exactly the same functions as the justices of the peace in England, and the Government of Bombay had on numerous occasions expressed their approval of the disinterested services they had been rendering to the public and to the Government.

With regard to the system prevailing in India, that the accused person had a right to recall the witnesses for the prosecution after the charge had been framed in the magistrates' courts, it had proved of great assistance, although it caused considerable inconvenience to the witnesses and also in certain cases a waste of public time. Whether it was due to the ignorance and great illiteracy of the masses or whether it was due to the not very high legal standard of the lawyers, the accused often found it necessary to change his counsel after the charge had been framed. This often happened in magistrates' courts.

With regard to the statements made before the police, his impression was that they were liable to be used by the accused, but not by the prosecution. The lecturer had referred to the fact that the statements made by witnesses before the police could not be used by the prosecution, but of course they could be used at any time by the accused.

In conclusion, he thanked the lecturer for his very instructive and informing paper.

Mr. SABONADIÈRE, referring to statements made to the police, pointed out that all statements made to the police were excluded unless the accused repeated them in the presence of a magistrate. With regard to statements made by witnesses to the police, the Code required that the defence be allowed to have a copy, except in cases where it would be wrong to do so, such as a case in which it would be giving away the name of an informer.

With regard to the question of recalling witnesses for cross-examination at the trial of a warrant case, it had its good as well as its bad points. If there was no case against the accused, then the cross-examination of the witnesses would not be required, and that much time would be saved. It was only when the charge had been framed before a magistrate that the witnesses could be recalled. A charge should be framed as soon as there was reliable evidence showing a *prima facie* case, which might be on the evidence of one witness. A magistrate ought to frame the charge at the earliest possible moment in a case in which, in his opinion, a charge can be properly framed. If that was done, perhaps only two or three witnesses would have to be recalled for cross-examination, but all the other witnesses would be cross-examined immediately after their examination-in-chief. It was because magistrates misapprehended the proper time for framing the charge that so much time was wasted.

The lecturer had said that in his opinion judges did not like the responsibility of deciding between a death sentence and a sentence of transportation for life. He had served eighteen years as a sessions judge, and he much preferred the law as it stood than the law in England, where a Judge must pass a death sentence. He thought the law of England might very well be amended to make it possible to pass a sentence of

penal servitude for life. In his opinion the death sentence should be used as little as possible. As they knew, the death sentence in England was frequently remitted by the Home Secretary. He thought it would be a desirable thing if an alternative sentence could be passed by the trial Judge or by the Court of Criminal Appeal.

Mr. JOSEPH NISSIM congratulated Mr. Butler on raising a subject of very great importance to both India and England. The Government of India rested mainly upon the impartial administration of law and justice and upon its support of law and order. In his opinion the proper way to start in considering the subject of the difference between the two systems of law was to pay their tribute of gratitude to the English system, upon which the Indian system was based, and from which they had learned so much. India started from a point to which England had attained after centuries of work, legislation, and experience, for the benefit of which the people of India should express their permanent gratitude. India had long ago realized the merits of an appeal to the High Court in criminal cases, and when in 1898 legislation in this country was proposed for the same purpose, the experience in India no doubt gave legislators here considerable encouragement. He was in substantial agreement with Mr. Sabonadière on the two important points to which he had referred—namely, the merits of the Indian penal system, whereby the Judge had the option of sentencing the prisoner on a murder charge either to the capital punishment or to transportation for life, and he thought it would be a considerable advantage to England if the same system was adopted.

With regard to the use of the statements made to the police by witnesses before the trial, Mr. Sabonadière was correct in saying it was the duty of the Judge to look into them. He himself had found considerable support from such statements, inasmuch as they were the earliest records of what the witnesses had ever uttered. It was not correct to say that in Indian law adultery was punishable by imprisonment and in English law it was not. The fact was it was based on the law in England, but now the punishment for adultery had been abolished here some time after the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857. The system of criminal law in India was not universal. For instance, in the North-west Frontier Province one of the punishments provided for murder was a fine upon the whole tribe from which the murderer came, the reason being that often a member of the tribe was called on by lot to take the life of a member of another tribe, and merely to punish that poor reluctant individual would not be sufficient; a punishment was wanted which would be brought home to the tribe as a whole. The British administration in India might well be proud of the fact that the Penal Code of 1860 had stood the test of time for the past sixty-six years, though the time might come when amendments would have to be made. When that time comes the predominantly Indian element in the Indian Legislative Assembly would have the moulding of the criminal law.

Mr. H. HARCOURT, in proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman and the lecturer, said with regard to the question of the accused giving evidence on oath, he had had experience of the matter in the last few years, and he

believed that putting a prisoner on oath and extracting statements from him was perfectly useless; one might just as well dispense with the oath; the more severe the case the more useless it was to put the prisoner on oath. He preferred to that extent the Indian system of dealing with the accused. Punishments were very much more severe in India than in England. He had been much impressed by the leniency with which accused people were dealt with in England compared with the severe way in which they were dealt with in India. He himself had sometimes in India inflicted severe sentences on prisoners for offences for which in this country they would now be merely bound over to come up for judgment if called upon; and the fact was that such persons were very rarely called upon to come up.

(The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.)

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

AN ELECTORAL SYSTEM FOR INDIA

By C. A. SILBERRAD, I.C.S. (RETD.)

THERE has during the past few years indisputably been a great increase in the number of communal disputes in India, and a general exacerbation of intercommunal ill-feeling. By some it is alleged that the connection between this fact and the inauguration of the reforms is only apparent, and based on the *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* principle. Others—and I think these include those best able to speak with authority—consider that there is undoubtedly a connection, and that the present unfortunate state of affairs is due to each community endeavouring to secure its own predominance, or at least a more favourable position now that it sees, or thinks it sees, the British Government, hitherto regarded as indisputably paramount, preparing to abdicate from that position.

The avowed object of the reforms is the introduction of democratic rule of a character similar to that in existence in Britain—*i.e.*, one that ignores all communal differences, and which assumes that everyone having any share in the government, from the most ignorant voter to the first Minister of the Crown, is prepared to subordinate communal to national interests. It further assumes that all such are able and willing to realize that it is expected of them that they will take an active and intelligent interest in the work of government, and in framing the policy of those immediately responsible therefor.

To consider the second point first: hitherto the notion of government of the people by the people for the people has been entirely alien to Indian ideas. The prime duty of a Government in India has always been to govern. The Government has been regarded as something apart from and outside the mass of the governed—a separate entity,

which may be beneficent or maleficent; the former in the view of the vast majority of the governed since the assumption of the sovereignty by the British, though this view is undoubtedly accompanied by a feeling that the Government is rather incomprehensible and occasionally wrongheaded! But in any case the vast majority of the governed consider that their duties are completely fulfilled when they have paid their taxes. Having done this, they expect that the Government, if beneficent, will *suo motu* ascertain and carry into effect that which is conducive to their peaceful and prosperous existence without it being necessary for them to worry themselves about all that in the West is connoted by the words "political activities."

Is this state of affairs innate in the Indian peoples, or is it one that the advance of education and progress generally will alter? It has been stated that nations are the product of their environment. Is, then, democratic government in the modern sense a product of the cool, temperate countries where are extremes of neither heat nor cold, and where alone, so far in the world's history it has proved really successful? Are a tropical climate and the lethargy that appears to result therefrom intrinsically inimicable to popular institutions, requiring, as they necessarily do, personal and individual effort and attention on the part of at least the majority of the people?

It cannot be denied that so far the world has shown no example of a successful tropical democracy; the histories of the Central and more tropical South American republics are not of hopeful augury; rather must they be to the advocates of democratic institutions of the nature of "awful warnings," for the periods of peace and good government enjoyed by such states have almost invariably coincided with the autocratic rule of a powerful head of the state. Take the example of Mexico: so long as Porphyrio Diaz was President, Mexico was peaceful and prosperous, but no Czar of Russia was a more thoroughgoing autocrat than was Diaz; and since his death the state of Mexico

does not seem to have been one which the advocate of democratic institutions would wish to hold up as an example. If we turn to the warmer though non-tropical countries of Europe, we meet with no encouragement; Spain, Italy, and Greece have all within the past few years practically, though perhaps not theoretically, abandoned democratic institutions in favour of dictatorships (under various names); while the state of Portugal, since the overthrow of the monarchy, may apparently be not unfairly summarized as chaos punctuated by revolutions.

If we look the world round we find that successful democracies are so far confined to the temperate countries of the globe, and even among such to those inhabited by peoples of Teutonic origin, and among such peoples pre-eminently to those of Anglo-Saxon stock. But such robust faith have we of Anglo-Saxon stock in the excellence of our institutions—and excellent indeed are they for ourselves—that we feel compelled to force them on others, as witness the United States of America in the Philippines, and ourselves in India. Are we going to succeed, or would it not be better to be a little less ambitious, and begin by laying the foundations securely, allowing the superstructure to develop more of itself, rather than—as we seem to be doing—by constructing an elaborate and ornamental superstructure with no sound foundation?

I have recently urged the importance of utilizing existing material for such foundations in the shape of the indigenous village panchayat, and need say no more here on that subject. But the most important part of the foundations of democratic rule is the electoral system, and in this connection it is indispensable to take into consideration the communal differences existing in India. At present we are attempting the impossible task of allowing for and ignoring them at one and the same time. We have ordained communal electorates for Hindus and Muhammadans, but leave the elected representatives of the smaller community as a helpless minority in the resultant assembly, presumably

expecting all to forget the communal as opposed to the national interests they are elected to represent. Is it surprising, therefore, that each community that is in a minority feels that democratic rule will place it hopelessly under the heel of the majority community, and that therefore it must take what steps it can to prevent such a catastrophe?

Communal differences in India are not going to be obliterated by ignoring them. The only possible remedy is to accept them, and to give each community effective power to prevent legislation which it considers likely to affect itself adversely.

I accordingly suggest an extension of the communal system of election, and its introduction into the resultant chambers. Let, therefore, (i.) each community that is of sufficient importance elect its own representatives from among its own members, and (ii.) provide that in the resultant chamber no legislation affecting any particular community be deemed passed unless approved by a majority of the representatives of that community. The detailed working out of such proposals will, of course, involve difficulties, some of which will now be considered.

Firstly : Whether a community is of sufficient importance to be granted separate representation might well depend on either its numbers or the amount paid by its members in direct taxation. Thus, if for the sake of argument it were laid down that the representation in a lower provincial chamber be at the rate of one member per 100,000 literates or 200,000 illiterates, the minimum number of a community that would entitle it to separate representation might well be 50,000, or the payment by its members in direct taxation of a sum not less than that paid on the average by 50,000 of the population of the province concerned. For example, the United Provinces in 1921 had a population of 45,375,787; any community paying in direct taxation $\frac{50000}{45375787}$, or say $\frac{1}{908}$ of the total raised in that way in the province, would be entitled to separate representation.

Secondly : To ensure suitable discussion of any proposal, however small a community entitled to separate representation might be, it should have never less than three representatives. It might be objected that this would give an unduly large representation to a small community. It would undoubtedly give a larger proportional representation, but could never result in a smaller community having a larger number of representatives than a larger one. Moreover, the political influence of a small community is often much greater in proportion to its numbers than that of a larger one.

Thirdly : The method of applying the results of the voting on any particular legislative project should be more or less as follows :

(a) If there were a majority against or a majority of representatives of *each* community in favour of a project, the result would be precisely as at present.

(b) If, however, a majority of the representatives of one or more community was against a project, although a majority of all votes was in favour thereof, the final decision should rest with the Viceroy, and the use of his power of sanction or the reverse in such cases should be regarded as normal, and not as the exercise of an extraordinary reserve power, as is the case now when he overrides the decision of the majority. In exercising this discretion the Viceroy should presumably, as regards projects from the All-India Assembly, be guided by the views of the second chamber, which might either be constituted on similar lines or as at present, and in all cases by the nature of the legislation under consideration and its effect on the communities whose representatives opposed it. I do not pretend to do more than sketch the proposal in outline.

Some such method as this would go far to remove the very genuine fear of a small community of being placed under the heel of a larger one as a result of the extension of democratic rule. It would doubtless make legislation slower, which might not be an entire disadvantage; but

what it should most certainly do would be to induce a spirit of compromise and of give and take between the different communities, as each would be forced to modify its proposals so as to be as unobjectionable as possible to the others.

As communal differences died down there would be less opposition, and it would always be in the power of such a chamber to abolish communal representation if all agreed so to do.

Further, it is at least worthy of consideration whether in a country such as India an extension of this system to certain occupational groups as well as to religious communities would not be advisable. There is in India a very small vocal class which to a great extent monopolizes political power. The men of the law are doubtless excellent representatives of others in legal matters, but it is at least open to argument whether they should monopolize to the extent they do political representation. Then, again, the caste system results in clear-cut cleavages in the population, so that territorial constituencies are much less suitable than communal and occupational.

Within any one community even it is much harder to find a true representative of all members of that community throughout a given area than to find a satisfactory representative of an occupational group throughout a much larger area. For example, it would be much easier to find a representative of all landowners throughout half a dozen districts than of all residents of whatever occupation in one district. Apply, therefore, the system outlined above *mutatis mutandis* to occupational groups; let the larger communities in each province be divided up into, say (i.) landowners, (ii.) tenants, (iii.) labourers, (iv.) commercial classes, and (v.) professional classes; assign representatives to each as has been suggested for the different religious communities, and require that such representatives be always members of the group they represent. A man would be deemed to belong to the group in which the greater part of his

income placed him; possibly, if more than some proportion—*e.g.*, one-third of his income—would place him in a second group, he might have a second vote, but it is unnecessary to go into precise details.

There would thus be in an assembly thus constituted two sets of divisions: (i.) by religious communities, consisting of all Christians, all Hindus, all Muhammadans, etc., irrespective of occupations; and (ii.) by occupations, consisting of all landowners, all tenants, etc., irrespective of the communities to which each belonged. The same rules as to the results of voting might apply. In this way landowners would be unable to legislate to the detriment of tenants, or vice versa, and a spirit of compromise and give and take between opposing groups should be encouraged.

As a national, as opposed to a communal or occupational, spirit grew, the necessity for such arrangements would decline, and a time would doubtless come when by common consent they would be abolished; but until such time it would be far better to recognize the existence of these differences and allow for them.

CORRESPONDENCE

"THE INDIAN PEASANT"*

SIR,—Mr. Rege's elaborate paper on the "Indian Peasant" is interesting, but, I cannot help thinking, somewhat misleading in parts, perhaps more from his omissions than from any positive mis-statements. For instance, in discussing the causes of the peasant's poverty, his great object seems to be to shift the blame from the people to the British Government. He begins by saying that in the good old days every village was practically self-supporting, because 25 per cent. of the population were employed on "craft industries" (p. 367); yet on p. 369 it appears that 29 per cent. were so employed now. I cannot reconcile these figures with the argument, and it would seem that he takes no account of Mr. Gandhi and his charka, or of the work of the Calcutta University on the Poverty Problem of India. I know very little of India now except a small corner in the extreme South, but when I was there some years ago the weavers had been more prosperous than ever because the women there refused to wear cloth woven in mills,

* Cp. ASIATIC REVIEW, July, 1926, p. 366.

and the canny Scot who owned the flourishing mill confined himself accordingly to spinning the locally grown cotton, and prospered amazingly, so that everyone was happy. I should like to know if things have changed since then, when paddy land was selling at Rs. 3,000 an acre, and paying about 6 per cent. at that price, and the purely agricultural village I knew so well about sixty years ago became a great banking centre.

On p. 369 again he says that "the increase in the population has led to the diminution in the size of the holdings." Elsewhere, however (pp. 370-71), he shows that the Hindu and Muhammadan laws of inheritance are chiefly responsible for the "fragmentation" that everyone deplors. Mr. Rege seems to blame the British Government for not repealing the laws, as they put a stop to "Sati"; just as another scientific agriculturist from the Punjab suggested that the Government should compulsorily make these fragments into connected blocks of at least 50 acres, and choose the most intelligent of the ryots concerned to manage the whole. A Government must indeed be despotic to do that. After all, the population of England has increased more rapidly than that of India, and yet the holdings have increased in size.

I might say a good deal more, especially as to extravagance on marriages, which Mr. Rege apparently alludes to under head of "unproductive undertakings," but does not specifically condemn.

Even for breeding cattle he expects the Government to interfere, but the Nellore ryot was not "supplied" with good breeds. He bred them himself, even before the days of Mr. Dykes and his cattle-shows. No one advocates "wholesale slaughter of cattle"; we only protest against the futile practice of keeping old useless cows till they died of starvation. On p. 379, Mr. Rege says that he has dealt with the real as well as the fictitious causes of Indian poverty, and says they seem all to be grouped round education. He says it is impossible for the peasant to "grip the facilities of irrigation without this grounding of mental development," and yet no one understands or appreciates irrigation more than the illiterate ryot.

I cannot follow the argument in the concluding paragraph, because (apparently) the Government has secured an enormous increase of revenue in twenty years "without the right sort of education."

J. B. PENNINGTON (I.C.S. ret'd.).

September 10, 1926.

EARLY SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE TRAVELLERS IN PERSIA

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR ARNOLD T. WILSON, K.C.I.E.,
C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O.

PART I

"Round the Cape our storm-beat galleons
Strove to find the old sea-way."

ALFRED NOYES.

