

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: *Milford.*) 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

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

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, Tcheon-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. (*Lusac*.) 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 ARCHÆOLOGY. 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 archæology pure and simple, it is

indeed a handbook to almost every section of Egyptian archæology 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 archæological 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 XVIIIth 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-extinction. 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.)

RGVEDIC 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.

"Rgvedic 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 Rgvedic 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, "Rgvedic Culture" should prove of great interest to the Vedic student on account of its attempted reconstruction of the life actually lived in Rgvedic 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 believes civilization to be—

“a mould that each nation is busy making for itself to shape its 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 facts 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 mankind, 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. Jinarājādāsa 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. Jinarājādāsa'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 Samarkand, 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 Basmach 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 Basmach 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 Basmach 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 (Khorasm) 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 Usbegs 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 strategical, 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

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[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 *satti*, 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 Coimbtore" 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 muslins 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 Kaisar-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.

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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.

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 cyprus, 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 micma, 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 uggar 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

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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 *purdah 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. It 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

1. 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 RĀMAKRISHNA PARĀMAHĀMSA)

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 Lemerrier, 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. 5, 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 Sr 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 & sits at the Custom house himselfe 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 & abt 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'chant* 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 *Beatrix*. 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 abt 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^{ll} 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 w^t." 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^t 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 brace-letts 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* frigate."

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 desecrated 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 Rajasthan; Malleson 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

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 *feradjies*, 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-

tion 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

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 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.

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 ruler has in many cases found the Viceroyal 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 deft 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 the 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 archæologist, he has demonstrated that very many other Hellenic cities had an even more elaborate and stately planning. And similarly for historians and archæologists 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 Hāriti, 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 Murtuq). He compares the theme of yakṣiṇī (Bharhut-Sānchi), 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 Sānchi (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 Léochar and the abduction of the Nāgī 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 açoka tree blossom by touching it with her foot is purely Indian. *Cp.* J. P. Vogel, "La Belle et l'Arbre Açoka" 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 MEDIEVAL 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, Erlenvein, 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'Eglise" 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 bougainvilleas 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. Whyman. (*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 Carcassonne on the way to Montpellier, and arriving there on July 22 or 23.
2. Stay at Collège des Ecossais, 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 Ecossais, 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 Bolshevik 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 Bolshevik, 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 Bolsheviks 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 Wanhsien. According to official information, the facts appear to be these: A small British river-steamer, *Wanlin*, arrived in the neighbourhood of Wanhsien 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 compradore and threatened to kill the captain, remained on board the *Wanlin* while she proceeded to Wanhsien. 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, *Kiarwo*, 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 *Kiarwo*, 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. Millspagh, 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 Kāveri (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 Nawyāta 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.

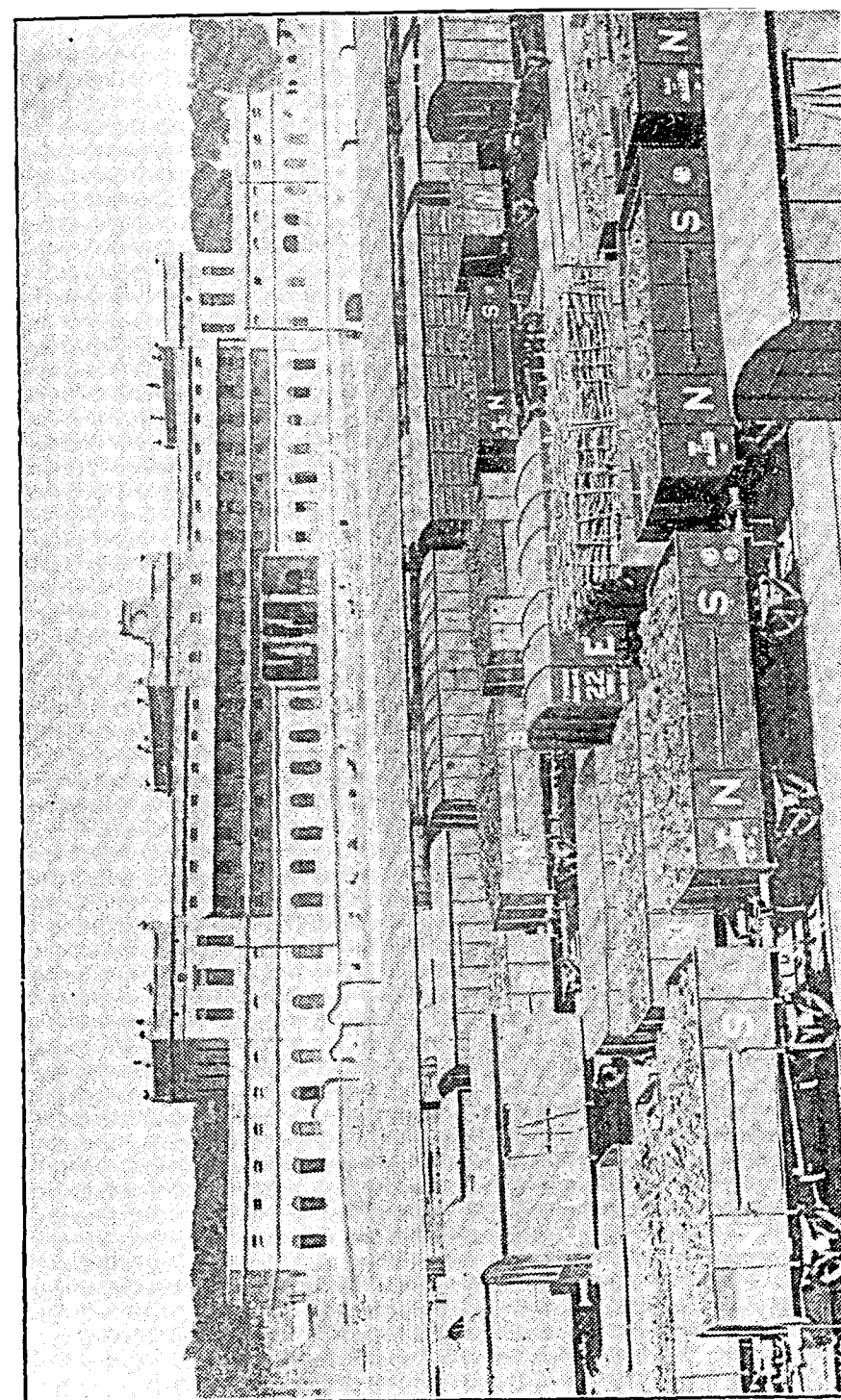
From Wadi to Madras via Raichur and Guntakal by the Great Indian Peninsular and Madras and Southern Mahratta Railways.