It was, indeed, meet for many reasons that England should have taken part last year in the festivities which Portugal has been celebrating in honour of the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Vasco da Gama. The stream of commerce, and of the intercourse which commerce brings, had never ceased to flow between East and West from the days of Alexander the Great. The thirst for gain, the zeal of missionaries, the love of knowledge, the zest of discovery, the fascination of sheer adventure, the desire to see many men and cities had kept it from stagnation. With the Crusades and, in particular, with the Latin conquest of Constantinople and the establishment of Genoese and Venetian factories in the Levant, it gathered strength and volume.

When the control of the Eastern trade fell into the hands of the Arabs about the seventh century, Alexandria (which, for a long period, had held the proud place of mart of the world's trade) became practically closed to Europeans and the trading towns on the Mediterranean ceased to be supplied with articles of Eastern commerce. In order to meet demands, therefore, an alternative land channel of communication had to be opened up, by which the silk of China was conveyed by caravan to the Oxus, where it was embarked and carried down that river to the Caspian, thence across to the Black Sea to Constantinople. Thus Constantinople became a considerable mart of Indian and Chinese commodities and, after the downfall of Rome, developed into the principal centre of commerce between

the East and the West and so continued even when the city fell under the sway of the Venetians.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, the commercial supremacy of Venice declined. Driven back by the advance of the Turks into Europe, the Venetians were forced to yield their Oriental trading stations—their various channels of intercourse with India were successively closed—and, after the capture of Constantinople, the Republic was left with only an intermittent trade through Alexandria, which was subject to the caprice of the Mameluke rulers of Egypt, and was also under the ban of the Pope.

During this period, a long line of travellers of various nations, from Benjamin of Tudela to the Polos and Nicolò Conti, had accomplished journeys over the seas and deserts of Asia with a courage and endurance which our minds cannot estimate. But all had sought to reach the half-fabled lands and mythical potentates of Asia overland, by routes which began and ended on the shores of the Mediterranean. Portugal was, however, the first country to turn her eyes resolutely to the ocean, and da Gama was the first of her bold and skilful seamen to show that in doing so she had opened a new and momentous chapter in the history of Europe and Asia. Da Gama had many predecessors in the work, among whom was the intrepid Bartolomeo de Diaz, who, in 1486, successfully doubled the "stormy Cape," but without realizing the fact, and turned back to leave the accomplishment of the goal to others. Da Gama it was who sailed from the Tagus in July, 1497, with a fleet of four vessels "any of which could have passed through Teddington lock,"* and pierced

". . . the depths concealed
Of Nature, and the secrets of a tide
To mortal heroes never yet revealed,
Not even to those for prowess deified."†

* Ballard, Admiral G. A., "The Arrival of the White Man in the Eastern Seas," the *Mariner's Mirror*, July, 1924.

† Camoes, "Epic on da Gama (*Os Lusíadas*)," fifth canto. Translated by Edw. Quillinan, 1853.

Da Gama reached the coast of Malabar in May, 1498, and "the old sea-way" was found. The discovery marks the opening of a new epoch in the history of the Old World—and of travel—through the liberation of Western seamen from the imprisoning effects of the Isthmus of Suez; and until that natural barricade was itself pierced nearly four hundred years later, the circumventing route which the Portuguese were the first to trace out remained the chief highway of communication between the white man and the brown and yellow.*

The supremacy of the old land routes of penetration from the shores of the Mediterranean into Asia was seriously challenged, and from this time onward we find our European travellers more often approaching Asia by the sea-way than from its western sea-board.

It is not the purpose of this paper to pursue enquiry into the eventual result to the Portuguese of this great discovery—viz., the formation of a great Empire in the East, though much of the incident which I am about to relate will be found to be dependent upon it; but to tell the story of those enterprising old Spaniards and Portuguese who—for purposes of commerce, or diplomacy, or the desire for information—went in the early days to Persia and troubled to write of their experiences, and who, by so doing, contributed materially to the source of our knowledge of conditions in that country in those days.

Earliest of Spanish and, indeed, of all European travellers in the ordinary sense of the word, of whom we have any record, is the Jew commonly called Benjamin of Tudela in Navarre, or Rabbi Benjamin, who has left a relation of his travels through various parts of Europe, Africa, but more particularly Asia. According to Asher, who has given us a translation of the text of his Itinerary, the period of his travels extended from about A.D. 1160 to 1173, and his primary object was to visit the synagogues of the principal cities through which he passed, and to describe

* Ballard, *op. cit.*

the number and condition of the Jews whom he found in them. But it is fairly certain that he was a merchant as well as rabbi, and that his object was to acquire commercial information.*

Rabbi Benjamin's narrative contains the fullest account extant of the state and number of the Jews in the twelfth century; it furnishes the best materials for the history of the commerce of Europe, Asia and Africa at this epoch, the time of the Crusades; and our author is the first European who notices with accuracy the sect of the Assassins in Syria and Persia, the trade of India (for the produce of which the island of Qais in the Persian Gulf was then the principal emporium), and who distinctly mentions China and describes the dangers attendant upon the navigator of the ocean intervening between that country and Ceylon.

Starting at Saragossa and following a devious course, travelling sometimes by land, sometimes by sea, Benjamin passed through many towns of the various states of Southern Europe, and arrived at Constantinople. From the Bosphorus he passed by stages to Cyprus, whence it appears that he crossed to the mainland, and followed down the coast, eventually reaching Palestine and Jerusalem. He describes in turn towns so far apart as Bethlehem, Hebron, Ramleh, Jaffa, Tiberias, Damascus, Baalbek, Hama, Aleppo, Raqqa, Nisibin, Mosul, Niniveh, and Baghdad, "the large metropolis of the Khalif Emir al Mumenin," to which latter place he devotes considerable space, for "merchants of all countries resort thither for purposes of trade, and it contains many wise philosophers, well skilled in sciences, and magicians, proficient in all sorts of witchcraft."

From Spain to Jerusalem his route seems accurately reflected in his narrative, but from Jerusalem to Damascus

* "Benjamin may have undertaken his journey with the object of finding out where his expatriated brethren might find an asylum. He may have had trade and mercantile operations in view. He certainly dwells on matters of commercial interest with considerable detail. Probably he was actuated by both motives, coupled with the pious wish of making a pilgrimage to the land of his fathers."—ADLER.

and Baghdad there are evidences that he does not follow the same method, for here no direct course is indicated, but only a series of wanderings, backwards and forwards, and from side to side. It is doubtful how far towards Persia he actually penetrated, but it can hardly have been much farther than Baghdad, where he appears to have resided for a good space of time. Here, probably, it was that he "compiled" the latter part of his records, which he divides under "things seen" and "things heard." The almost complete absence of the smaller places and personal names so fully recorded up to this point of his narrative, as well as the comparatively vague, unhistorical, and unscientific character of the trans-Tigris section, allow of scarcely a doubt as to the second-hand method now used to supplement the first-hand observations of the earlier narrative.*

We must conclude then, and, indeed, it can hardly be doubted, that Rabbi Benjamin did not himself visit Persia, and that, strictly speaking, he may not be included under our heading of "Travellers in Persia." This view is supported by a recent German authority, who holds, with others, that the Rabbi simply incorporated in his narrative the statements of informants who naturally adopted as the starting-point of their descriptions their own homes in Persia, in the neighbourhood of Nishapur or Isfahan, as the case may be.† Be that as it may, his descriptions of places in Persia—among the earliest extant—are nevertheless of intense interest, and justify his inclusion in this paper as one of the earliest writers on, if not an actual traveller, in Persia; and the light which the Rabbi throws on early conditions at certain places in Persia which he describes is of the utmost value. He describes in considerable detail the province of Khuzistan, Shushan (Susa) the metropolis and palace of King Ahasuerus, the

* Beazley, "The Dawn of Modern Geography."

† Borchardt, Paul, "Der Reiseweg des Rabbi Benjamin von Tudela und der Rabbi Petachia aus Regensburg in Mesopotamien und Persien." Extract from the *Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt-a-M., 1924.

two parts of which city were divided by the Eulæus river and connected by a bridge, Hamadan, Isfahan, the country of the "mountains of Kazvin,"* and the island of Qais in the Persian Gulf. Of the people round about Nishapur he says: "Some of these Jews are excellent scholars, others carry on agriculture, and a number of them are engaged in war with the country of Cuth, by way of the desert. They are in alliance with the Caphar Tarac or infidel Turcs, who adore the wind, and live in the desert. This is a nation who eat no bread and drink no wine, but devour the meat raw and quite unprepared; they have no noses,† but draw breath through two small holes and eat all sorts of meat, whether from clean or unclean beasts."

The extent of Qais island, on the Persian sea-board, he says, "is six miles, and the inhabitants do not carry on any agriculture, principally because they have no rivers, nor more than one spring in the whole island, and are consequently obliged to drink rainwater. It is, however, a considerable market, being the point to which the Indian merchants and those of the islands bring their commodities; while the traders of Mesopotamia, Yemen, and Persia import all sorts of silk and purple cloths, flax, cotton, hemp, mash,‡ wheat, barley, millet, rye, and all other sorts of comestibles and pulse, which articles form objects of exchange; those from India import great quantities of spices, and the inhabitants of the island live by what they gain in their capacity of brokers to both parties."

"Ten days passage by sea" (presumably from Qais), he says, "lies El Qatif, a city with about five thousand Israelites. In this vicinity the pearls are found. He gives a description of the pearl-fisheries, which is too fantastic not to be quoted in full. "About the twenty-

* "Probably those mountainous regions, which form the natural boundary of the modern provinces of Ghilan and Mazanderan, separate these provinces from Iran, inclose the Caspian Sea, and extend in ramifications to Nishapoor, in Persian Khorasan."—ASHER.

† Reference here possibly to the Mongolian type.

‡ A sort of pea, one of the common Hindu pulses.

fourth of the month Nisan (April) large drops of rain are observed upon the surface of the water, which are swallowed by the reptiles, after this they close their shells and fall upon the bottom of the sea; about the middle of the month of Thishri (October) some people dive with the assistance of ropes, collect these reptiles from the bottom and bring them up with them, after which they are opened and the pearls taken out."

Benjamin's course eastward from the region of the Persian Gulf is very conjectural, but his journeyings appear to have included a visit to India, where he mentions the practice of burning the dead, of self-immolation, and describes the growth and preparation of pepper. He states that a voyage of forty days leads to the coast of Tzin or China. How he found his way back to Arabia is not very clear; but, on entering the Red Sea, he "sailed to the Indies on the opposite coast," by which it soon appears that he means Ethiopia. Thence he made his way homeward by way of Alexandria, Sicily, Italy, Germany, and France.

The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, though well known to the learned of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, was not printed before the year 1543, when the first edition, in Hebrew, appeared in Constantinople. Reprints, too numerous to mention here, were called for in the course of time. The best-known versions in English are those of Asher* and Adler;† but Purchas has given us a much earlier rendering‡ through the Latin of Montanus.

Over two centuries now elapse before another Spanish traveller of eminence appears in the person of Ruy Gonzalez

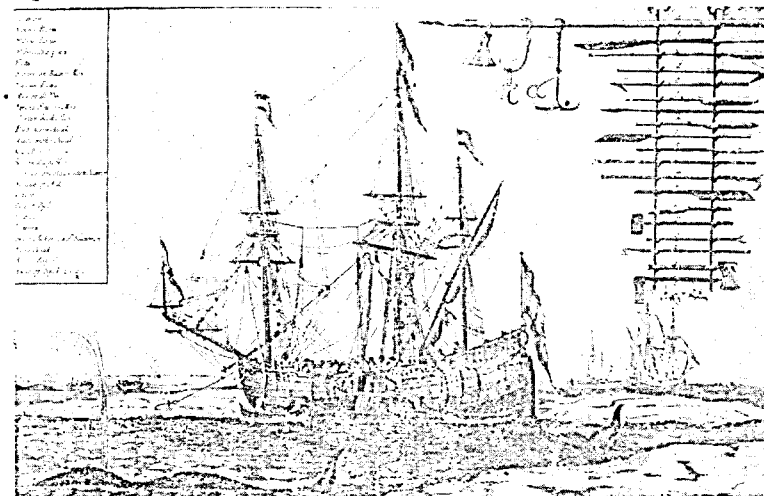
* "The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela." Translated and edited by A. Asher, 1840. Two vols. (All quotations are made from this edition.)

† Adler, M. N., "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela." London, 1907.

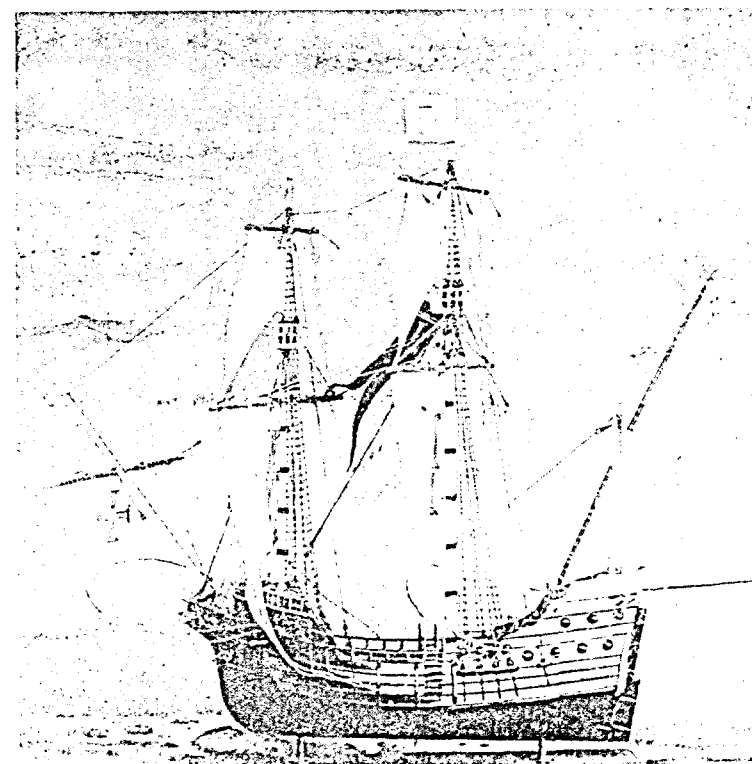
‡ The Peregrination of Benjamin the sonne of Jonas, a Jew, written in Hebrew, translated into Latin by B. Arias Montanus, Discovering both the state of the Jewes, and of the world, about foure hundred and sixtie yeeres since. "Purchas His Pilgrimes," 1625, vol. ii., chap. v.

de Clavijo. Not that the field of enterprise and travel had languished in the meantime, for the Polos, actuated by that adventurous spirit for which Venice was distinguished in the thirteenth century, had undertaken their famous voyages of discovery, and had been followed in due course by those other Venetian adventurers, Barbaro, the brothers Zeno, and Contarini. Commerce, at its first revival in Europe, was in the hands of the Venetian and Genoese nobles, who, instead of despising trade, like other modern aristocracies, viewed it as the pride and bulwark of their state, and these distinguished merchants pursued their adventures with an energy, intelligence, and boldness of enterprise which had not been displayed by their predecessors. They visited, or caused to be visited, distant regions and seas in the East which had been known to antiquity only by faint and obscure rumour. But with these pioneers of travel in Asia our story is not immediately concerned, so we turn to Clavijo, Spanish nobleman, diplomatist, and traveller.

The invasion of Asia Minor by Timur and his triumphant war against the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid I., then head of the Mussulman power, led to relations between the former and the princes of Christian Europe. In 1393 Dom Henry III. of Castile sent two of his nobles to congratulate the Tartar conqueror, "to ascertain the power which the said Timour Beg and Turk Ilderim possessed in the world," and to establish an alliance. Timur received them well and sent back an ambassador, one Muhammad al Qadhi, with flattering messages and letters. It was in answer to this embassy that "his highness the king, having received the said letters and presents, and having heard the good words which the said Timour Beg sent by his letters and ambassador, ordered that another present and ambassadors should be sent to the said Timour Beg, to increase the friendship which he had shown. He ordered that Fray Alonzo Paez, master of theology, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, and Gomez de Salazar should convey the presents and letters; and because the said mission



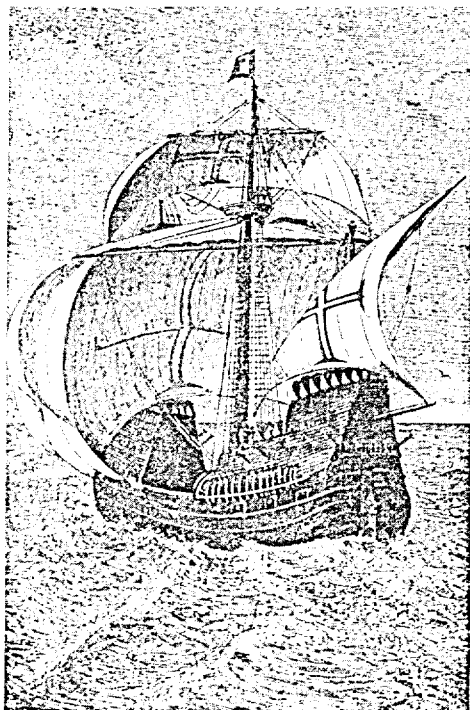
VESSEL AT ORMUS, 1638



VASCO DA GAMA'S SHIP "S. GABRIEL"

From "Noticia Sobre a Nao S. Gabriel, etc.," Lisbon

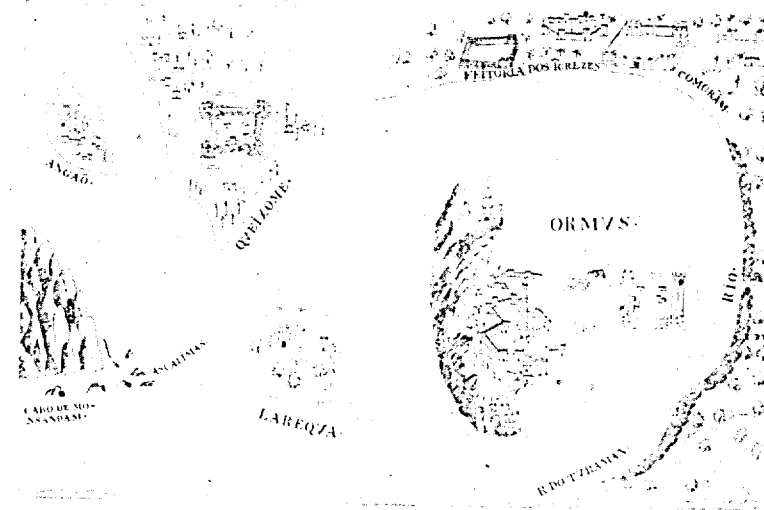
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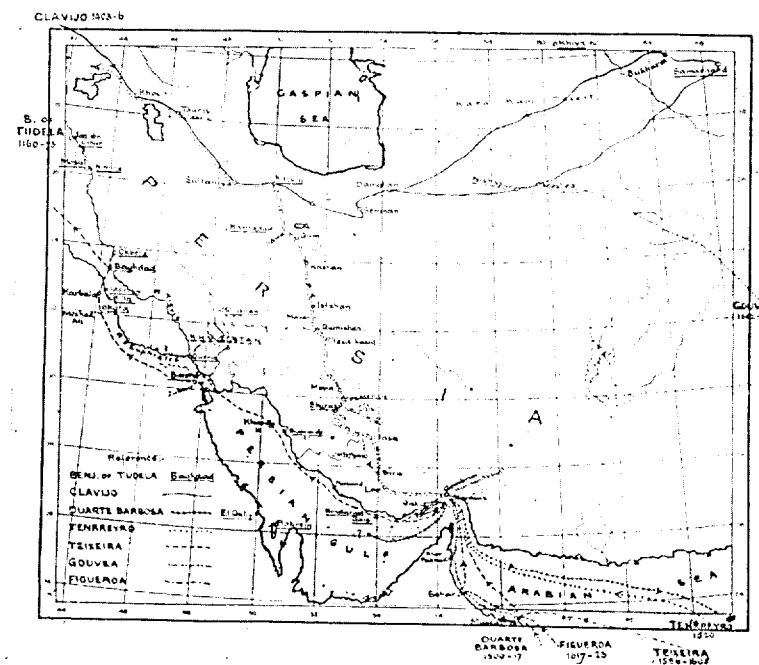
A PORTUGUESE CARAVEL OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
Copied from an Illustration in "Centenario do Descobrimento da America," Lisbon.



DOM HENRIQUE OF PORTUGAL



PLAN OF ORMUS
British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, folio 156



ROUTES OF EARLY SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE TRAVELLERS



D. FRANCISCO DALMEIDA
British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, folio 9
P. Barreto de Resende's Portrait of
D. Francisco Dalmeida



VASCO DA GAMA
British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, folio 18
P. Barreto de Resende's Portrait of Dom
Vasco da Gama



SHAH ABBAS THE GREAT
(From an Original Persian Painting)
From Sir John Malcolm's "History of Persia"



VASCO DA GAMA
From an Old Engraving in the British Museum.

is very arduous, and the journey very long, it is necessary to put in writing an account of all the places and countries through which the said ambassadors passed, and of the things which happened to them, that they may not be forgotten, and that there may be a complete knowledge concerning them."*

The mission, accompanied by Timur's envoy, Muhammad al Qadhi, started May 22, 1403, from the port of Santa Maria, near Cadiz, and kept to the sea route *via* Constantinople to Trebizond, where they arrived April 11 of the following year, after having experienced shipwreck. Here the embassy spent eleven days supplying themselves with horses and provisions for the great overland journey which lay before them. Taking the Trebizond-Tabriz trunk route, they passed Erzinjan, Erzerum, entered the basin of the Aras and, passing Khoi (which even then, as now, approximately marked the frontier of Persia), reached Tabriz, then known as Tauris. Here they tarried nine days; the city, according to our traveller, was "very large and rich, owing to the large quantity of merchandise that passes through it every day; they say that in former days it was more populous, but even now there are more than two hundred thousand inhabited houses." It had immense trade in cloth, silk, cotton, and taffetas. Taking the road again, they were hurried on to Sultaniya, "not so large," says Clavijo, "as Tabriz, though it possesses more trade." Hither, every year, came merchants from India with cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, manna, mace, and other spices and precious goods, which did not go to Alexandria. Hither also came the silk of Gilan, the silken cloth, cottons, and taffetas of Shiraz, the cotton thread and cotton cloths of Khurasan, the pearls and gems of Hormuz and of Cathay. The bazaars, caravanserais, and streets all witnessed to an overflowing prosperity, which the irony of fate had recently subjected to a frantic despot (Timur).†

* "Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6." Hakluyt Society, 1859.

† Beazley, "The Dawn of Modern Geography."

At Sultaniya, Timur's eldest son was awaiting them. The distant goal towards which, on riding out of the city, they set their faces, was Samarcand. The journey now resolved itself into a chase of Timur himself. They had hoped to overtake him returning from his western conquests, and he was at one time only fifteen days in front of them, but it was his pleasure to make his visitors race madly after him to his capital. On and ever on, more dead than alive—until for very pity the local rulers gave them soft pillows for their saddles—often travelling at night to avoid the burning heat of day: past Tehran, "a very delightful place, well supplied with everything; but it was an unhealthy place . . . and fevers were very prevalent." Thence onward, past Damghan and its towers of human heads, reared by the cruelty of Timur himself, past Nishapur, where one of the companions, Gomez, died; and so to the great "Empire" of Khurasan and Samarcand itself.*

Samarcand is described by Clavijo as a city situated in a plain and surrounded by an earthen wall. "It is a little larger than the city of Seville, but, outside the city, there are a great number of houses, joined together in many parts, so as to form suburbs. The city is surrounded on all sides by many gardens and vineyards, which extend in some directions a league and a half, in others two leagues, the city being in the middle. . . . The lord had so strong a desire to ennoble this city that he brought captives to increase its population, from every land which he conquered, especially all those who were skilful in any art. . . . There was so great a number of people brought to this city, from all parts, both men and women, that they are said to have amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand persons, of many nations. There was such a multitude that a number lived under trees and in caves outside."

The first audience with Timur was held on September 8, 1404, and was followed by great festivities. At the end of

* Beazley, *op. cit.*

November, his mission ended, the ambassador left; the departure was hurried and informal; there was no farewell audience, as by this time Timur had fallen ill and his life was despaired of. The first stage of the return journey offered one notable variation from the outward route—viz., a visit to Bukhara; the rest of the way to Trebizond again ran along much the same course as that already followed, relieved only by slight digressions to hitherto unvisited cities and districts. Sometimes they travelled for several successive days without seeing any habitation. At Kazvin, then mostly in ruins, which our ambassadors reached in February, 1405, Clavijo says: "We found much snow, so that we could not walk in the streets, and the snow that fell on the roofs of the houses was pushed off that it might not destroy them, and we could not leave this city, on account of the quantity of snow on the roads."

They were detained nearly six months in Tabriz; whilst there Tamerlane died and, by the time they reached the coast at Trebizond, rebellion was "breaking from the ground like subterranean fire that had long been smouldering." After many weeks of weary sailing the ambassador landed in his native country in March, 1406, having been absent nearly three years. Three weeks later he stood once more in the presence of his sovereign.

After returning from his great journey, Clavijo became Chamberlain to Henry III. till the king's death in 1406-7; he then retired to Madrid, busied himself with a religious foundation and died in 1412. His carefully written journal* is the oldest Spanish narrative of travels of any value. His style is sometimes wanting in logical order and abounds in small tautologies, but in its matter we have ample compensation for any defects of manner. It is the work of a

* "Historia del gran Tamerlan, y itinerario y enarracion del viage, y relacion de la embaxada que Ruy Gonçalez de Clavijo le hizo per mandado del muy poderoso Sennor rey don Henrique al tercero de Castilla, etc., A.D. 1403." Seville, 1582. English version: "Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6." Hakluyt Society, 1859.

keenly observant and intelligent man, and there are few among the shorter mediæval travel-narratives more illuminating and suggestive.*

Nearly a century passes before Duarte Barbosa, famous Portuguese traveller and historian appears. He was born in Lisbon in the latter part of the fifteenth century. His father, Diogo Barbosa, Knight of the Order of Santiago, went to India in 1501, in the service of Dom Alvaro de Bragança, sailing thither in a ship of João de Nova's fleet; and having given proof of ability and faithfulness in his patron's service, returned to Spain and settled in the city of Seville. The son, Duarte, followed in his father's footsteps in an Indian career.

Though not certain, it is most probable that Duarte Barbosa sailed to the East with Pedro Alvarez Cabral's fleet of 1,500, touching at Sofala, Mozambique, Kilwa, Mombasa, Melindi, Magadoxo, the island of Sokotra, the entrance to the Red Sea, Hormuz, and the Persian Gulf, finally reaching Goga in the Gulf of Cambay. He joined an uncle at Cochin, where he obtained such a mastery of one of the Malabari languages (Malayālam), "so well that he spoke it better than the natives of the country." In 1503 he was at Cananore when the fleet of Alboquerque came to India, and for a time he acted as interpreter. Alboquerque recognized his abilities and made use of him as a skilled official. In 1515 he sent Barbosa to Calicut to superintend the construction of two large galleys which were to be used for the Red Sea expedition which he proposed to conduct after visiting Hormuz, a plan he did not, however, live to carry out. Among other capacities, Barbosa appears to have occupied the office of "writer" (*escrivao*) in the King of Portugal's service at Cananore, and it was during this time that he wrote part at least of his book. Correa† appears to have had a high opinion of him as a writer on the countries and peoples of the East, for he says that he

* Beazley, *op. cit.*

† Gaspar Correa, "Lendas da India."

himself had no intention of writing "regarding these lands and their customs, as there are certain persons who have already done so, of whom one was Duarte Barbosa, who has composed a treatise, which I have seen, of all the lands, peoples, laws, customs, and dealings from the Lequeos following the whole sea as far as the Cape of Good Hope."

Disappointed of promotion, which he considered he merited, Barbosa returned to Portugal about the year 1516, probably taking Hormuz on his way. He doubtless finished the manuscript of his book, or at any rate added some notes to it, in 1517-18.

A dissatisfied and disappointed man, Barbosa, in 1519, joined his brother-in-law, Magellan,* in his great enterprise, sailing from San Lucar at the mouth of the Guadalquivir on September 20 of that year, apparently in command of the *Vittoria*, one of the five vessels of Magellan's fleet. Disappointment was, however, not his sole motive: his insatiable love of travel and desire for information must have irresistibly attracted him to this adventure. As is well known, Magellan was killed in the island of Mactan in the Philippines in a fight with the islanders, and Barbosa and another became joint leaders of the expedition. Arrived at Sebu, the king of that island invited him and others ashore and the party were treacherously massacred. Thus, in May, 1521, died Barbosa only a few days after his great leader.

It was on his first voyage to India that Barbosa made acquaintance with the Persian coast. Leaving Sokotra and passing along the shore of southern Arabia, within sight at least of Qalhat, Quryat, and Muscat, which he mentions, he reached the entrance of the Persian Gulf, of which inland sea, within the straits of Hormuz, he gives a very confused account. He mentions passing various places and islands including Julfar, Ras al Khaima, Qishm, Bahrain, Bascarde (possibly Bushire), and "the fortress of Basra." The latter,

* Magellan had married Beatriz, sister of Duarte.

among other places, he describes in some detail. "Here at the very end of this Persian Sea there is," he says, "a right great fortress which they call Baçora, inhabited by Moors who are subjects of the Xequé (Shah) Ismail, at which place an extreme great and beautiful river of sweet water issues forth from the main to the sea, which the Moors call Eufates, and they say that it is one of the four streams which come from the spring of the earthly Paradise." Nevertheless, it is open to question whether Barbosa ever sailed so far up the gulf; he himself states that he desists from naming many other places in the gulf "which have much trade," as he had "no such trustworthy information thereon."

On the other hand, his description of the strange Perso-Arab mercantile community of the barren island of Hormuz, the business rendezvous of merchants from Egypt, Syria, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Persia, Turkistan, all parts of India, and many much more distant countries such as Burma, Java, Siam, China, Mozambique, and Abyssinia—which we know he did visit, possibly more than once—is most circumstantial, complete, and full of interest and, with the exception of that of the Friar Odoric, is the earliest description, from a European pen, extant. "This city," he says, "is very well placed and laid out in streets, with many good open places. Outside on the same isle is a little hill of rock-salt, also some brimstone, but very little. The salt is in blocks as large as great rocks in rugged hills; it is called Indian salt, and is produced there by nature, and when ground is exceeding white and fine. All ships which come to this city take it as ballast, for it is worth money at many places. . . . [The Moors of Ormus] are rich, polished, and gallant; they give great care to their clothing and their food, which they have well spiced, and everything in great plenty, to wit flesh-meat, wheaten bread, very good rice, divers conserves and fresh fruits. . . . This city of Ormus, notwithstanding that it is very rich, and well furnished with victuals of every

kind, is yet very dear, for the reason that everything comes to it from outside, from Arabia and Persia and other parts whence all things come promptly; and in the island itself there is nothing they can obtain from it, save salt only."

Barbosa gives a long account of the newly founded Persian kingdom of the Safavis, under Isma'il Shah, but it has the drawback of the lack of personal experience and knowledge, having doubtless been learnt second-hand from Indian residents at Hormuz; he did not himself, as far as we know, penetrate into the interior of Persia. On the other hand, he gives the earliest and most valuable account of the rise of the Shia creed and of its attainment to power in Persia under Isma'il.

The value of Barbosa's work at the present day is mainly geographical and ethnographical. Certain of his historical references are of considerable importance, but, as he states in his preface, his object was not to write a history, but to "discover the truth," and "to set forth in this my book the towns and the bounds of all those kingdoms where I have either been myself or as to which I have learnt from trustworthy persons." In these respects he stands almost alone in his period, and his accounts are extremely accurate in many respects and show great powers of observation. This applies with especial force to the south of India, where his long residence and intimate knowledge of at least one dialect gave him a thorough understanding of the people among whom he moved.* His work was long known only through the Italian version of it included by Ramusio in his great collection of voyages,† first published at Venice in 1563; but a Portuguese MS. was found at Lisbon in the early part of the nineteenth century, and of this an edition in Portuguese was published in 1813.‡

* "Introduction to the Book of Duarte Barbosa." Hakluyt Society, 1918.

† *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi raccolte da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio.*

‡ English edition, "The Book of Duarte Barbosa." Hakluyt Society, 1918.

No account of the early history of Spanish and Portuguese travel in Persia would be complete without at least a passing reference to the Alboquerques, father and son, the former the Great Afonso, contemporary of Barbosa, first Westerner to set his conquering foot upon Persian soil, and the latter the historian of his father's doughty exploits.

Afonso Dalboquerque, surnamed the Great, "by reason of the heroic deeds wherewith he filled all Europe with admiration and Asia with fear and trembling," was born in the year 1453 at the town of Alhandra, six leagues distant from Lisbon. He was "of a moderate stature, his countenance pleasing, and venerable by the Beard which reached below his Girdle, to which he wore it knotted. . . . When angry, his looks somewhat terrible; when merry, pleasant and Witty."*

Following directly upon the great impetus given to Spanish and Portuguese colonial enterprise by the maritime discoveries of Diaz, da Gama and other captains already alluded to, the early years of the sixteenth century witnessed redoubled activity in Portuguese empire-building. "The narrow Bounds of the Kingdom of Portugal could now no longer contain the greatness of its Natives Hearts. Therefore, carried on by a Glorious Boldness, they so far extended those limits, that they infinitely exceeded the measure of the first Matter."†

* Faria y Sousa, "The Portugues Asia." Translated by Captain John Stevens, 1695.

† Faria y Sousa, *op. cit.*

RIVER FLOODS CONSIDERED AS A PROBLEM OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

BY W. A. INGLIS, C.S.I.

(Late Indian Public Works Department)

THERE are various problems connected with Indian rivers which are of interest: problems relating to the use of the water for irrigation—use of the channels for navigation—protection of banks from erosion—construction of bridges across the great rivers—special sanctity attributed to certain streams, and so on.

There is also a problem which I propose to consider—viz., how far it is desirable and practicable to prevent or to regulate the inundation due to floods in the great rivers. I suppose that there are few parts of the country which are not, at one time or another, affected by flood. In many parts the flood may occur so rarely that it may be regarded rather as a visitation of Providence to be endured than as raising a problem which demands a practical solution. There are, however, some rivers which are regularly or frequently subject to flood, and which inundate large tracts, and here the obligation to consider how best to deal with the flood water is very apparent.