From Bezwada to Calcutta by the Madras and Southern Mahratta and Bengal and Nagpur Railways.

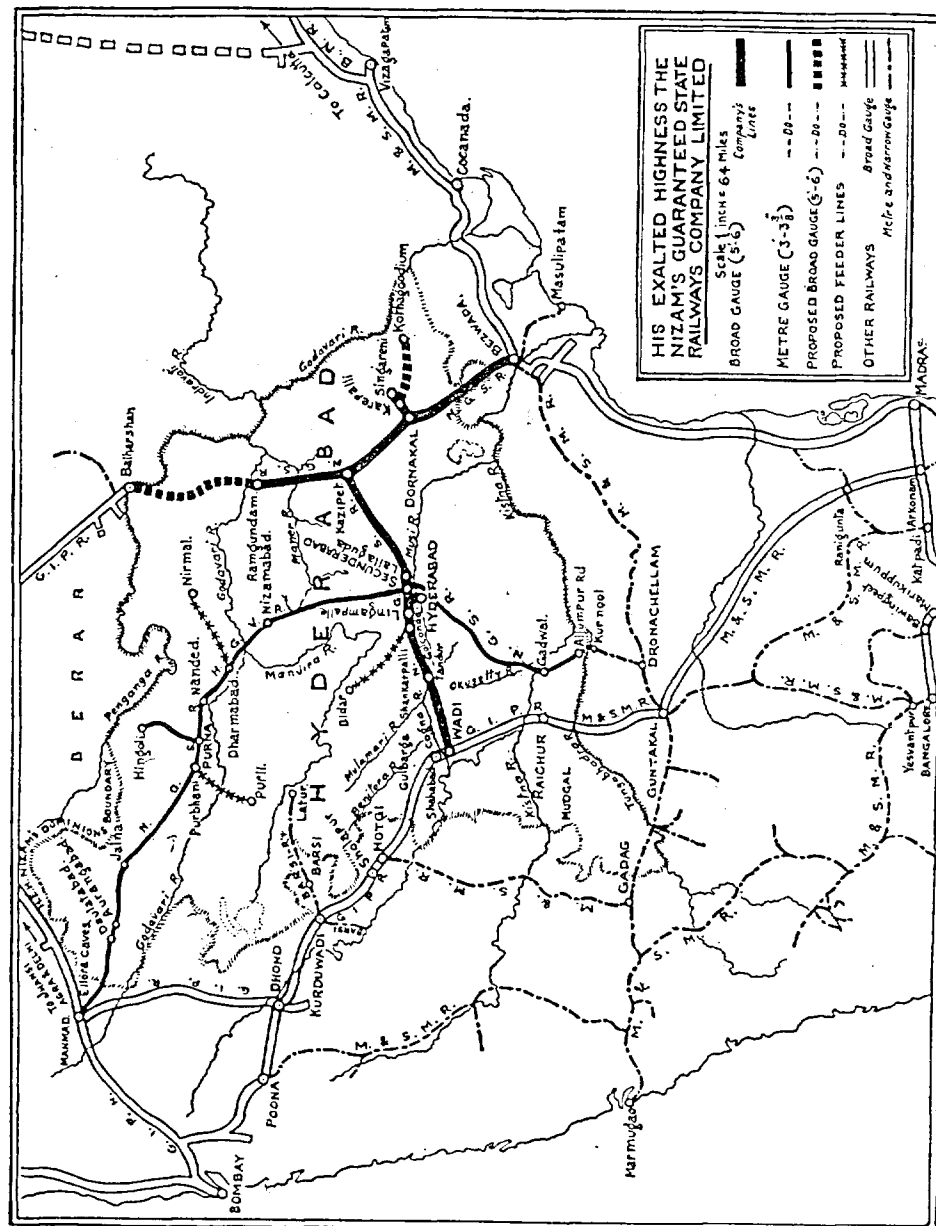
From Bezwada to Madras by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