The primary cause of a flood is, of course, excessive rainfall, which is not subject to human control. The intensity of the flood is affected by the state of the ground on which the rain falls. In this matter remedial action is practicable by afforestation and terracing. It is still sometimes alleged that floods are caused, or at all events are aggravated, by the presence of railway or road embankments. Such embankments when constructed across the direction taken by the flood water may, if insufficiently provided with

openings, modify to a small extent the distribution of the water. That is, they may cause a slightly greater depth of flood on one side of the bank and a slightly less depth on the other side. They have no effect on the volume of the flood. It is in the interest of the railway or road to give a free passage to the flood so as to obviate the risk of a breach. A railway or road bank constructed parallel to a river may act as a marginal flood bank, or, put in another way, any effective flood bank may be used as a road or to carry a railway.

Nature has not provided India with lakes to serve as regulating reservoirs. It is, in some cases, physically possible to form artificial lakes by the construction of great dams. It is pleasant to think of such a lake providing a store of water for irrigation and for use as a source of energy, while it also serves to prevent, or at least to diminish, the risk of destructive inundation. Unfortunately, while it is certain that the cost of the necessary works will be great, it is by no means equally certain that the money equivalent of the benefits to the lands subject to inundation and the sums likely to be received from the sale of the water stored will suffice to give a reasonable return on the outlay after paying working expenses.

Investigations have been made as to the feasibility and cost of such works in respect of some of the rivers in Bengal and Orissa, and more particularly in respect of the Mahanadi-Damuda—Selye and Cossye, with the result in each case that the cost has been held to be prohibitive. In the future there may be a greater scope for hydro-electric installations from which energy may be distributed for great and small industries, and an increase in the value of produce due to improvements in agriculture may warrant a greater outlay, but in the meantime it must be accepted that floods will recur. It has also to be accepted that the flood water cannot be contained within the natural banks of the channels and that, in the absence of artificial works, inundation is inevitable. The problem to be considered is

whether it is desirable, and if so how far it may be practicable, to prevent or to regulate the inundation by means of marginal flood banks which have the effect of artificially increasing the capacity of the natural channels to pass the flood water.

To the question, Is the inundation, speaking generally, beneficial or injurious? no direct answer can be given. While agriculture is the interest mainly concerned, it is right to consider also the effect on health and on communications. In the case of the lower Ganges, that is below the junction with the Gogra, the water is derived from many sources, and from a vast area, with the result that the flood is subject to comparatively little variation in duration or intensity. Here the cultivation can be adapted to the inundation and the effect is, I think, on the whole, beneficial. Where, however, as is usually the case, the flood comes suddenly, almost as a wave, at uncertain times and varies greatly in height and duration, the cultivation cannot be so adapted and the inundation is often destructive. Much depends on the period in the flood season when the inundation may occur. Thus, in Bengal and Orissa, where rice is the main crop, an inundation in July or the first half of August may do little harm, and indeed, when the flood water holds alluvial matter in suspension, it may do good, while an inundation in September will do great harm.

As regards health, it is, I believe, generally accepted that, provided there is a free exit for the flood water, an inundation is favourable. At all events it is so in malarial tracts. Protection from inundation is of service to communications, but this service is greatly reduced in value if the protecting works are liable to fail at times of great pressure.

We may now consider the engineering aspect of the problem. Many engineers who have had to deal with flood banks in Bengal have been in principle adverse to their use. They have argued that by confining the flood water within artificial banks the deposit of silt on the bed of the stream

is encouraged, with a resulting rise in the flood line. This leads to the necessity for making the protecting banks higher, which, if continued for centuries, must render the protected country liable to very severe injury in event of a breach in the bank. On the other hand, some engineers have argued that as the increased depth of water due to the flood banks causes an increased velocity in the stream, more silt will be carried forward and less should be deposited on the bed, and that the flood line should rise less rapidly than if there were no flood banks.

Rivers are among the natural agencies which assist in effecting a gradual alteration in the surface of the earth. It may be said that in the part which the river plays there are three phases. It first receives the material eroded by rain storms falling on hills and uplands. It then transports this material, often to great distances. The lighter part is carried by the water in suspension, while the heavier matter is rolled along the bed. Lastly the material is deposited on the bed of the sea, on the surface of the inundated land, or on the bed of the river itself. The deposit on the surface of the land is usually most in evidence in the deltas of the large rivers, but it may occur far from the sea. Thus the Kosi River in North Bihar throws large volumes of sand over the adjacent country immediately it leaves the hills.

It is well known that deltaic channels are generally situated on ridges and that in place of receiving affluents they throw off effluents. That is, the water flows on a bed and between banks of alluvial deposit. Under natural conditions there is a continuing deposit both on the bed and on the surface of the land near the banks until a breach occurs in one or other bank and the stream leaves the channel and forms a new one in the lower or less developed part of the delta. The beds of the old channels have, in some cases, been so raised that they can be drained and cultivated. In other cases they persist as channels carrying little water and constitute what are termed in Bengal dead or dying

rivers. There has for long been a desire to revive some of the old outlets from the Ganges in Bengal. This, however, implies a contest with nature on such a scale and under such adverse conditions that there can be little hope of success at any reasonable cost.

It is, perhaps, an open question whether artificial flood banks cause an increase or a diminution in the rate of deposit on the bed of the river. It is, however, clear that if by artificial works we prevent the development of new channels, the bed and consequently the flood level will, in the course of time, rise higher than if natural conditions had obtained. This is illustrated by the present conditions of the Po and other rivers in North Italy, and of the famous Yellow River in China.

In India, or at all events in that part of India with which I am acquainted—viz., Bengal Bihar and Orissa—flood banks have been in action for such a short time and on such a partial basis that they can, so far, have had little effect of this kind. In these provinces the natural conditions of most of the rivers which have been embanked are such that, in their downward course, the channels gradually decrease in capacity, and eventually can pass only a small part of the volume of a high flood. In dealing with such rivers there has naturally been no attempt to give complete protection from inundation. In some cases effective protection has been given to a part of the area affected, while the remaining part is left unembanked, and so has to receive more than its natural share of the flood water. In other cases there is an extended system of embankments, which give protection from low floods, but which are overtopped or breached when the flood is high.

The River Gundak in North Bihar is an exception. It flows from the Himalayas to the Ganges across the great Gangetic plain with a fairly straight course in a single channel, having a comparatively uniform section. While it would not, I think, be ordinarily described as deltaic, it does not flow in a valley, and flood water passing over

the natural banks is dispersed over the country. For a good many years the flood has been confined by embankments on both sides of the river, which are intended to be, and which usually are, effective. There are not sufficient data to establish whether, since the flood banks were made effective, the bed of the river has been raised. It is, however, improbable that this has occurred to an appreciable extent. What probably happens is that in seasons of low flood, when the channel of the river is large in comparison with the volume of water, sand is deposited, not uniformly, but in certain, or rather in uncertain, places, causing obstructions resembling low weirs. When a high flood comes there will be a temporary heading up of the water at such places till the sand deposit has been moved on. This may possibly explain unexpected rises not consistent with the general flood line, which have been noticed along parts of the embankments on this river. It is in any case desirable to keep graphic records of the flood line for all important rivers and for all floods high or low.

A question which invites consideration is whether permanent outlets or escapes should be provided in flood banks. As flood banks are primarily intended to prevent inundation, it might at first sight appear anomalous to construct works allowing flood to pass through the banks. The question may be considered separately for the banks intended to be effective against all floods and for those effective only against low or moderate floods. In the latter case, when there is a high flood, there are breaches in the banks, and the escapes would take the place of the breaches. These flood banks grew up gradually with little method and with few or no calculations of the capacity of the embanked channel compared with the volume of flood to be passed. It is, however, quite feasible to make such calculations now, and to determine approximately the volume of flood which can be kept within banks in a particular section of a river and the volume which must, within that section, be allowed during a high flood to pass out. In my

view it is better to select the place at which the surplus water should pass through the bank in a regulated volume than to let the flood overtop the banks and breach them. There is further a practical point. It is not always easy to close a breach during the flood season. Now a comparatively low flood late in the season can do great harm if it finds an open breach, and the risk of this is avoided by having permanent escapes, so arranged that during moderate floods water does not pass out from the river, or may only pass in a small quantity. The argument in favour of flood banks of this class may be put thus: the presence of the banks enables the natural channels to pass a larger proportion of the total flood; the prevention or the repair of breaches in the natural banks maintains the integrity of the channels. There is otherwise a risk, or almost a certainty, that sooner or later the breach in the natural bank will so develop that the original channel will almost cease to function, and the water will take a new course, causing much injury to cultivated land, as it must be many years before the new course can have a definite channel. In tracts sparsely populated this might not be of much importance, but where, as is the case throughout Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, there is a dense population, the interference with existing conditions would be serious.

The position is different in respect to flood banks which are, or which are meant to be, effective against all floods. Where, as in parts of Orissa and the Midnapore district of Bengal, the embankments protect canals, no passage of flood water can be allowed. Escapes might be made in flood banks, such as those on either side of the Gundak, on the left side of the Damuda, and on the left side of the Bhagirathi. Whether it is desirable that they should be made can only be said after a thorough investigation of the conditions in each case. Regarded from the engineering aspect, escapes would be of service as safety-valves. The effect on health would ordinarily be little, as water would pass seldom and for short periods. Such effect as there

might be would, perhaps, be beneficial; at all events, it should not be injurious. In the case of the Bhagirathi, which is in itself an unregulated escape channel from the Ganges, and has a well-sustained flood season, this aspect would require fuller consideration, and might be important. It would be necessary to consider the effect of the water from the escape in regard to crops and communications and the capacity of the interior drainage channels. I think that in principle escapes are desirable. There would have been little difficulty in arranging for them at the time of the original construction of the flood banks, but now, when so many interests have grown up and developed in the tracts protected from inundation, it may not be easy to introduce them.

The flood water usually holds fertile matter in suspension. Obviously, if the deposit of this fertile matter on particular areas where it is most required can be effected by ponding the water, good would result. The process is known as warping in England, as *colmatage* in France, and as *colmatura* in Italy. The irrigation of rice from the Sone and Orissa canals, where the water usually holds some alluvial matter, illustrates the process in miniature, and the basin system of irrigation in Egypt on a larger scale. The Sur lake in the Puri district is an instance where the process is being carried out. It has, however, to be recognized that the process is a slow one, and much depends on agricultural conditions and on the value of the crops which might be grown on the lands within the basins after the flood season. It is an interesting problem, perhaps more important in theory than in practice, but it would be as well to get full reports on the works of this nature which have been, or are being, carried out in Italy.

It is, I venture to say, of importance to attract the attention of landlords and cultivators as well as of officials to methods of what in Italy is termed *bonificazione* or betterment, including in this term irrigation, drainage, and flood control, as well as agriculture and health. Statutory bodies

might, perhaps, be formed, on which landlords, occupying tenants, revenue, agricultural, and health officers should have representation. An engineer should be the secretary. This is especially desirable in those parts of the country where there is need of drainage, of protection from flood, or of small works for irrigation. Provincial governments should keep themselves informed of what is being done in other provinces and in other countries, such as Italy, and should furnish the members of the statutory bodies with particulars. It is the function of the engineer to study what is physically practicable, to suggest schemes, and to estimate the cost. It should be the function of the statutory body to consider what might be the economical and sanitary effect, and to suggest how the cost of the works should be met. It would be for the Government to decide.

As it is usually the case that the protection of particular lands from inundation causes an increased liability to inundation elsewhere, it is clearly necessary for the executive government to obtain from the legislature powers to regulate the construction and maintenance of protective works, whether these are carried out by Government itself or by private agency. In the case of works constructed and maintained by the Government, the decision how the cost should be met depends mainly on the system of land revenue which is in force. Where, as in Orissa, the settlement of the land revenues is temporary, the whole cost of the protecting works is met from provincial funds. Where, as in Bengal and Bihar, there is a permanent settlement of the land revenue, the cost is met by the holders of lands benefited, except that for certain estates in Bengal there is under the settlement a somewhat ill-defined obligation on Government to maintain flood banks free of cost to the estate. The Bengal Embankment Act is useful, but it might with advantage be expanded, keeping in view the fact that the protection of certain lands from inundation is only a part of the problem of flood control.

To conclude. The problem I have discussed is really

highly complex, and deserves consideration not only by engineers, but by all interested in agriculture and sanitation. Here as elsewhere there is need of education, taking this term in its widest sense. It is of vital importance to improve the agricultural yield. This depends largely on the capacity of the cultivator, which again depends on his health and intelligence. It is right, therefore, to explore every path in the hope that it may lead to improvement.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN LITERATURE

BY STANLEY DE BRATH

PSYCHOLOGICAL problems are much to the front at the present time. They affect East and West alike, for the fundamental causes of both literary and political movements are of this nature. One aspect of them is well illustrated by two books* that have recently appeared.

The immense field covered or attempted by Mr. Coates makes detailed criticism impossible within any reasonable limits. It deals mainly with the Christianizing of China, and is an impassioned plea for "Fundamentalism." It posits the literal interpretation of the Bible, and more especially of the book of Genesis, as the antidote to the "Modernist poison," which it assimilates to revolutionary Bolshevism.

Mr. Coates adduces certain unsolved geologic problems such as the great local collections of bones of the larger mammals, the wide distribution of *loess*, and the proofs of man as contemporary with the mammoth, as evidences for the rejection of the whole uniformitarian geology, and for reversion to the so-called Mosaic chronology. That these problems may be solved by some past geologic cataclysms of fire or flood is quite possible, but that they should be considered sufficient ground for disregarding all the mass of evidence on which Biblical criticism is founded is a totally different matter.

Mr. Coates is on his own ground as a missionary to China, and may be broadly correct in his view that a disposition to assimilate Christian ethics to Oriental religious ideas has weakened the ethical appeal of the former, but he is certainly wrong in placing Christianity in strong opposition to every Oriental religion. That is not the way to the heart of the East. The highest forms of both are alike, and the servants of God in each have no quarrel.

I have met but one Chinese—Mr. Wellington Koo—and he would not speak of Chinese problems, which I am unfitted to criticize; but I do know something of India, and the questions raised recall to me three conversations.

It must have been in 1892 or 1893, when, as an Assistant Secretary to the Government of India P.W. Department, my wife and I turned aside on our way to Simla to visit Swami Sri Bhaskeranand at Benares. We had a

* "The Red Theology in the Far East." By Charles H. Coates ("Jonathan Blunt" of the Anglo-Chinese Press). (*Thynne and Jarvis Ltd.*), 6s. net.

"The Soul of Jack London." By Edward Biron Payne. (*Rider and Co.*) 5s. net.

"Kim, Ven, Kieou." Traduit de l'Annamite par L. Masse. (*Editions Bossard, Paris.*) A Novel.

long talk, at the end of which he gave me a volume of his writings for Professor Max Müller—I do not know its contents, for I cannot read Sanskrit—and, on parting, he peeled an orange and divided it between us three. I asked, "Pundit-ji, what about your caste, eating with Europeans?" He replied "Sahib, the lovers of wisdom have but one caste; eat the fruit of the world and praise God." The second conversation was with Mr. D. Hevavitarna, representative of Buddhism at the Chicago Congress of Religions. As my guest in Calcutta, we were comparing "godless" Buddhism with Christianity. He said, Buddha had no need to insist on the Divine Essence at the heart of things: he had not cast off Brahmanic philosophy which sees the Principle of Being as Sat (Essence), Chit (Intelligence), and Anand (Joy of Life); his message was to the people at large to follow the Path: and, pardon me, you Europeans do not understand Nirvana. "Nirvana" is "Release"; and he quoted:

"To true wisdom there is only one way; many have followed it, and, conquering the lust and pride and anger in their own hearts, have entered the calm state of universal kindness, and have reached Nirvana even in this life." (Rhys David's "Buddhist Suttas.")

The third of these conversations was with a Muslim engineer with whom I was associated in my work. He expressed himself thus: "As you speak to me from the heart, I will remove the finger of silence from the lip of discretion. In this matter there is great hypocrisy in all nations; we reverence our sacred books from tradition and pride, but we do not read them. I do not read the Qur'an, though I perform the morning and evening devotions; we are excused the others. In truth, all educated Muslims know that there is no heaven in the sky. If we think on the matter at all, we are Sufis without the ecstasies, which we are content to leave to enthusiasts. Does not the Qur'an say, 'Pry not into that of which thou hast no knowledge.' All religions of the Book enjoin truthfulness, honesty, and good-will among men; that is enough for peace. The Government does not interfere with our religion. 'Islam' is 'obedience to the will of God'; what that is, the facts declare it. Our difficulties are with the fanatics who stir up strife."

Mr. Coates misunderstands the Modernist position: he considers that the trend of modern Biblical criticism is that "the Holy Scriptures register merely a uniformist and natural growth of purely human knowledge" (p. 144). What modern criticism maintains is that the Scriptures show a gradual enlightenment in a typical nation *by the evolutionary guidance of the Divine Spirit*; a nation in which, as its capacity increased, its best minds became more and more conscious of permanent spiritual realities. Dr. Driver, who is perhaps the most distinguished of the critics, says, "The vital truths declared in the Bible appear to me to be wholly unaffected by critical enquiries, or critical conclusions respecting its structure," and he adduces the testimony of Micah as to the content of Judaism:

"What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God" (vi. 8).