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

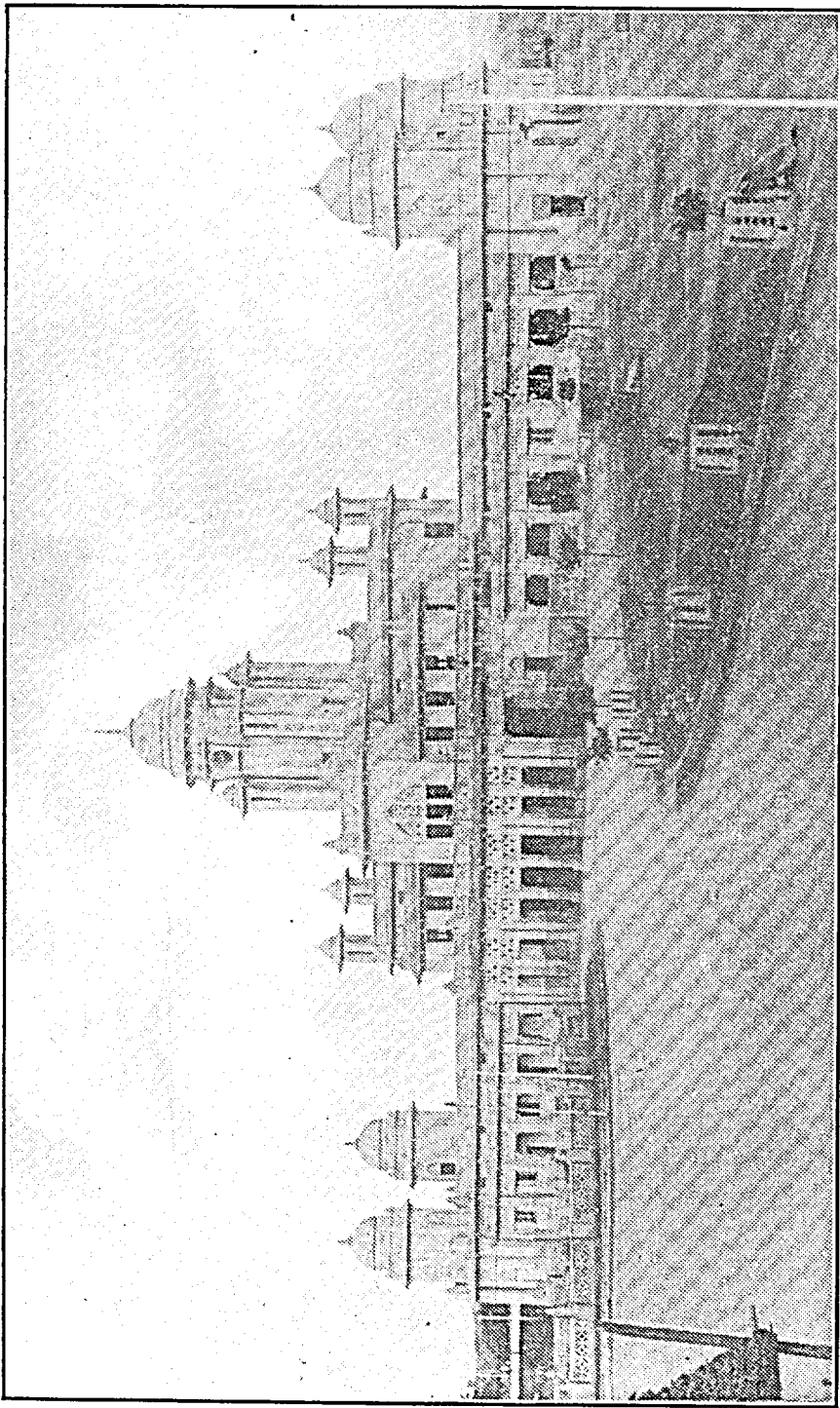


trains, and 3 pies, or a farthing, per mile for other trains. When compared with the third-class English fare of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per mile, it will be found that the average fare on Indian railways is about one-sixth of the fare charged in England. During the year 1925-26 the number of third-class passengers 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.

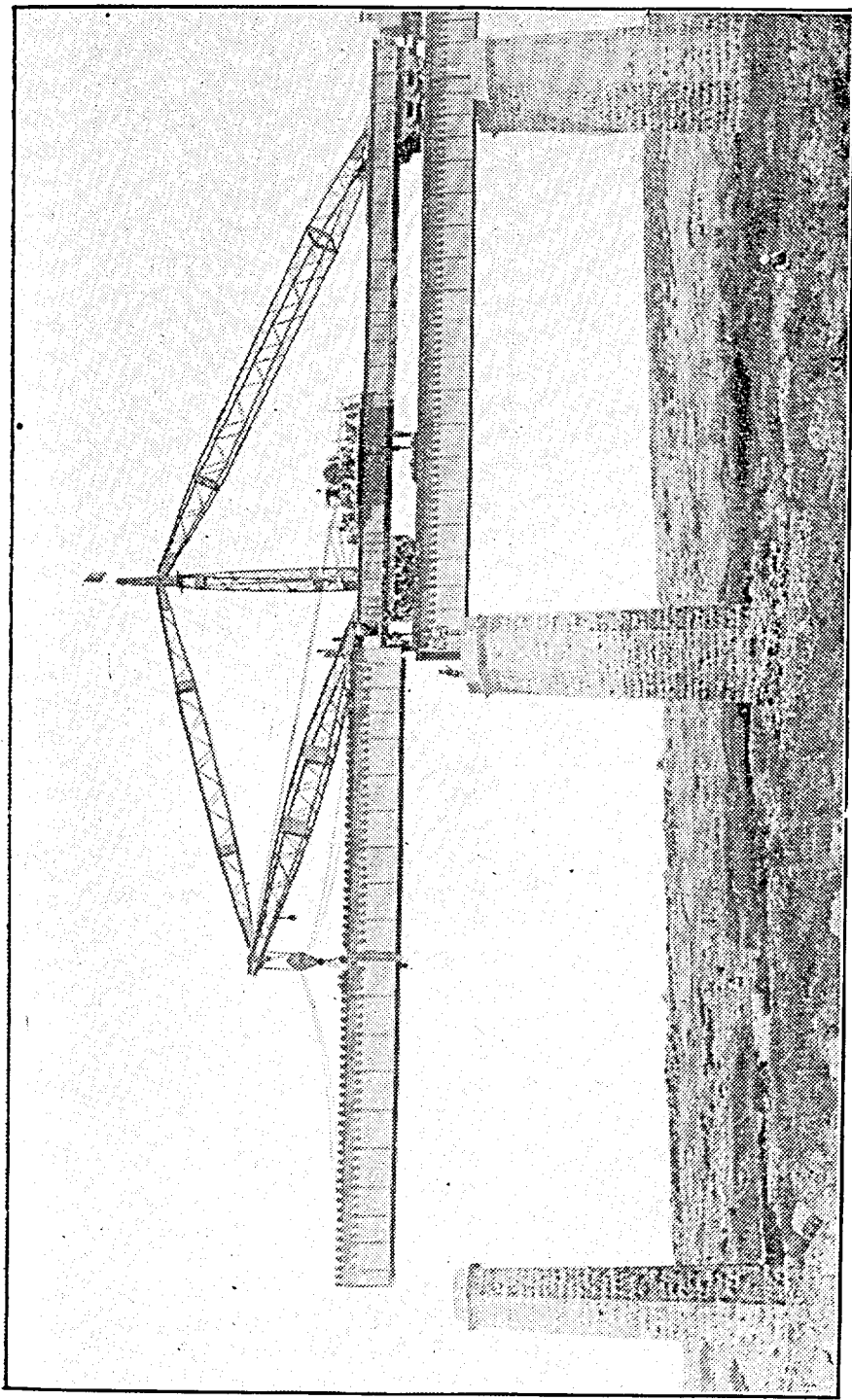
The European refreshment rooms are a great boon to English passengers on the long-distance trips which are unavoidable in India. By telegraphing free of charge in advance, passengers will find well-cooked meals ready at important stations on the N.G.S.R. between Wadi and Bezwada and Secunderabad and 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



HYDERABAD METRE GAUGE STATION



DERRICK CRANE AT WORK ON THE KISTNA BRIDGE

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

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.

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

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. (retd.).
Sir P. Rajagopala Chariar.
W. C. Shepherd, Esq.
Miss Ida S. Scudder, M.D.
F. H. Skrine, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
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 uncoded 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. Bhownaggee, 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 Turks, 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 swallow'd 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

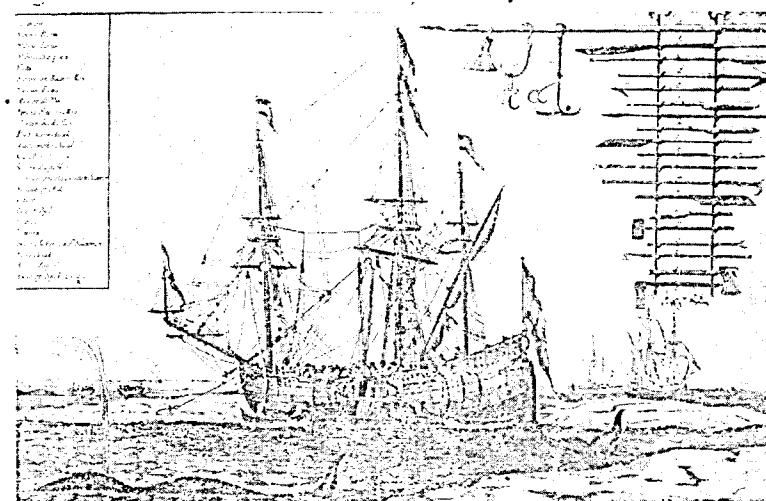
* "The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela." Translated and edited by A. Asher, 1840. Two vols. (All quotations are made from this edition.)

† Adler, M. N., "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela." London, 1907.