This is quite independent of the Edenic allegory, the Noachian Deluge, the Tower of Babel, and of the origins of the earth, the coal beds or *loess*, and the diversities of language, which Mr. Coates regards as standing evidential miracles. The Modernist position is a perception that the spiritual substance of the Scriptures is independent of their literary form—the one is permanent, the other is the language of its age.

While Modernists and Fundamentalists have been disputing, a world-wide movement, by no means confined to the white races, has made much of their disputations obsolete. The experimental method, which, applied to matter and energy, has given to humanity all the sciences of the West, has now been applied to the phenomena of mind, more especially to the super-normal faculties latent in man. Distinguished men of science—A. R. Wallace (the coadjutor with Darwin), F. W. H. Myers, Sir William Crookes, F.R.S.; Professors Sir William Barrett, F.R.S., Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., James Hyslop; Zöllner, Aksakoff, Brofferio, Boirac, and Richet, and many more, in France, Italy, and Germany; Dr. Geley, Dr. Osty, Dr. Ochorowicz, and other scientists—have devoted years of patient investigation to these things, and the net result is summed up by Dr. Hans Driesch, D.Phil., LL.D., M.D., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Leipsic: "The actuality of psychical phenomena is doubted to-day only by the incorrigible dogmatist" (*The Quest*, July, 1924).

Some of these phenomena are the "messages" received by controlled (automatic) trance speaking or writing. These are exceedingly curious facts. In most cases it is certain that the automatist is quite unconscious of what is written or spoken. Often the matter conveyed is such as the writer could not know by any normal process. In some cases predictions are made, much too detailed for their fulfilment to be due to chance coincidence. In this way the leading events and issues of the late war were predicted in June and July, 1914, by a young lady under hypnotic medical treatment. The predictions were published in the Athens newspapers of August, 1914, which are on file at the Paris Metapsychic Institute, where they can be seen by anyone. They were, of course, derided. But they were fulfilled.

Most of such "messages" purport to be communications from deceased personalities. The latest of these are given in Mr. Payne's book in connection with Mr. Jack London, a novelist and writer of singularly vivid nature stories and novels of adventure which are very widely read and have a great reputation.

The point of interest here is that Mr. London was a typical Westerner, brave, hardy, adventurous, a vigorous writer, and a thorough-going materialist, believing in forceful competition above all things. Perhaps 80 per cent. of men and 90 per cent. of women the world over are enamoured of forcefulness (provided, of course, that it is not applied to them), against the 20 and 10 per cent. who are more impressed by reason and beauty. Among the educated the disproportion is no doubt less; they admire strength applied to the ends of justice. Mr. London was one of the former—enamoured of strength for its own sake. To him life was the great fighting game. "He was enamoured of strength, power, energy,

and, because of the blustering speech and the swaggering carriage of the men in his early surroundings, he thought that he saw in them superb specimens of strength and power" (p. 39). It is to this trait that much of the popularity of his books is due. Yet he had a vein of idealism with which this doctrine was always in conflict.

"Mr. Payne's delineation of the man," says Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, "is an extraordinarily lucid analysis of him and his work—such an analysis as only a very acute brain informed with much personal knowledge could have made." The book records some amazing posthumous communications purporting to be from "the soul of Jack London," and these certainly bear the stamp of his vigorous diction and style. The alleged speaker says of his attempts to get into communication with his friends and his new utterances—"They are new sounds to the ears familiar with my old materialistic yawp, but it is I, Jack London, and none other."

These communications, we are told, were received through a sensitive who has no predilections for "spiritualism" and no previous experience of the supernormal. His message is "What life means to me now," and parts of it are very vivid. He says, "I laboured, I taught—when I did teach—that man might set his material house to rights that these vital developments might not be interrupted by brutal chance. *Chance!* Man's dependence upon chance as an explanation of life determines the blindness of his vision. *Here is no chance.* . . . My highest vision of service to my fellow-man was to minimize evil chance through securing a propitious environment. The evil and the good lived after one: life joined the snuffed-out lights of countless candles. Death caught me unawares. I had no opportunity to watch his approach. He snapped me up and my face was not turned his way. I almost regret this. I believe it made my transition the harder. I awoke. Dreaming? I was sure of it. I dreamed on and on. I was not awakened. I dreamed myself into eternity. I am vague. I was vague to myself. My powers returned. I could think. . . . My earth-blindness was on me. It hazed me about. I fought my way through it. I had no goal. I had passed the only goal I had ever admitted. I was on the other side of it. I struggle to seize the correct term. I try vainly to translate the experience into terms of earth which has no utterance for it.

"Margaret tells me it is four years. Time is an earth factor, but I measure it by my own change. I have no other scale. . . . *Life is indestructible.* My scientific earth-prattle called matter indestructible. Matter alone is destructible. Life, spirit, soul, mind, reason—these things are eternal. They know no change but growth.

"I shouted over the whole earth, but made no ripple of sound here. . . . Life is, and always is. I am talking beyond the chasm, the ashes, the dust-to-dust lie. I am glad to be doing anything of service to others. I am beginning all over again—starting at the lowest round, and painfully dragging myself up from where I was."

Asked if he did not find helping hands, the answer came quickly:

"Hands to guide, but I had it myself *to do*. The way of the transgressor is hard. That was of no meaning to me when I was with you . . . the

'me of me' has been scourged, chastened, and beaten into shape. . . . No rest, no surcease. I longed for that. I was trying to escape. The baseness must be flogged out of me. I am facing a shut-out. To be great I must be good—the old platitude! I am painfully writing my copy-book's page."

It is perhaps not altogether curious that the conclusions should point to the well-known things which the mystics of every religion have found. Perhaps, as Mr. Kipling has said:

"As I pass through my incarnations in every age and race,
I make my proper prostrations to the gods of the market place;
Peering through reverent fingers I watch them flourish and fall,
And the gods of the copy-book headings, I notice, outlast them all."

The really curious thing is that the mystical truths should reappear as experimental facts!

"Kim, Ven, Kieou" is an adaptation, rather than a translation, of a celebrated Annamese poem into French. It could hardly be other than an adaptation, for the work was beset with the insuperable difficulty of translating the Chinese ideograms into Western words. It presents the adventures of two lovers in an imaginary setting which, for those who love the florid Eastern symbolism, has more than the charm of a pretty love-story.

SOMADEVA'S KATHA SARIT SĀGARA; OR, THE OCEAN OF STORY. Translated by C. H. Tawney, C.I.E. Edited by N. M. Penzer, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S. In ten volumes. Vol. iv. (London: Published privately by Sawyer, Grafton Street.) £2 2s. per vol.

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

Mr. Penzer is fortunate in giving each of the five published volumes of the "Ocean of Story" characteristics of its own. In the volume now under review, we learn that it contains the whole of the Pañchatantra collection of fables, to which is accorded the unique qualification of having been loved and read by countless generations. Students will find that the genealogical table of the history of the Pañchatantra inserted after Appendix I. is worth very close study and attention. This table shows that it took several hundreds of years to collect up to A.D. 500, and that it also included older and equally popular tales. This is a fact of extraordinary interest. The original copies appear to have been lost, but from the surviving documents have survived two hundred versions, translated into fifty different languages. The first knowledge of the collection reached Europe in the eleventh century, and the enthusiasm it aroused, even at that early period (when it might be reasonably supposed that Oriental learning was confined to very few), is shown by this, that within five centuries translations appeared in Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, and English, besides Old Slavonic and Czech. Hebrew scholars will note with satisfaction that knowledge of the Pañchatantra in Europe was due to the Latin version of John of Capua, which was largely based on the Hebrew translation. Important assistance was also given by Germany and Spain in this direc-

tion. The Latin version was translated into German in 1480, and from then to 1860 no fewer than twenty-four editions were printed in Germany. The same work was translated into Spanish, but only sixteen editions appeared in Spain between 1648 and 1895. In England, Sir T. North's version was taken from Doni's work and was first printed in 1570 and was reprinted in 1601, and David Nutt reissued an edition in 1888. There still seems some uncertainty about the exact place whence the Pañchatantra originated, whether in Kashmir or the south or south-west of India. The contents naturally refer to Eastern ideas and parallels—such as rams and jackals, lions and hares, the ass in panther's skin, elephants and hares—and it is therefore all the more remarkable that the fables should have attracted so much attention in Europe. We are reminded in the Foreword, written by Sir Denison Ross, that the stories were essentially popular, and that they were the only form of literature enjoyed by women and children in the East. Sir Denison Ross discusses exhaustively in the Foreword the question of the supposed Burzoë legend, and whether a Pahlavī version exists of the "Fables of Bidjay." Orientalists will be specially interested in these arguments, as Sir Denison appears to have arrived at a different conclusion from other authorities—such as Benfey, Noldeke, and others.

In Appendix II., Mr. Penzer describes at length the origin of the story of Ghata and Karpara and the first of the two tales contained in it. The circumstances of the story seem simple and not altogether worthy of the notoriety they have acquired. The fact remains, however, that it is one of the most famous tales in the world, having been handed down for more than two thousand years, and popular imagination has singled it out for that honour. Mr. Penzer argues that the story must be of Egyptian origin, and Herodotus incorporated it in his "Rhampsinitus," which appeared in his most popular book. This fact gives the reason of the tale having become known in every part of the world and of being included in every important collection.

Mr. Penzer still continues to include the excellent indexes of Sanskrit words and proper names, as well as the general index, in this fifth volume.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

MANDATES

BY STANLEY RICE

THE theory of Mandates has been given to the world as an entirely new policy, but like many ideas of the kind it is really only the formulation and application as practical politics of a gradual change of attitude in Europe towards the coloured races. The one thing that is new about it is that the European nations have submitted to the judgment of the world, have bound themselves by special contracts, and have agreed to certain restrictions upon their own inclinations. These restrictions are to a large extent concerned with themselves; the principal ones are that the native inhabitants shall not be trained in war in excess of the requirements of internal order and the defence of the country, and that the Mandated territory shall be open for purposes of trade to all members of the League of Nations. It would, of course, be unjust to the ideal which the Mandatory system represents to overlook or to dismiss with contempt those special clauses which are intended to safeguard the peoples committed to the Mandatory, for that was the main objects of the idealists. The material and moral well-being of the inhabitants is the first care of the Mandatory, and their social progress is to be advanced as far as possible. Slavery in all its forms is to be abolished, and though this prohibition may seem to be unnecessary in the present state of European thought, there are many ways in which the weaker peoples may be converted into virtual slaves, even if the name be avoided. The Mandatory system is in fact the concrete result of the humanitarian and other movements all over the world, and it is not surprising that the various dominant nations of the earth do not all view these questions alike. If the curse of Noah that Ham should be the servant of Japhet is no longer quoted in excuse of slavery, the spirit of it still remains. It was not so long ago that the Southern States of America took up the position that slavery was essential

to the prosperity of the country; and in still more recent times the Boers of South Africa so deeply resented the British attempts to interfere on behalf of slaves that they eventually went to war in defence of their freedom to do as they liked.

In spite of these provisions Mandates have been scoffed at as "camouflaged annexation." To all intents and purposes England is in possession of such territories as Tanganyika and Japan of the South Sea Islands. If it were not so, why should either trouble itself with a Mandate? For if the Mandatory is merely a trustee for the League of Nations, and has no advantages over other members of the League beyond providing a few extra posts for her sons, why should anyone be at the pains to govern? But trade follows the flag; the world to-day is competing for trade; new discoveries demand new material, and it is only the tropical parts of the earth that can supply them. The expansion of Holland was followed by the expansion of England and France; Italy and Germany copied the example. Wherever the white man has gone he has gone for trade, and the acquisition of trade has very often ended in the acquisition of territory. But a Mandatory must rule according to the ideals and the systems of his own nation; he must conduct the administration in his own language, and of course the trader will go where he understands the system, where he finds his own customs, and where his own language is spoken. Though a Mandated territory is open to the world, it is in practice far wider open to the nationals of the Mandatory than to any others. Moreover, there is no provision in the Covenant for the possibility that the League may one day break up; Brazil has seceded, Sweden showed signs of doing the same, and Russia and the United States will have none of the whole organization. The Holy Alliance broke down on the question whether the quarrel of Spanish America was or was not a domestic matter; can anyone be sure that the alliance of nations called the League is more permanent than other alliances? What, then, would become of the Mandates? Would they not naturally fall to the Power in possession? There would certainly be strong arguments in favour of such a course. That Power would have as much equitable right as anyone else; the native inhabitants would suffer by a change of system; the preponderating interests in trade of the Power concerned must carry the day; and, finally, the money spent in the early days of administration must in fairness be recovered. Such would be the line of argument, and

though no Power has accepted a Mandate with the reversionary interest in view, there can be little doubt that the possibilities of trade expansion have not been without weight in determining the acceptance of a Mandate.

For it is a historical fact, as M. Millot has shown* in sketching the story of the origin of Mandates, that the whole idea was only slowly evolved, and that in the course of the evolution the great States of Europe were putting forward claims to this or that territory. Great Britain wanted Tanganyika, France was satisfied with bits of Africa if she could maintain her preponderance in Syria, New Zealand coveted Samoa, and Australia wanted a share in the South Pacific Islands; and when all seemed to have been settled, Italy and Belgium put in claims for satisfaction. All this was finally adjusted, but it is clear that, whether from sentimental ideas of prestige or practical ideas of trade, everyone wanted a finger in the pie, and there was not much consideration for the native inhabitants, the assumption perhaps being that in the African territories it did not matter much who was the ruler provided that they were placed under European tutelage.

There was a further consideration which the Allies had to take into account, though it had little or nothing to do with the subject peoples. It could not reasonably be argued that any one nation had conquered anything by its single effort. It was Britain which wrested Palestine from the Turks, and British and Belgian troops who eventually conquered German East Africa; but the war on the French and Italian fronts had reactions on both campaigns. The war, in short, was one and indivisible, and the disposition of the spoils could not therefore be made on the basis of specific conquest. This doctrine was especially supported by America, which conquered nothing at all; but, although she repudiated the Treaty of Versailles and refused to enter the League of Nations, she demanded the right to criticize and to participate in the arrangements to be made. At the same time, it is not easy to grasp the logic of Herr Schnee† when he argues that the seizure of the German colonies was an act of pure spoliation. It may be that the stories of German barbarities were exaggerated; the well-authenticated instances of "Schrecklichkeit" in France and Belgium inclined everyone to believe anything of a people who could resort to such methods. It is possible that too much was

* "Les Mandates Internationaux," by Albert Millot. Paris, Larose, 25 fr.

† "German Colonization, Past and Future," by Heinrich Schnee. Allen and Unwin, 5s.

made even of these horrors, but it is common knowledge that a cession of territory very often follows upon defeat, and the cession of colonial territory was, though by no means unique, characteristic of a war which was waged ultimately for the possession of the world outside Europe. What Germany planned to do had she been the victor we do not know, but we may at least conjecture that she would have helped herself in Africa at the expense of France and England, as she had already done in the case of the former by rattling the sword and donning the shining armour.

It is a sinister reflection on human nature in general and on Western civilization in particular that the Mandate system is primarily a safeguard against the quarrels and the greed of the white man. So much is practically admitted by Miss Freda White in her excellent little book on Mandates,* and she is certainly not inclined to be too harsh to her own civilization. The system is therefore a makeshift; it cannot be condemned for what it tries to prevent any more than you can condemn the laws of Political Economy because they proclaim the selfishness of mankind. Wars for extension of territory in Europe are now rare; when such extensions have followed upon a war, as for example the retrocession of Alsace-Lorraine or the contraction of Turkey, the impelling motive was not so much the acquisition of provinces as the recovery of populations by what was claimed to be their rightful masters. Wars of religion have ceased, though it may be that the next war will be fought on the principle of creed against no-creed. Europe looks east and south, anywhere outside herself, and it is notorious that the Great War itself was waged for the purpose of so reducing Europe to impotence that Germany might have a free hand in the conquest of Asia and the annexation of Africa. How far this principle of national jealousy has gone can be seen in the allocation of Syria to France. M. Millot writes of the French Mandate in very rosy colours, and even declares that alone of the Asiatic Mandates Syria is administered according to the principles of Article 22. That was written before the recent troubles. It is said that the Syrians would have preferred the British if they could not have complete independence; be that as it may, it is certain, as Miss White admits, that the Arabs were not consulted, as was stipulated by the Covenant, and all observers are agreed that French rule in Syria is, to say the least, not popular. At the same time it must be admitted that France by her interests in the country was

* "Mandates," by Freda White. Cape, 3s. 6d.

marked out as the Mandatory. In the case of Palestine the British were in a dilemma. The Jews have preserved their coherence not by virtue of nationality, but by virtue of religion and customs; they come from all parts of the earth, where they have learned much of the material kind that gives them the advantage over the Arabs. The peculiar sentiment that belongs to Palestine urged the British Government to issue the Balfour Declaration, which, however, when the Mandate came into being, proved very embarrassing. It was strenuously opposed by the predominant Arabs. The British were therefore compelled to break their word to the Jews or else to cut their way through the Covenant. They preferred the latter. For if in so vital a matter the wishes of the population had been obtained, by the ordinary, though unsatisfactory, method of the plébiscite, there would have been an overwhelming majority against the Declaration, and in this case at any rate the plébiscite would have accurately reflected the wishes of the people. The fear of the Arabs does not lie in the numbers concerned, but in the superior capacity of the Jews, who have obtained it through their contact with the civilizations of the West and North rather than from any inherent characteristics of the race. We have embarked upon a policy which may lead to the eventual predominance of the Jews, who have gained so much power even in more advanced countries in spite of the contempt with which they are often regarded and of the relative disproportion of their numbers.