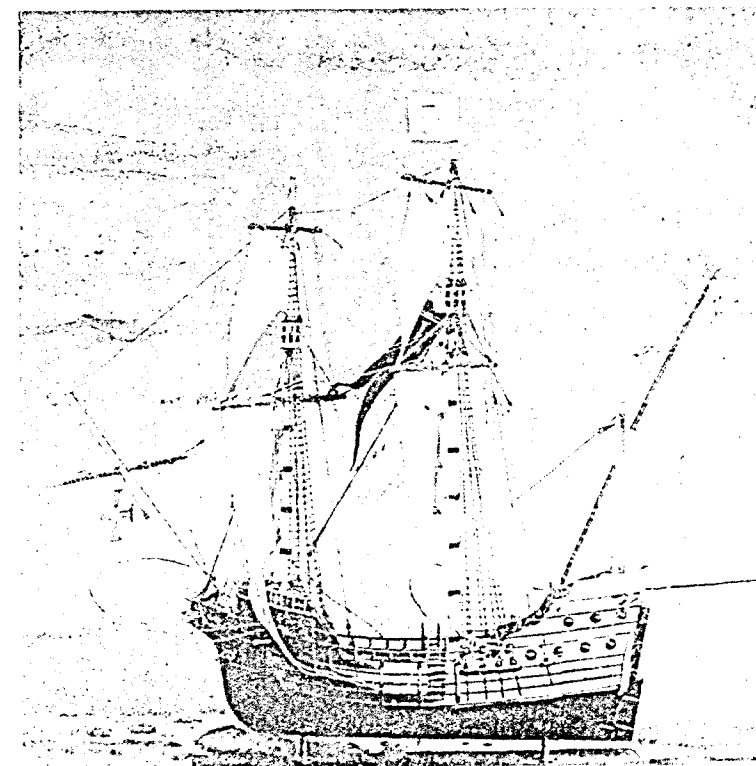
‡ The Peregrination of Benjamin the sonne of Jonas, a Jew, written in Hebrew, translated into Latin by B. Arias Montanus, Discovering both the state of the Jewes, and of the world, about foure hundred and sixtie yeeres since. "Purchas His Pilgrimes," 1625, vol. ii., chap. v.

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.

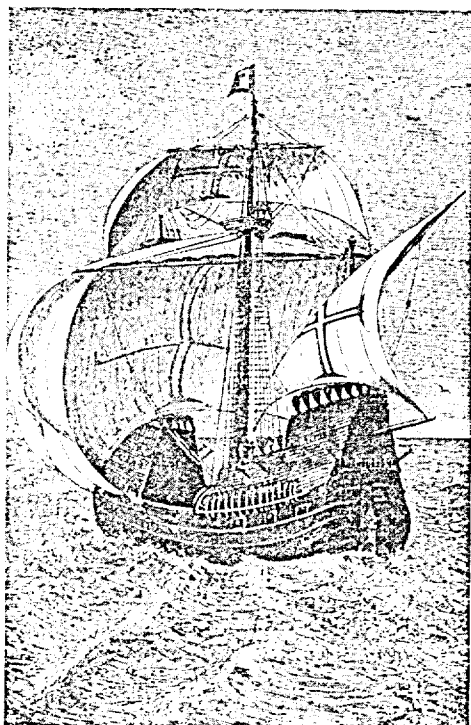
The invasion of Asia Minor by Timur and his triumphant war against the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid I., then head of the Mussulman power, led to relations between the former and the princes of Christian Europe. In 1393 Dom Henry III. of Castile sent two of his nobles to congratulate the Tartar conqueror, "to 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

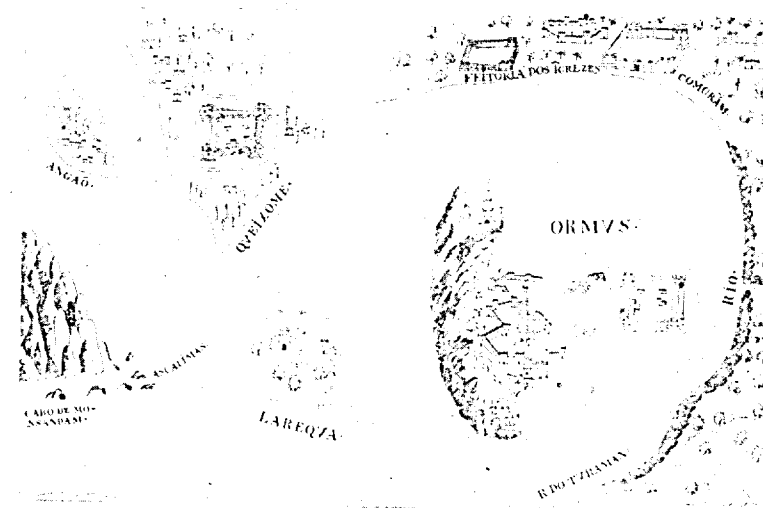
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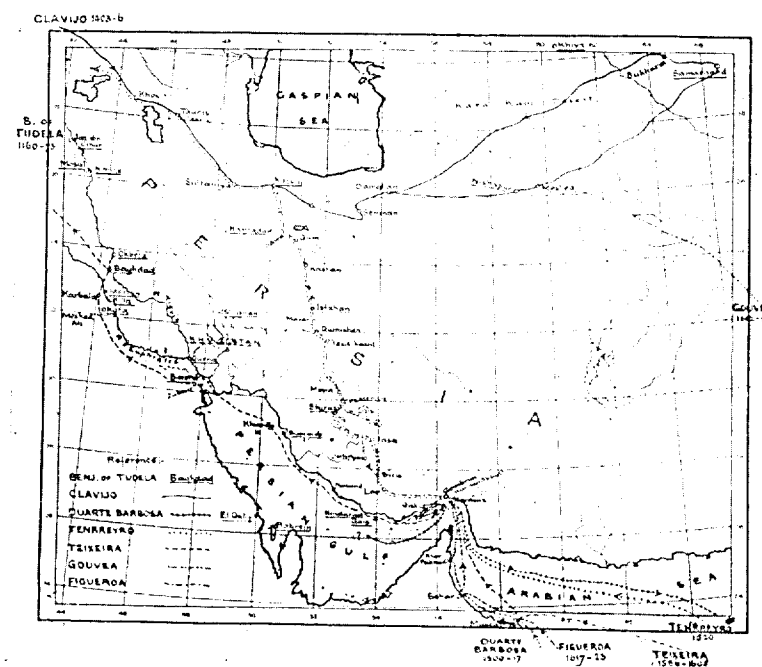
A PORTUGUESE CARAVEL OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
Copied from an illustration in "Centenario do Descobrimento da America." Lisbon.