It has been said above that the Mandatory system is nothing new in principle. It took the world some centuries to discover—there are indeed those who have not yet discovered—that, whatever the Book of Genesis may have said, the continents were not made, nor the weaker races created, for the purposes of exploitation by the white man or any other. The old theory of Timur, Attila, and Ancient Pistol that the world is an oyster to be opened by the sword gave way to the more modern, but not less practical, way of Turks and Arabs and white colonists in America and the West Indies that the weaker races were to be the serfs of the stronger. That idea is not yet exploded, but in so far as the conscience of the world has been aroused, the torch was first lighted and burned most brightly in India. The lesson of the earlier, more shameful years was learned; the exploitation of Indians was forbidden; and if there is any slavery in India it is rather the serfdom of Indians to Indians than any slavery to the

white man. The administration of India, it may be said without any fear of contradiction, is the standing example of a Mandate. Religion is free, and that is what the present Mandates enjoin. Opinion is free, so long as it does not overstep the bounds and stray into the forbidden country of licence. Trade is free; Indians themselves would say too free. Above all, the land is secured to the inhabitants, except a minute fraction which no Indian ever wanted, but which, by the industry of the white man, has been able to employ Indian labour under conditions which, if not ideal, are at least not harsh. Education, especially of the higher sort, has wonderfully progressed; and if the control of liquor is not all that could be desired, that is chiefly owing to Nature herself, who so often provides the Indian man with intoxicants at his own back door. Last, and perhaps chiefest, there is not one white man who, returning to England with modest savings, has not brought with him happy memories and left behind him cordial friendships, and there is a warm place for the Indian peasant in every heart. If for the time the sense of thwarted ambition, of what may seem the denial of freedom, has obscured this bright vision, the cloud is born of an abstract idea, and the individual relations can still be cordial. That, however, is beside the present point. There is no country to which white men have penetrated which conforms more exactly to the principle of Mandates than India. The differences are comparatively slight, and do not affect the country itself. We have used Indian troops abroad, and that the Mandatory system, thinking of European quarrels, has forbidden; we present no report of our Indian administration to any international board, but we are prepared to face the verdict of the world's tribunal. If all Mandates were administered as we have administered India there would be little cause for complaint. Indians of a generation ago would have gladly subscribed to this description, though those indoctrinated with later theories may demur. We are, however, considering the matter from the point of view of Mandates only, and the Mandatory system presupposes some kind of European control, and rules out complete Swaraj altogether.

Mandates are of three kinds according to the state of society of the Mandated area. The so-called A Mandates are concerned with Asiatic countries, the B are African, and the C are territories which are administered as an integral part of the Mandatory's dominions. The Mandatory Powers are at present Great Britain and her

Colonies, France, Belgium, and Japan; but as the two latter administer only a tiny part of Africa and some Pacific islands, the whole of the Mandated territory may be said to be in the hands of the two former. The secession of either from the League would therefore be a serious matter; it is indeed impossible to forecast what the result would be. But since these places cannot be left unprotected against European rapacity, they must either be retained as annexations and governed upon the Mandatory principle applied voluntarily, or else they must be restored to an emasculated League.

How far the principle that the good of the people must be the first consideration has taken root may be inferred from the German demand for a Mandate of her lost colonies or some of them, if not as the price of, then as consideration for, her entry into the League. It is quite possible that, as Herr Schnee has argued, Germany would administer them as well as any other advanced nation; it is also possible that she would not, and it is unnecessary to discuss either proposition. But it would need very strong proof that German administration would be so definitely and markedly better to justify a change of government. In fact, such a transfer (which is not contemplated by the Covenant) could only take place by ignoring this, the first of all stipulations, and by proceeding on the quite unconnected idea of the prestige of a great European Power. It is possible to admit that some parts of Africa at any rate are no better off than they were, and yet to hold that a change of administration would not benefit the inhabitants. And if things are to be equal, why change, with all the dislocation that change implies?

But the German claim does not rest upon the contention that, from the point of view of the inhabitants, they could administer the country as well as, if not better than, the existing Mandatory. It is apparently the German case that the sovereignty over the colonies belongs to the League of Nations, and that by her entry into the League she has acquired the right to share in the Mandates by virtue of her position as a leading State. There is no part of M. Millot's book which is more acutely reasoned than this question of the sovereignty of the African (or B) Mandates. The disposition of the German colonies is governed by Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles as well as by Article 22 of the Covenant, which also forms part of the Treaty. But it has hitherto escaped notice that, while the Treaty itself is between the Allied nations of the one part

and Germany of the other, the Covenant is really a Pact between the Allied nations themselves to the exclusion of Germany. By her entry into the League Germany of course becomes a party to the Covenant, but these *ex post facto* proceedings do not alter the status of the Covenant, which in fact had nothing to do with the war, and ought to be read as an annexure to the Treaty rather than as an integral part of it. Had it not been for the Treaty of Versailles proper and for the Treaty of Lausanne, Article 22 could have had no existence; but the rest of the Covenant might as easily have been conceived, war or no war. Clearly, then, Article 22 did not create any sovereignty in the League; Article 119 of the Treaty renounced the colonies to the principal Allied and Associated Powers, and as the terms of it are as wide as they can be, the sovereignty passed to these Powers inasmuch as no one doubted that Germany was previously in full possession of it. On setting up the League of Nations, which was a creation of the signatories, and not a wholly independent institution, the Allies did not divest themselves of this sovereignty; they merely agreed that one or other of them should administer this or that colony under the general supervision of the League.

These arguments do not satisfy M. Millot. He considers that the sovereignty conferred by Article 119 of the Versailles Treaty is so limited by the operation of Article 22 that there is virtually no sovereignty, especially as the sovereignty of Germany is not specifically replaced. He therefore comes to the conclusion that the sovereignty resides in the original place whence Germany derived it, in the colony itself, but that it has been placed in trust for the people in the hands of the Mandatory. That may be so if we are to argue on democratic lines; at any rate, the trustee was not nominated by the League but by the Allied Council, from whom therefore and not from the Council of the League it derives its authority. That body no doubt has ceased to exist, but the nations constituting it are still in being. And therefore, seeing that there is no machinery for dispossessing a Mandatory without his consent, the situation which would arise if the Mandatory resigned office ought, it would seem, to be dealt with by the representatives of the Allied Powers, called if necessary into conference. There is nothing to show that the League of Nations is any more competent now than at the date of the Treaty to nominate the Mandatory, and the German demand for a Mandate is therefore resolved into a demand

for a modification of the Treaty to the extent of granting her equality with the victorious Powers in respect of the Mandates, whether of the A or B kind.

We must leave the A Mandates with the passing remark that the quarrel about Mosul raised the very pretty question of the position of the Mandatory in case of war with another Power on behalf of its trust. Had the question of war with Turkey seriously arisen, what would have been the position of Great Britain? Would public opinion have suffered a war for Irak, which we are bound eventually to evacuate, but the integrity of which is important from the standpoint of India? Should we have said that all Irak was not worth the blood of a single English soldier? These are questions which the reader must decide for himself, and then turn to the more congenial subject of the B Mandates.

If some far-seeing African savage, more astute than his fellows, had murdered Stanley and Livingstone out of hand, it would be difficult to blame him. No doubt others would have followed where they had begun, and no doubt the inevitable punitive expedition would have run its usual course; but how could he have known that? Other murders have taken place with objects just as senseless and results just as futile. All he would have seen was that the white strangers were prying into his country, and that sooner or later the hunting and the tribal wars, the primitive clearings and the magic rituals, the joys of to-day and the chances of to-morrow, would vanish, and life be as "tedious as a twice-told tale." He would have seen himself perhaps decently clad in trousers according to the white man's absurd ideas, toiling at the white man's fields once his own for a pittance alternated with a flogging, or penned within what a white man calls a "reserve," where the white man, as in South-West Africa, decreed that he must pay for all improvements not "generally useful." And perhaps, if he had been granted still greater vision, he would have seen the complacent reports in which it was set down that the native labourer was advancing in progress, that though he was lazy there was still hope of turning him into a useful workman, that schools could do much, and that generally civilization was performing its "sacred trust" to its own entire satisfaction. For this labour question is the most thorny of all, and Miss White does not disguise the fact; if the picture is highly coloured, it is but a paraphrase of what can be found in her book. It is clear that there are three things to blame. In the first place Africa, unlike India,

is to a large extent under colonization; in India the European planter is confined to the hills, which nobody wanted; in Africa, especially in those parts where the climate admits of it, the planter takes the best land, and in Kenya Colony (which is not under Mandate) we know that the European has staked out an exclusive claim for the highlands. Next, whatever the idealists may dream and governments plan, there is a rooted idea that the sons of Ham are born to serve the sons of Japhet, and though this idea is far more strongly marked in some than in others, it is there in all alike. No doubt it has grown up from the contact with an immensely lower civilization. In India, where civilization is not only old but also very highly developed, where the Indian at his best is as worthy your attention as any white man, and where you can cheerfully meet many equals and acknowledge some superiors, the contrast is by no means so great. Respect has come with knowledge; to call Indians "niggers," to speak of them comprehensively as "the natives," as though they were unworthy your notice—these are things which merely mark the measure of your ignorance, and to a man who really knows India are the signs of gross bad manners. Of course, it is difficult to look upon African negroes otherwise than as grown-up children, to be whipped and chided and generally put in their place because they are children, to be set to work to produce for the good of the world at large and of the particular master because they are grown up. To the general run of the industrious and industrial white man even the children, in the naïve phrase of the Administrator of South-West Africa, are just "potential labourers of the future." Thirdly, the European is beset, as he is in India, by the notion that whatever is good for Europe must be good for the rest of the world; and the various administrations are only human. Let us be good and virtuous; let us be happy if we can; let us eschew all those gross and vile superstitions which hold life cheap and keep the mind in slavery; but before all things, and if need be in super-session of all, let us be efficient. In one of the most striking passages of her book Miss White says:

"Boredom sounds a frivolous cause to adduce for depopulation. But it is a very serious one. . . . The people, always improvident and careless of the morrow, find life so dull that they are apt to grow daily more listless, till they cease even from the effort to win enough food from an over-lavish nature, or to fight the diseases that kill the children. This malady of

the soul is 'accidia.' . . . A low standard of living, without occupation or desire for any change to quicken the sluggish hours, rots men as fungus rots wood."

Yet even in this, though perhaps the implication is not intentional, one may read a suspicion that the European mind is again at work. For if the native dies out, what is to become of the country? Where is all the potential wealth to come from if there is no potential labour? That is doubtless the thought of many a planter; that was the cry of the Southern States before the Civil War. That is the cry which led Natal to import Indian labour and to sow the dragon's teeth of an apparently insoluble problem. That is the consideration which impels the South African Government to send convicted persons to work on farms instead of in prison and keeps the farmers waiting for judgment in order to snap up the juiciest morsels. For what was the earth given for except to yield her riches to the industrious, and what is the use of a man unless he produces? One cannot but sympathize with the islanders of Nauru—attractive, happy-go-lucky folk, who seem to live on the fortunate chance that their land possesses what the white man covets, and who are content to let Chinese labour do the work. Perhaps if one were an African one would prefer to be one of that tribe which strangers must approach warily and quite naked lest they should be shot at sight.

But though the African may lament the old joyous days, when he could do as he liked, and live according to his own ideas, when "one crowded hour of glorious life" was worth many years of drudgery on a white farm, the Mandatory system has much to commend it. It was inevitable that Europe should penetrate into these remote regions in search of treasure, and should oust the old gods to set up their own special Mammon in their place. Each nation must administer according to its lights, and each nation administers differently; even in the various parts of the British Empire ideas must differ. But all are imbued with a new spirit. There was a time when the native inhabitants were cared for as one cares for plough-cattle and horses, because it did not pay to treat them badly, and even now it is said that good masters need never lack labour. But the "sacred trust of civilization" recognizes that man has his rights, that the welfare of the natives of the soil is an object in itself, and that after all Africa was meant for the Africans, who have not been breeding for generations that their children's children might serve strangers. Europe has brought the scientific

knowledge that can fight the many diseases of the tropics; she has brought the light of general knowledge, for which it may be argued that the African has very little use; and she has brought, too, the revelation that the world is not bounded by the lands of the next village nor even by the dark recesses of the jungle. And she has brought now the boon that what is done in secret shall be proclaimed upon the housetop. The Permanent Mandates Commission has a difficult and delicate task; violent and tactless criticism can only offend national susceptibilities, and the reports which it receives are necessarily coloured by the desire to show the best side of the picture. Yet even with these handicaps it has accomplished something. That spirit which has inspired the creators of the League of Nations may yet come to be recognized by the more reactionary of Governments, and gradually become established among those whose lives are ordered in tropical countries. We cannot expect miracles; ideas which have taken root are a most unconscionable time a-dying. But they do die, and if European civilization is not all that might be desired for the Mandated territories, at least there is good hope that if it must be established, it will be established shorn of its uglier features.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL

THE PILGRIMAGE OF 1926. By Colonel E. J. King, C.M.G., F.S.A., Knight of Justice of the Order. With an Introduction by Major-General the Earl of Scarbrough, G.B.E., K.C.B., F.S.A., Knight of Justice and Sub-Prior. (London: St. John's Gate.) 1926.

(Reviewed by LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.)

English historians show reasons for concluding that, when Henry VIII. decided to suppress the Hospitaller Order in England as a Papal institution, he contemplated the reorganization of the Grand Priory of England under himself as its Sovereign Head and Protector. This subject is briefly discussed by Bedford and Holbeche in the short "History of the English Hospitallers," published in 1902. What Henry VIII. may have contemplated four centuries ago, Queen Victoria carried into effect in 1888, and since that date the Grand Priory of England has pursued an independent career, by virtue of which it has to-day, under the Royal Charter of 1925, become "The Grand Priory in the British Realm of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem." As the Sub-Prior, the Earl of Scarbrough, says in his Introduction, this "Pilgrimage of 1926 . . . is the first occasion of an official visit of one of the Tongues of the Order to the scenes of its ancient activities since its evacuation, firstly of Palestine in 1291, secondly of Rhodes in 1523, and thirdly of Malta in 1798."

The account of this Pilgrimage, which Colonel King has, with an industry and expedition which merit our gratitude, completed and issued, is one which touches upon many phases of the earlier history of the Order, and records also the impressive ceremonies by which in 1926 the Pilgrims marked their sense of the high privilege which they enjoyed in visiting under such favourable auspices the Holy Land, Jerusalem, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Malta. The second chapter of the book also gives a very interesting description of the Grand Priory of Venice, and mentions that it was a Grand Prior of Venice, Leonard de Tybertis, who, when trouble arose over the transfer of the property of the Order of the Temple to the Order of the Hospital, was sent to England by the Grand Master Elyon de Villeneuve, with full powers to take whatever action he might think necessary to evolve order out of chaos. This, we are told, he did within the year, handed over the Grand Priory to Philip de Thame, whose Report for 1338 was published in 1857 by the Camden Society, and returned to Venice. The arms of the Grand Priors of England are painted on the panelling of the Chapter Hall at St. John's Gate, and among them are those of Leonard de Tybertis. A second Knight of that name fought under the Turcopolier John Kendal at the first siege of Rhodes in 1480.

The route taken by the s.s. *Asia*, which conveyed the Pilgrims of 1926 from Venice to Jaffa, was very much that followed by Bernhard von Breydenbach, Dean of the Cathedral of Mayence, in 1484, as will be seen by studying for a few minutes the map which occupies the last page of the

book. The Pilgrim of 1484 illustrated his book with six or seven remarkable folding plans of the principal ports which he visited, and with quaint designs of men, beasts, and birds. The illustrations of "The Pilgrimage of 1926" are, most of them, of very great interest and thoroughly well reproduced. They represent some of the buildings which have played the most conspicuous part in the Order's history, and reproduce in groups and processions the Pilgrims of 1926. The book is at once a remarkable summary of the Order's history and a record of the series of events by which in the spring of 1926 the Grand Priory of England renewed and riveted the ties which bind it to Jerusalem, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Malta.

It is generally known that the title "Muristan" given by the Turks to the site of the original house or headquarters in Jerusalem of the Knights Hospitallers, after it had passed into Moslem hands, signifies a lunatic asylum. Being anxious to ascertain the origin of the word "Muristan," which I find in no Arabic or Persian Lexicon to which I have access, I wrote some years ago to Professor E. G. Browne, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and asked him to explain it. He replied that "Muristan" was an abbreviated corruption of *bimaristan*, a hospital. The Persian word "bimār" (sick) is familiar to anyone who has been in India. The Grand Priory of England has recently acquired a portion of this "Muristan," being the southern half of the part presented by the Sultan of Turkey in 1869 to the Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia. The Conventual Churches of the Hospitallers at Jerusalem and Acre are both reproduced in the illustrations of "The Pilgrimage of 1926," as also is the Castle of Colossi in Cyprus, the Auberge and the Bastion of England at Rhodes, and the English Tower at Budrum. Since about 1911, when I resigned the office of Honorary Organizing Commissioner of the St. John Ambulance Association in India, I have taken considerable interest in bringing St. John's Gate more into touch in various ways with Cyprus, Rhodes, and Budrum; and as reference is several times made by Colonel King to the Relics of the Order of St. John which for the past century had found a resting-place in Russia, I think I am entitled to mention that the enquiry which traced them from Gatchina to Reval originated with me and was entirely conducted by me single-handed, with the assistance of a distinguished French diplomatist, a well-known Russian historian and art critic, and an obliging British Consul-General. A copy of the entire correspondence has been handed over by me to the librarian of St. John's Gate for record. When Yudenitch withdrew his White Army to Reval, the orthodox clergy of Gatchina accompanied him, taking the "relics" with them. More recently I ascertained that Mr. H. Pirie-Gordon, who is an authority on Hospitaller history and accompanied the Pilgrimage, was actually in Reval with Yudenitch and knew him well. What an opportunity! My own feeling is that these relics ought to be either in the Church of the Sovereign Order of Malta on the Aventine or in St. John's Church at Malta, of which latter edifice Colonel King gives a most attractive description. I have read this volume from cover to cover with the keenest interest, and I recommend it to all. But for a breakdown of health, I should certainly have been one of the Pilgrims of 1926.

The decipherment of the inscriptions on pp. 91 and 119 is not quite correct. For "PODATUS AGLIE" read "PRORATUS AGLIE" (= "PRIORATUS ANGLIÆ"); and La Vallette's epitaph (p. 119) is correctly given in de Villeneuve-Bargemont's "Monuments des Grand Maîtres de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem" (Paris, 1829), and practically so in General Porter's "History of the Knights of Malta," vol. ii., p. 333. Correctly it reads thus:

"Ille Asiæ Libyæque pavor, tutelaque quondam
Europæ, edomitis sacra per arma Getis,
Primus in hac alma, quam condidit, urbe sepultus
Valeta, æterno dignus honore jacet."

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING IN CHINA AND ITS SPREAD WESTWARD.
By Thomas Francis Carter, Ph.D. (*Columbia University Press, also published in the British Empire by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.*) Pp. xviii + 282. Illustrated. 1925. Price 37s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS.)

The history of printing in China—which contributed so largely to her civilization and culture—has never been adequately treated either by Oriental or by European scholars. Professor Carter's book is the first of its kind, and the author's knowledge of the Chinese language has given him special advantages in carrying out his researches in a most difficult task—and describing what the Chinese achieved in that particular direction. Professor Carter has not only consulted leading authorities in Europe, but also unearthed materials from original sources wherever possible. In the Western world, however, the invention of printing in China was long a disputed point, for the Professor writes: "The facts concerning China's part in the invention of printing . . . have been almost unknown to European scholarship, except in a few of their larger outlines." It was only about 1550 that Europeans became aware that their printing was derived from China; and for centuries no attempt was made to collect all that had been recorded here and there on the subject until the year 1847—but even then the work was not satisfactory.

Professor Carter unhesitatingly gives the Chinese all the credit for the invention of paper also, and, though lavish in his use of superlatives, he is not without justification when he considers it "the most certain and the most complete of China's inventions." He tells us how paper of all kinds was made and used in China from the very earliest times of the Christian era. The Arabs learnt the secret of paper manufacture from their Chinese prisoners at Samarkand, and the Moorish subjects handed on the secret to their Spanish conquerors. "India paper" is a misnomer; it is really a Chinese invention of the nineteenth century, and, as our readers are aware, it is much in use for printing the costly editions of Oxford books. Throughout the classical period, bamboo, wood, and silk were used as writing materials, but in the third century B.C. a change took place and tree bark, hemp, and rags came into use. The author, on Sir Aurel

Stein's authority, confirms the statement that rag paper was a Chinese invention and therefore cannot be claimed either by Arabs or by Europeans. The use of seals made of gold, silver, and ivory were common during the reign of Ts'in Huang, and still more remarkable is the fact that books were printed from stone blocks throughout the Sung dynasty. This art spread from China to Japan.

Further, we learn from Professor Carter that Buddhism played a prominent part in the art of printing, and promoted the circulation of religious books in China and in other Oriental countries. He writes that "in the whole long history of the advance of printing from its beginnings in China down to the twentieth century, there is scarcely a language or a country where the first printing done has not been either from the sacred Scriptures or from the sacred art of one of the world's three greatest missionary religions. China began by printing Buddhist pictures and texts." Similarly religious feeling found expression in Egypt and Europe in printing the Koran and the Bible.

Printing from wooden blocks was also a Chinese invention, and from this process some of the finest books have been produced. Japan and Korea learnt the art from China, and it received a great impetus from some of the Emperors who were patrons of literature and art. One of the Emperors of the Tiang dynasty founded a magnificent library, which contained about two hundred thousand volumes. All this shows how printing flourished in China when it was still unknown in Europe. It was in this ancient library that the famous Diamond Sutra of 868 was discovered; it claims to be the world's oldest printed book. The printing of the Confucian classics under Feng Tao's administration was very much encouraged. China was also pre-eminent in the printing of paper money, which is vividly described in the writings of Marco Polo. Painting likewise flourished, and many examples have been found in Buddhist monasteries. Through the currents of trade and intercourse with the West block printing found its way there.

Professor Carter has undoubtedly taken great pains in the compilation of his book, and it unquestionably marks an advance in American scholarship. We may suggest that the valuable notes printed at the end should have been inserted in the text, so that the references might have been followed in their right order; and the index of the book is inadequate. But it may be said that in these days when the output of books is large and modern research demands the production of good books only, Professor Carter's book is a real contribution to knowledge and should prove a trustworthy guide to those who are interested in the history of printing.

THE SPIRIT OF ORIENTAL POETRY. By Puran Singh. (*Kegan Paul.*)

(Reviewed by GWENDOLINE GOODWIN.)

The author of this book is a man of such lofty ideals that it may be difficult for the average reader to reach up to his heights. He is soaked in Deistic rapture. "What is the use of intellectual expansion?" he cries in

the preface. "All knowledge is a curse, save only the knowledge of this Love (God) that inspires Life." That is the keynote of the book, an echo of Wordsworth's "This world is too much with us."

It is a book with a challenge to the West—a book wherein materialism is drowned in a sea of mystical consciousness, and the poet becomes the interpreter of Divinity; a book, nevertheless, that breathes the essence of universal religion. An Englishman would hardly agree with Puran Singh's estimate of Shakespeare, though there is a furtive homage in the lines: "I am ashamed at the revelations of my nature that Shakespeare makes." Burns finds favour; Dante, Shelley, Milton, Blake, Carlyle also. Walt Whitman, beloved of modern Orientals, is compared favourably with Tennyson, "of the palace atmosphere." One might also dispute the statement that Victor Hugo in "Les Misérables" expresses the spirit of Christianity more fully than either Shakespeare or Bunyan. Edward Carpenter does not satisfy the demands of Eastern poetry, but Thoreau and Thomas à Kempis gratify an innate spiritual craving. Japanese poetry is accorded warm admiration coupled with a questioning note as to the justification of Yone Noguchi's rejection of its foundation in religion.

Puran Singh is faithful to the old singers—Omar, Hafiz, and Shams Tabriz. He does not wax so enthusiastic over the moderns. "Tagore lacks . . . the Saki of Omar and Hafiz . . . the spirit of the Upnishadas." And "what could new Bengal give us in the place of Lord Gauranga?" The rapturous chapter on "Disciple Poetry" is a setting of almost sensuous beauty studded with the reiterative jewel of the "Nām." Here the curtain is lifted for a little space and we catch a glimpse of the true Sikh spirit, militant and tender, fierce and sweet. The shades of Nānāk and Gobind walk beneath the mango-trees. Devotion to God is the quintessence of Life. We pass on to the poetry of passion, which, in Punjabi lyrics, becomes the prerogative of woman. Woman is enshrined as Love. Man is the prophetic symbol of a god-form. The book increases in spontaneous matter as it reaches its end, a crescendo of dynamic worship. Sex is transmuted into a spiritual concentration and becomes the apex of a psychical pyramid. The author is carried away by his own intensity: ". . . the poetry of Gita Gobind surpasses the limitations of the earth. . . ." The prologue of the Gita is a fervent Benedicite. Puran Singh said to me of one of his books: "When I wrote it I felt a stream of music flowing through me for weeks." In this volume he says: "I was born in hymns." The book is, indeed, rather a song of faith than a critical review of Oriental literature, but it carries one away on the wings of its spiritual emotion. And after all it is the scent of roses and not the smell of blood that lingers longest in the nostrils.

INDIA

THE INDIA OFFICE. By Sir Malcolm Seton. (*Putnam.*) 7s. 6d. net.
(Reviewed by F. H. BROWN, C.I.E.)

The design of the Whitehall Series, to which this volume belongs, is to describe the work of the various departments of the State from within. The editor, Sir James Marchant, has made a most fitting choice from the India Office. Sir Malcolm Seton has served there for twenty-seven years, is now the Deputy Under-Secretary of State, and brings to bear upon his theme a wide knowledge of men and of books, good literary judgment, and an unflinching sense of humour. Despite his suggestions to the contrary, these qualifications have led him away from the old tradition laid upon a "Writer" in Leadenhall Street by a director of the East India Company: "The style as we likes is the humdrum." If there are arid stretches in the recital of so many pertinent facts of administrative detail it is due in large measure to the severe limitations of space for the author to cover the wide ground he has mapped out. He has been assisted over some of the less picturesque features of the landscape by his colleague, Mr. S. F. Stewart, who has contributed the chapters on finance, railways, and the medical service.

Like the other permanent officials contributing to this series, Sir Malcolm cannot give unreserved opinions on every question he touches; but here his good memory and his literary aptitude come in. For instance, in writing of the variety and scope of Parliamentary questions about India which keep the Office busy during the session, "and add appreciably to the revenues of the cable companies and the expenditure of India," he finds a useful refuge in Lord George Hamilton's "Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections," with the observation that that statesman, who was Secretary of State for India for a longer period than any other occupant, "has permitted himself a comment which in a civil servant would be rank blasphemy." But on matters which have passed into history Sir Malcolm is not so restrained. Thus he repudiates, without giving its origin, the theory of Lord Morley as to the relations between Whitehall and Simla. He observes that much harm has been caused by wrong-headed or ill-informed utterances suggesting that the control of the Home Government does, or ought to, reduce to the position of a mere subordinate agency the authority of the Governor-General in Council. He quotes with manifest approbation the remark of Lord Salisbury to Lord Lytton, half a century ago, when a sudden change in the Afghan kaleidoscope had been met by prompt orders from the Viceroy that he had no wish to interrupt a billiard player in his actual stroke.

Among many other delightful touches we have the information that at meetings of the India Council it was the practice for the reading clerk to read aloud all draft despatches under consideration "until Lord Morley found the process intolerable." Only drafts which there has not been time to deposit beforehand in the Council reading-room are now read aloud. If Lord Morley had not brought the old system to an end, we may be

certain that it would not have survived Lord Birkenhead's tenure. With that vigorous and sometimes audacious statesman in charge, and remembering that both Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill held the seals in their day, it is difficult to envisage the time when the India Office was known as "the padded room of the Ministry," because of its remoteness from English party politics, and because it was held to provide a suitable portfolio for "a cautious Minister." Mr. Edwin Montagu, in our own day, could not be regarded as coming within that category.

Sir Malcolm Seton does well to give some clear guidance on the bewildering variety of bodies with the common name of "council" existing in the administration and control of Indian government. The position and influence of the Council of India are examined. Sir Malcolm makes the just observation that nothing more unfair to India or more calculated to create suspicion in Indian minds could well have been devised than the original plan of 1858, under which British commercial interests as such would have elected a portion of the India Council, and thus have been given a direct share in control over Indian affairs. One of the most pertinent points made in the narrative is to set in contrast certain remarks made by Lord Morley less than fifteen years ago with the political facts of to-day, when parliamentary government in India has been officially declared to be the goal of constitutional advance, and a large instalment of it has been established.

As a publicist long familiar with the India Office (without finding it, as an M.P. quoted in the book did, "like hell"), the present writer has noted very few points where Sir Malcolm's general accuracy is at fault. It is unfortunate, however, that he should cite "the change of the Indian capital from Calcutta to Delhi" by way of illustration of the point that on decisions of the first importance Secretaries of State have naturally ascertained the views of the Indian Council. It is well known that the momentous policy announced by the King-Emperor at the Delhi Durbar was decided upon without this being done; the Council of India was assembled only a day or two before the Durbar merely to be informed in strict confidence that the decision had been taken. Sir Malcolm's statement that since 1869 no member of the Council after resigning for any cause has been eligible for reappointment is not consistent with the chronological list of members given in "The India Office List." This shows that Sir Richard Strachey resigned the Council on July 12, 1878, on selection as president of the Famine Commission, and was reappointed on March 11, 1879. But these are small blemishes in describing the evolution, history, and duties of an Office occupying a very special position in Whitehall, and which has an infinite variety of work owing to the volume and complexity of Indian affairs, though most of its agency functions have been transferred under the Reforms to the Office of the High Commissioner for India.

LIFE IN THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE. By Sir Evan Maconochie, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. (I.C.S. retired). With forty-two illustrations. (*Chapman and Hall*) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR H. VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

This excellent book is dedicated to the undergraduates and schoolboys of England, and is intended to impress on them the merits of a career in the service to which the author belonged for thirty-two happy years. "To some," he says, "it may seem that my picture of the attractions of life in India is over-coloured. But that is how it presents itself to me, and in the evening of one's life a store of such memories is at least worth the price paid during the heat of the day." With this sentiment we heartily agree.

The book abounds in good stories, and is written in a bright, attractive style. It contains some vivid descriptions. Take, for instance, this picture of Lord Curzon's assumption of office at Calcutta in 1899: "Lord Curzon took charge early in January, and I was present at the brief ceremony in the Council Chamber at Government House when the Home Secretary read the warrant of his appointment. The scene impressed me deeply at the time, and as it comes back undimmed after twenty-six years, along with the memories of all the labours, the triumphs, and the disappointments of the years to follow, rekindles many emotions. The new Viceroy, a stately figure in the full prime of his manhood, stood erect below the picture of Warren Hastings, with shoulders thrown back and an upward tilt of the head expressive of the eager soul within. Near him, on his left, was the young Maharaja Sindia, clothed in the old-time splendour of cloth of gold and pearls, who was to prove himself of a spirit much akin to that of the man whom he had come to honour. Lord Curzon was not yet forty, and the old head officer of chaprasis had been heard to exclaim on his arrival the evening before: 'The La't Sahib looks like a boy.'"

The chapter on "Guzerat after Famine," too, is particularly vivid and valuable. The author has a just admiration for Lord Curzon which he summarizes finally in these sentences: "He came at a period when the old order was changing, and left an India different in outlook and temper to that which he found. An enquiry into his share in the process of development would need a volume to itself. But it may safely be asserted that when he left the country, no department, no community, no individual that had come within the range of his far-flung influence was quite the same as when he arrived. The house had been swept and garnished, the efficiency of its service improved, and men had been set to think who never thought before. His were great days, and to us who knew and served under him they are a treasured memory."

Sir Evan Maconochie's experience was peculiarly varied and interesting. He was a district officer, a settlement officer, an Under-Secretary to the Government of India, private secretary to H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore (one of the prominent ruling princes), a Commissioner in the Bombay Presidency, political agent to the Government of Bombay in the Kathiawar States. He was also a keen sportsman, a horseman, and a gardener. In fact, he led a wholesome, busy life, which accounts for the shrewdness and

accuracy of his observations on Indian life and character as well as on phases of administrative work. Illustrations of our meaning are contained in his stories of the Bhils and his remarks on the folly of curtailing "the numbers of mounted police on the score of economy, and with some idea that the extension of railways has rendered them superfluous. Every district officer knows that in a riot one sowar is worth twenty men on foot until it comes to shooting, and that in all but extreme cases a handful of them will render that last lamentable resort unnecessary. They are also the only instrument for dealing quickly and effectually with swiftly moving robber gangs, as has time and again been proved." These observations will be endorsed by every district officer of long experience. Riots may again and again be prevented or stopped by well-handled bodies. Who, too, that ever was called on to combat the spread of plague in an Indian city or village would not underline the following passage: "Among the consoling features of a tragic time was the intimacy of relations established between the British officers and the suffering people. Another was the pluck generally displayed by Indian officials and servants, who had no reason to suppose that they shared the immunity which seemed to attach to Europeans, but, nevertheless, stuck manfully to their posts and often died there"? We notice, also, these sentences: "I accompanied His Highness (the Maharaja of Mysore) to Madras on several occasions. . . I remember being much struck with the attitude of the crowd as we drove in state from the railway station. On such occasions an Indian crowd is impassive, and the progress of a Governor usually excites no more than a dull curiosity. With a Maharaja the scene is very different. To gaze on his auspicious countenance brings good luck; every face is eager, animated, and smiling; and the babies are held up in their mothers' arms to share in the blessings diffused by the divinity of his presence. Though in his own capital and other places where his person was familiar little notice was taken, in the outlying towns and villages the Madras scene would be reproduced with even greater demonstrativeness." Such are the people who are so often represented as pining for democratic self-government.

Another remarkable passage can be read on p. 125: "One scene comes back that brought home vividly the feelings of love and devotion that Queen Victoria had inspired in her Indian subjects. One morning in the course of the proceedings in Court, a telegram was put into my hand which conveyed the news of the passing of the great Queen. Mr. Parekh stood up and said a few words. He was followed by the Muhammadan Deputy Collector, who, after a few broken sentences, burst into tears. It was with something more than a choke in my throat that I adjourned the Court." It is personal rule, of the beneficent and kindly order, that alone among forms of government appeals to the masses of India. Again and again this fact emerges in the pages of this book. Will this always be so? Will they ever accept instead rule by parliamentary majorities? Time will answer that question.