DOM HENRIQUE OF PORTUGAL
From an Old Engraving in the British Museum



PLAN OF ORMUS
British Museum, Sloane MS. 107, 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 Samarqand. 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 saddle-bows—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 Samarqand itself.*

Samarqand 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 Gonzalez 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 Eufrates, 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 1452 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

ivers. 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 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.

INDIAN FOREST ADMINISTRATION. By <i>W. F. Perrée</i>	PAGE 241
(Discussion by Sir Robert Carlyle, Mr. C. Fischer, Mr. C. H. Bom- pas, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Colonel R. E. Crompton, 259.)	
INDIA'S COTTON PROBLEM. By <i>H. A. F. Lindsay</i>	266
(Discussion by Sir Frank Nelson, Pandit Gopalji Ahluwalia, Sir Benjamin Robertson, Mr. P. R. Cadell, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. W. Coldstream, and Sir Duncan Macpherson, 281.)	
THE ROMANCE OF THE INDIAN ARMY AND ITS FUTURE. By <i>Lieut.- General Sir George MacMunn</i>	285
(Discussion by Général Desprès, Pandit Gopalji Ahluwalia, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. S. D. Rafik, Mr. Corbett, Mr. S. N. Mallik, Diwan A. Mehta, Sir Louis Dane, Mr. G. Pilcher, Colonel Jones, and Sir George Barrow, 297.)	
WESTERN INFLUENCE ON BENGAL LIFE. By <i>Surendra Nath Mallik</i>	417
(Discussion by Sir William Vincent, Lord Sinha, Mr. T. H. Thorne, and Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, 443.)	
THE EXPLORATION OF THE HIMALAYA. By <i>Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband</i>	449
(Discussion on this paper by Colonel C. H. D. Ryder, Lieut. S. K. Mukerji, Professor Bickerton, Sir Daniel Keymer, Mr. G. Pil- cher, Colonel Sir Charles Yate, and Sir Louis Dane, 461.)	
ANNUAL REPORT, 593; Annual Meeting, 599	
THE INDIAN NAVY. By <i>P. R. Cadell</i>	605
(Discussion by Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, The Maharaja of Burdwan, Sir Reginald Craddock, Rev. H. U. W. Stanton, Sir Alfred Chatterton, Mr. George Pilcher, and Colonel Sir Charles Yate, 618.)	

THE ASIAN CIRCLE SECTION

[A new series of papers published under the auspices of this Circle composed of writers with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and aiming through the collective experience of its members 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.; and Mr. Stanley Rice.]

Nationality and Communism in Asiatic Russia, 5. British Policy in China, 17. The Situation in China, 193. Pan-Islamism, 209. The Situation in China, 353. The Armenian Question, 364. Persia, 551

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

(See also under "The Asian Circle Section," above.)

THE NEW POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CAUCASUS AND CENTRAL ASIA	109
EARLY SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE TRAVELLERS IN PERSIA, II. By <i>Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson</i>	129
THE CAUCASUS IN HISTORICAL LITERATURE. By <i>W. E. D. Allen</i>	465

NETHERLANDS INDIES SECTION

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION. By <i>G. Gonggrijp</i>	22
THE NEW COLONIAL INSTITUTE IN HOLLAND	108
THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES. By <i>Dr. E. Moresco</i>	216
THE KERN INSTITUTE IN LEYDEN	240
THE RECENT COMMUNIST DISTURBANCES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE. By <i>A. J. Lievegoed</i>	385
AN ARTIST IN JAVA. By <i>Jan Portenaar</i>	488
THE LABOUR PROBLEMS IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES ARCHIPELAGO. By <i>Dirk Fock</i>	625

FRENCH COLONIES AND MANDATES IN ASIA

SYRIA AND THE LEBANON. By <i>J. L. Gheerbrandt</i>	393
THE RÔLE OF INDO-CHINA IN THE ASIATIC PROBLEM. By <i>Edmond Tranin</i>	635

THE FAR EAST

(See also under "The Asian Circle Section," above.)

A SYMPOSIUM ON CHINA	529
----------------------	-----

OBITUARY

Miss F. R. Scatcherd, 191. An Appreciation by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle	192
--	-----

CONGRESSES

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS. By <i>Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur</i>	410
THE INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE	494

POETRY

THE GARDEN OF A THOUSAND WATERFALLS. By <i>John Caldwell-Johnston</i>	176
SIX FLOWER HAikai. By <i>John Caldwell-Johnston</i>	527
IN MEMORIAM. By <i>John Caldwell-Johnston</i>	697

LITERARY SECTION

Leading Articles by *Stanley Rice*: The Ryot, 145. The Yellow Peril, 395 "Asiatisme," 497.

[Reviewers of the undermentioned books include: Sir Thomas Arnold, Professor J. P. Bruce, Mr. Stanley Casson, Sir Reginald Craddock, Sir Patrick Fagan, Miss Gwendoline Goodwin, Mr. E. B. Havell, Sir George MacMunn, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. N. M. Penzer, Miss Véronique Rice, Dr. Gilbert Slater, and Mr. J. A. Spender.]

India.

European Non-Officials in the Indian Legislature (Allahabad: *Pioneer Press*), 154. The Changing East (*Cassell*), 157. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India (*Humphrey Milford*), 162. Leaves from a Viceroy's Note-book and Other Papers (*Macmillan*), 316. India in 1925-1926 (*H.M.S.O.*), 508. The Light of Experience (*Constable*), 510. The Ocean of Story (*Sawyer*), 511, 689. Eastern Bengal Ballads (*Calcutta University Press*), 519. Indian Philosophy (*Allen and Unwin*), 519. The History of Assam (*Thacker*), 520. An Indian Day (*Knopf*), 521. Rural Economy in India (*Longmans*), 149. My Working Life (*Murray*), 684. Mother India (Jonathan Cape), 688. India's Past (*Clarendon Press*), 692. Studies in Indian Rural Economics (*P. S. King*), 693.

Near East.

The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment (*Macmillan*), 172. The Mosul Question (*American Library in Paris*), 173. Passenger to Teheran (*Hogarth Press*), 175. Memoirs of Halidé Edib (*Murray*), 326. Turkey (*Benn*), 334. People of the Veil (*Macmillan*), 513. To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise (*Murray*), 520. On the Trail of Ancient Man (*Putnam*), 520. Afghanistan (*Hiersemann*), 698.

Far East.

The Road to Lamaland (*Stoughton*), 175. Himalayan Tibet (*Sceley*), 175. The Vanished Empire (*Macmillan*), 309. The March of the Seventy Thousand (*Leonard Parsons*), 345. Forest, Steppe and Tundra (*Cambridge University Press*), 347. Antiquities of Indian Tibet (Calcutta: *Government Press*), 347. A Study of Shinto (Tokyo: *Meiji Japan Society*), 518. An Immigrant in Japan (*Werner Laurie*), 519. An Asian Arcady: The Land and Peoples of Northern Siam (Cambridge: *Heffer*), 510. Malay Land (*Cecil Palmer*), 520. Adat Law (The Hague: *M. Nijhoff*), 522. Japanese Traits and Foreign Influences (*Kegan Paul*), 675. The New Korea (New York: *Dutton*), 679. The Hung Society (*Baskerville Press*), 695.

Orientalia.

Old Decorative Maps and Charts (*Halton and Truscott*), 320. The Hung Society, vol. ii. (*Baskerville Press*), 322.

Religion and Ethics.

The Doctrine of the Buddha (Leipzig: *Drugulin*), 338. The Life of the Buddha (The Hague: *M. Nijhoff*), 340. Further Dialogues of the Buddha (*Oxford Press*), 342. Chinese Religion seen through the Proverb (Shanghai: *The China Press*), 342. Chang Tzu (Shanghai: *Kelly and Walsh*), 342.

General.

The History of Atlantis (*Rider*), 174. Asia in the Twentieth Century (*Scribner*), 349. Which Hath Been (*Cecil Palmer*), 342. Children of the Border (*Murray*), 342. Arctic Swallows (Scandinavia : *Brahmakul*), 344. The Light of Experience (*Constable*), 510.

Art.

Studies in Indian Painting (Bombay : *Taraporevala*), 317. Chinese Paintings in English Collections (Paris : *Van Oest*), 319. Byzantine Art (*Benn*), 320.

Archæology.

The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamen (*Egypt Exploration Society*), 324. The Tomb of Tutankhamen, vol. ii. (*Cassell*), 657. Catalogue of the Late Babylonian Tablets in the Bodleian Library (*Lusac*), 575. Ancient Egypt (*Blackie*), 670. Babylonia and Assyria (*Blackie*), 670.

French Books.

Partir (*Michel*), 164. Yuki San (*Plon*), 165. L'Étendard Vert (*Éditions du Monde Moderne*), 165. Vie Rurale dans le Sind (Montpellier : *Librairie Nouvelle*), 155. L'Éducation Civique aux Indes (Montpellier : *Librairie Nouvelle*), 155. Essai sur l'Histoire Antique de l'Abysinnie (*Geuthner*), 167. La Civilisation Phénicienne (*Payot*), 169. Fouilles du Corps d'Occupation Française de Constantinople (*Boccard*), 171. La Civilisation Chinoise Moderne (*Payot*), 307. Chine et Chinois d'Aujourd'hui (*Berger-Levrault*), 308. Les Arts Musulmans (*Van Oest*), 320. Exploration Archéologique de Délos (*Boccard*), 325. Les Merveilles de l'Asie (*Geuthner*), 329. Formulaire Sanscrit-Thibétain du X^{me} Siècle (*Geuthner*), 330. Le Monde Islamique (*Rieder*), 330. Voyageurs en Orient (*Plon*), 331. Rissalat al Thawid (*Geuthner*), 334. Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce (*Geuthner*), 337. La Chine Contemporaine Politique et Économique (*Geuthner*), 346. Exterritorialité et Intérêts Étrangers en Chine (*Geuthner*), 346. Les Appels de l'Orient (*Émile Paul*), 498. Défense de l'Occident (*Plon*), 600. Choses et Gens de Byzance (*Boccard*), 514. L'Heure Silencieuse (*Éditions du Monde Moderne*), 515. Le Communisme chez les Insectes (*Flammarion*), 516. Le Khâlifât (*Geuthner*), 518. Civilisation Rurale du Bengale Occidental (Montpellier : *Librairie Nouvelle*), 686. La Magie dans l'Égypte Antique (*Geuthner*), 578. La Philosophie de Hermann Keyserling (*Rieder*), 698.