While we entirely agree that the life of an Indian civil servant will still be one of much interest, and perhaps more adventure than in the past,

while we earnestly trust that Sir Evan Maconochie's message will go home and bring additional recruits to the fine old service with its inspiring traditions, we feel bound to add that our author's lines were cast in very pleasant places. While we are sure that he thoroughly deserved them all, that by temperament he was eminently fitted for the work he had to do, we know that every Indian civil servant does not enjoy the same opportunities, that every district in every Province is not the same pleasant abiding-place. Our author, however, does not profess to do more than describe his personal experiences, which carry their own lesson and encouragement. He concludes with some words about the Reforms and about India under present conditions. One thing is perfectly clear: Reforms notwithstanding, India needs British arbitration and guidance as much as ever.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR MORTIMER DURAND, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
A Biography by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B.,
C.M.G. (*Cassell and Co.*) 25s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.)

The name of Sir Mortimer Durand stands out in the "shining head-roll" of those who have best served the British Empire in the last half-century. His service covered three continents: as a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, when it produced many great men, in the Foreign Department of the Government of India from 1874 to 1894; as Minister in Persia from 1894 to 1900; as Ambassador in Spain from 1900 to 1903, and in Washington from 1903 to 1906.

It is, however, in his work in Asia, especially during the ten years (1884-1894) when as Foreign Secretary he exercised a powerful and permanent influence on frontier policy, including the settlement with Russia after the Panjdeh affair of 1885, the annexation of Upper Burma, the critical relations with the masterful Amir Abdur-Rahman, and the final settlement of the boundaries between Afghanistan on the one side, with Russia on the north and British India and Persia on the east and south, that readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* will be mainly interested.

Durand often admitted that he had much good-fortune in his official life. It has not deserted him in death. For his biographer Sir Percy Sykes, not only is a friend of thirty years' standing with whom Durand was in close personal and official relations, but also possesses a unique knowledge of that Middle East and of its fascinating but elusive problems with which Durand was constantly dealing from his entry into the Simla Foreign Office in 1874 till his departure from Tehran in 1900. No one is therefore better qualified to paint the background against which the personality and policy of Durand stand out clear, far-seeing, honourable, and straightforward, unmistakable by those who had the privilege of knowing him. It is this intimate knowledge that gives the book its special quality. For those who wish to study our frontier relations from the Chin Hills in Burma, along the Himalayas through Tibet to Gilgit and from the Upper Indus to the Oxus and on to the Caspian and the Persian Gulf, Sir Percy Sykes's work furnishes a most accurate and interesting historical summary.

In all that history Durand played a great part. He was trained in the Foreign Office by two of the ablest Indian civilians of the last generation—Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir Charles Aitchison—two men alike in their great mental capacity, but absolutely dissimilar in their outlook on life and policy. Aitchison was a dour Scotsman of the evangelical type, with marked Radical leanings (he was Lord Ripon's stoutest adherent in the unfortunate Ilbert Bill controversy) and strong convictions; Lyall, a sensitive highly cultured agnostic, with few convictions, having "the Lyall habit of seeing two sides to every question," but with an intellectual sympathy that enabled him to fathom the depths of Oriental human nature as few men have done, and a literary gift that enabled him to interpret it in prose and verse with a perfection of style rarely attained.

Durand doubtless learned much from both. As Foreign Secretary he was far superior to either. His clear, impartial outlook was stimulated by a genuine patriotism and lofty ideals; but it was also reinforced by a direct personal knowledge of the personalities, the places, and the problems with which he had to deal. It was this knowledge, acquired not so much from office files, but from frequent tours to the remotest corners of his great charge—a practice which his successors in office might well have maintained—that enabled him to bring to a speedy and permanent settlement momentous questions which in less capable hands would take years to decide. Two notable examples stand out—the agreement with Russia after the Panjdeh affair which had brought Russia and England to the verge of war, and the mission to Kabul in the autumn of 1893, which finally fixed the Russo-Afghan boundary in a form that has since been respected by both parties, and also settled the British Indian-Afghan boundary in the shape of the famous "Durand line." In these critical negotiations Durand had to deal direct with the Amir Abdur-Rahman, whom he described to Sir Percy Sykes "as the strongest man with whom he had to deal in his long and varied career."

The Amir from his accession in 1880 was inclined to regard Durand—who had been Chief Political Officer with Roberts in the Second Afghan War and had no illusions as to the Amir's policy and character—as most hostile to him. He therefore agreed with some reluctance, and on the friendly advice of Sir Salter Pyne, to Durand's coming to Kabul, as a lesser evil than having Lord Roberts, who had first been suggested to him, and to whom, as Sir Percy Sykes makes clear, he would naturally object as the conqueror of Afghanistan in 1878-79.

But directly Durand arrived in Kabul and got into personal contact with Abdur-Rahman the atmosphere of mistrust was dispelled, and after only four weeks' negotiations an agreement covering all the points in dispute was signed at Kabul on November 12, 1893, constituting, in the words of Sir Percy Sykes, "the most important chapter in the foreign policy of the British in Central Asia." How different from the long negotiations at Rawal Pindi after the Third Afghan War of 1919, and the nine months' wearisome wrangling at Kabul in 1920-21, before we signed peace terms which Afghanistan and Asia generally regard as

a confession of defeat! How one wishes there had been a Durand to handle that situation!

The causes of Durand's success in this and other critical issues were admirably summed up by that astute observer Abdur-Rahman in the great Durbar convened to ratify the agreement. Durand's summary of the proceedings is given at p. 217 and deserves quotation. "He (the Amir) made a really first-class beginning. 'Confidence begets confidence. Trusting his safety and that of his Mission to my care, I have protected him. . . .' He was extremely civil about me and said to the Durbar that he was very glad the Viceroy sent me, for three reasons. Firstly, I was in the confidence of the Government and knew all about the business; secondly, I could speak Persian well, 'though not perfectly'; *thirdly, I was sincere and always spoke the truth.*" The "thirdly" gives the key to Durand's success, not only at Kabul but throughout his career; it also perhaps explains why he was not a *persona grata* in certain circles at Washington which successfully worked for his recall—"a monstrous injustice" as Lord Curzon put it at the time. Durand (p. 297) soon before his recall gave his views with characteristic directness: "I do not believe concession pays in dealing with this country, any more than newspaper gush. It is a country where all the leading men are lawyers or men of business, and they negotiate on business lines with a tendency to sharp practice if cornered. The motto of the American statesmen has always been:

'Rem facias, rem,
Si possis recte, si non, quocunque modo, rem.'

The two greatest men whom Durand had to face on behalf of his country's interests were the Amir Abdur-Rahman and President Roosevelt. Both started with a feeling of hostility towards him. The Amir was conquered because Durand, in the Amir's words, "was sincere and always spoke the truth." These qualities did not serve him with the President. The Amir shows up the better of the two in the comparison.

Durand's training in India, where he had heavy and responsible work from the start, perhaps made him unduly critical of the Diplomatic Service, of which he wrote (p. 272): "There is practically no work or responsibility until a man becomes a Minister, which he may never do. . . . There are some thoroughly good and capable fellows in the Service, as there always will be in a body of English gentlemen; but it is in spite of the training, the whole tendency of which is to turn out a conceited and ill-disciplined set of men, given to gossip, and inclined to attach large importance to little things." Naturally, this critical attitude did not increase his popularity in a Service which regarded him as an interloper. Durand came of soldier stock, and had all the candour and directness of the true soldier. He had what some critics might term "angularity"—a defect; others, "absence of slimness"—a virtue. But his qualities enabled him to render services of the greatest value to the country which he loved so well, and if he had any defects it may well be said of him:

"And even his failings leaned to virtue's side."

Sir Percy Sykes's work enables us to understand a rare personality, who throughout his life shrank from publicity and never courted popularity, but did his great work fearlessly and honourably, inspired by the two great motives of duty and patriotism.

[Note on the plan of "Panjdeh," showing "approximate Russian and Afghan positions, March 30, 1885," which illustrates Sir Percy Sykes's biography of Sir Mortimer Durand.]

To the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

SIR,—By some misunderstanding the plan above referred to is labelled "From a sketch by Charles E. Yate, Captain, Political Officer, Afghan Boundary Commission." I showed this to Colonel Sir Charles Yate (in 1885 Captain C. E. Yate), and he remarked: "If there is one thing certain, it is that the sketch is not by me. If it is by anyone, it is by Sergeant Galindo."

A reference to the original plan, as it appears opposite p. 312 of my "Russia and England Face to Face in Asia," will show that it is marked "From a Survey by Sergeant Galindo, 8th Hussars," and countersigned "Chas. E. Yate, Captain, Political Officer, Afghan Boundary Commission." When the Panjdeh fight took place I was, as special correspondent of the *Pioneer*, with the headquarters of the Afghan Boundary Commission at Gulran; and when the entire camp of the British Commission was reunited at Tirpul on the Hari-rud, I lost no time in forwarding my report of the affair to the *Pioneer*. It was not till the hot weather of 1886 that I began to prepare for publication in book form my *Pioneer* correspondence. I was then employed in the Intelligence Division at Simla, and obtained permission to illustrate my book with the plan which accompanied Captain C. E. Yate's report of the Panjdeh affair, forwarded from Tirpul on April 15, 1885. Though the draughtsman was Sergeant Galindo, Captain C. E. Yate undoubtedly supplied all the information about the Afghan and Russian positions. A comparison, however, between the plan in my book and that in Sir P. Sykes's "Sir M. Durand" will show very considerable differences, and these are accounted for in the manner which I propose to indicate.

On October 20, 1925, Messrs. Cassell and Co. wrote to me and said that Sir Percy Sykes wished to include in his *Life of Sir Mortimer Durand* the plan of Panjdeh which had appeared in my book in 1887. I at once sent my consent, and added that I had in my possession a rough tracing, which must have been made in 1885 or 1886, on which I had made many extra notes, showing the Russian lines of attack and details of the Afghan and Russian forces. I offered to send them this annotated tracing. This offer was accepted in a letter dated October 22, 1925, the writer adding: "I will place your letter and the plan before Sir P. Sykes. Personally, I should think he would be only too delighted to accept your kind offer to allow him to reproduce this plan."

The ultimate issue was communicated to me by Messrs. Cassell and Co. in a letter dated December 7, 1925, which ran as follows: "I am sending you herewith the plan of the Panjdeh position which we have had drawn from your rough sketch (which I am enclosing). You will see that they have

incorporated one or two things from Sergeant Galindo's plan, which I also sent to the map-makers as a guide for the re-drawing of your sketch. Would you be good enough to see if this meets with your approval."

I replied by return of post that it did meet with my approval. And now we have the correct account of the source from which this composite plan is drawn. The battle of Panjdeh is an historic incident of serious importance, and it should be correctly known on what authority the accepted plan, showing the approximate position of the Russian and Afghan forces, is based. I have Sir P. Sykes's consent to the publication of this "Note."

A. C. YATE, Lieut.-Colonel.

Beckbury Hall, Shifnal.
August 2, 1926.

BOOKS FROM INDIA

VEDANTA VINDICATED. By the Rev. J. F. Pessein, S.J. Pp. 156. (*St. Joseph's School Press, Trichinopoly, India.*) Rs. 2.4, post free.

SIR, TEACH ME BRAHMAN. By the same author. Pp. 77. 6 annas.

(Reviewed by J. CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.)

Everything which makes in these days for harmony between East and West is to be praised by the right-minded reviewer; and, superficially, Father Pessein's "Vedanta Vindicated" may be welcomed under this heading. To the educated Catholic Father Pessein's work will undoubtedly appeal, and for such it will have—may we hope?—a great missionary value, eradicating many prepossessions born of ignorance and prejudice, and teaching the true brotherhood that is based on mutual tolerance and understanding.

If Hinduism be in truth, as many hold, the master key to the heart of India, Vedanta is not less the key to the heart of Hinduism.

"One day conversing with a Hindu gentleman of Calcutta, I told him: 'You know, I am a keen student of Vedanta.' He said: 'Yes?'—And he remained feelingless, like a statue. Of course, he expected me to pass some unpleasant remarks. But when I added: 'And I am very glad to say that Adwaita is wonderfully deep, and agrees on many fundamental points with Christian philosophy,' he felt quite happy, and with manifest pleasure he remarked that: 'It cannot be otherwise, the human intellect being the same all over the world. The difference in colour won't prevent us having the same logic.'"

These are fine words, and Father Pessein, within his limitations, has written a fine book, especially on the constructive side. On the critical or destructive side, however, it would be interesting to hear educated Indian comment.

Nevertheless—

"The Adwaitins have a very fine illustration. They say that just as a man, wishing to point out to a friend the minute star Arundhati, at first directs his attention to a big neighbouring star, saying, 'This is Arundhati,' although it is really not so; and thereupon withdraws his first statement and points out the real Arundhati: so does the Vedanta show us

Brahman, first in one form, and then in another, until they lead us to a knowledge of His true nature."

Whether or no Father Pessein has discerned always the true Arundhati of Vedantic doctrine, there can be no question that he has not failed for want of seeking. This little book, "Vedanta Vindicated," represents without doubt a labour of love prosecuted over many years, and as such it can be commended to all who are lovers of Arundhati, the veiled Brahman, under whichever of His innumerable guises.

Father Pessein's second work, "Sir, Teach Me Brahman," is propaganda pure and simple. As such, it possesses interest solely for those engaged in Catholic missionary effort.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock. Vol. IV.: The Persian Empire and the West. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 1926. 35s.

The fourth volume of the "Cambridge Ancient History" continues the high standard set by the earlier volumes, and we can realize in it perhaps better than before the great advantages of the general scheme. For there are spread before us at one and the same time all the varied trends of Greek life in its early period in a manner which gives us a full realization of its variety and also of its homogeneity.

We have reached in this volume the historical Greek period, and our eyes are turned from the East to Greece proper and to Italy. We find this newly arisen people trying out its adventures in the making of constitutions, in establishing first principles of philosophy, in evolving new styles of art and literature, in successfully defending their freedom. The interconnection of history, philosophy, literature, and art as the products of the same circumstances and the same outlook upon life is made beautifully clear. When we have read in one chapter about the speculations of the Greek philosophers, how natural it seems to learn, as we turn the pages, that the same vivid enquiry goes on in other branches of knowledge. The manifestations of the Greek genius in the full vigour of its earlier phases become a unified picture of arresting beauty.

By choosing eminent authorities for their writers—such as I. D. Beazley on Early Greek Art, G. F. Hill on Coinage, J. B. Bury on Greek Literature—the editors have ensured not only reliability but the embodiment of the latest research. In fact, this publication is not, as many books of this kind, a presentation in concise, readable form of what can be found with more detail in other books, but—in many cases—an original account of familiar subjects; and this is what gives it its peculiar value. The voluminous bibliography further shows the saving of no trouble to make the book of use to the student.

PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

THE CHANGING EAST. By J. A. Spender. Medium 8vo., with half-tone frontispiece. (Cassell.) 10s. 6d. net.

In this important volume, the outcome of a journey to Turkey, Egypt, and India in the winter and spring of 1925-26, Mr. Spender notes and compares the conditions in each of these countries. He sees these peoples all trying, in one way or another, to release themselves from European control or influence, and asks whether they can succeed in this effort.

Mr. Spender was at the new Turkish capital, Angora in Asia Minor, during the Mosul crisis, and while in India he paid visits to the famous Indian leader, Gandhi; to Rabindranath Tagore, the great Indian poet and essayist; and to the Jam Sahib of Nawagar, formerly the famous cricketer, Ranjitsinghi.

All these visits and others are described. Of Egypt he writes with the knowledge that he obtained as a member of the Milner Mission in 1919, and he takes occasion to make known some hitherto unpublished facts about that Mission.

PERIODICALS.

Mr. K. M. Panikkar has contributed two articles recently to *Foreign Affairs* (London), one dealing with "Racial Antagonisms in India and their Causes," and the other with the "Government of India and the Indian States." In the latter he writes: "At the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, it became clear that the Indian States would require to be 'compensated' for the instalment of self-government in British India. This policy found expression in the constitution of the Princes' Chamber. The Vice-royalty of Lord Reading has witnessed great advance in this direction, and the Princes to-day are in a position of greater strength and authority than they have ever been since the establishment of British rule."

The *Journal des Hellènes* published recently a special supplement devoted to the Garden City Movement in Greece, with which Dr. Platon Drakoules is closely identified. In an interview he stated that it was only through building Garden Cities that Greece could hope to solve her housing problem, which had become so acute since the exodus from Asia Minor. He has been travelling in the United States enlisting interest and support, and has now gone to Vienna to attend the International Congress of Town Planning. He has succeeded in keeping this urgent problem entirely outside the domain of politics, and has been promised support by all the Greek parties.

In the September issue of the *Revue Pacifique* (Paris) there is an interesting article on the policy of the new Governor of Indo-China, M. Wapene, from the pen of M. Archimbaud. It will be recalled that recent speeches by the Governor had been severely criticized for their ultra-liberal spirit. It appears that he made promises of political advance entirely dependent on the return of tranquillity.