Poetry.

Cantabile (*East and West*), 348.

Correspondence.

Sir Ganga Ram, by *W. Coldstream*, 671.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1927

INDIA AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

BY SIR BIJAY CHAND MAHTAB, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.,
MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR OF BURDWAN.

THE Great Empire Film that was put on the screen at 10, Downing Street for over a month is over, and the principal actors have now left or are leaving for the Dominions they came from. I have been asked to write a short article about India and the Imperial Conference of this year, and I do so with much hesitation ; because, although India's being an original signatory to the League of Nations has brought her into the vortex of European politics, and her being included as a partner at the Great Congress of the British Empire, the Imperial Conference, has established her right within that Empire, her peculiar position cannot entitle her to be really in the British Commonwealth of Nations as South Africa or Canada may claim as of a right. Nor can we, when we think or speak of India, regard her as a homogeneous whole as one would so regard Australia or New Zealand. What, therefore, the question arises, can India do at the Imperial Conference, and is it really worth her while being represented there ?

I see that many of my critics in the Press in India have been admonishing me and running me down for not having brought home to the Prime Ministers overseas the Indian aspiration of the Nationalist, or the communal outlook of the narrow view of communalism as advocated by fanatical Hindus or Muhammadans. Need I remind my readers that the former would have been as suicidal to India's interests at the Imperial Conference as the latter would have

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	PAGES
JANUARY ISSUE	1-176
APRIL "	177-352
JULY "	353-528
OCTOBER "	529-699

INDEX TO VOL. XXIII.

INDIA

	PAGE
INDIA AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE. By the <i>Maharaja of Burdwan</i>	I
THE INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT. By <i>Sir Lalubhai Samaldas</i>	33
ASPECTS OF THE CONTROVERSY ON CUSTOMARY LAW IN INDIA. By <i>C. van Vollenhoven</i>	113
THE INDIAN QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. By <i>Sir Darcy Lindsay</i>	177
INDIAN POLITICAL PROGRESS AND THE NEW DELHI. By <i>Sir H. Verncy Lovett</i>	349
RURAL INDIA AND THE ROYAL COMMISSION. By <i>Sir Patrick Fagan</i>	401
HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS. By <i>Shakiat Ahmad Khan</i>	585
INDIAN MUSIC AND SIMULTANEOUS HARMONY. By <i>Miss Bani Tagore</i>	636

THE INDIAN STATES

BARODA. By <i>Colonel M. J. Meade</i>	42, 225
INDORE	477
KASHMIR	566
INDIA AND THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN STATES. By <i>Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams</i>	369
SERVICE IN THE INDIAN STATES. By <i>Colonel Kailas Narain Haksar</i>	377
THE INDIAN STATES AND THE SEA-CUSTOMS DUTIES. By <i>Colonel Kailas Narain Haksar</i>	579

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

OPIMUM IN INDIA AND CHINA. By <i>Sir Richard Dane</i>	49
(Discussion on this paper by Lord Meston, Sir Louis Dane, Sir Ernest Wilton, Mr. S. N. Mallik, and Mr. S. M. Mehra, 72.)	
POST AND TELEGRAPH WORK IN INDIA. By <i>Sir Geoffrey R. Clarke</i>	79
(Discussion by Sir Campbell Rhodes, Mr. G. Pilcher, Sir Rayner Barker, Commander R. L. Nicholson, Sir Louis Dane, General Sir Edmund Barrow, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. Stanley Rice, and Mr. W. Coldstream, 99.)	

been ludicrous? What I fear is, as I always have done, that the political-minded Indian is not such a careful student of the development of the Dominion form of government in the Great Dominions overseas, or even the Colonial form of government existing in some of the Crown Colonies in Africa and elsewhere outside India. Had he been so, he would have realized that what may be easy for a Dominion manned mainly by the white race is impossible for what for the want of a better term I must use the late Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri's nomenclature, a subject race, who, ever since the time of the earliest Muhammadan invaders of India up to the advent of British rule, have been subjected to a bondage which history cannot deny nor the existing conditions belie. Then again, where Colonies with a teeming black population of Africans are concerned, to try and compare, or even dare to compare, India with them, would be an insult and the grossest libel on her civilized people with an ancient civilization and a proud heritage. It has, therefore, got to be admitted, however so much disappointed the Swarajist or Nationalist may be, that he has to make up his mind to evolve a form of self-government under and with British rule in India, and not without, with the Supreme Government in India continuing, more or less, in the present form, but more Indianized in the Executive and in the Services than at present. As I am not going to indulge myself in this article on Indian Reforms, I shall now turn to what, we may say, India has achieved at this year's Imperial Conference.

In matters relating to Forestry her experiments gave India a distinct upper hand to explain her field of action to Lord Lovat's committee; and Sir Philip Clutterbuck, than whom no greater authority could have been found on Indian forestry, must have been in his element when he took part in the discussions. I was sorry that my work on Imperial Defence and the committee of Lord Balfour on the Inter-Imperial Relations took so much of my time that

I was unable to attend a number of sub-committees I had been put down for. Whilst in matters relating to Imperial Economics Mr. Chadwick did his share nobly, it is best to realize that, in matters relating to the Empire Marketing Board and Voluntary Preference for Empire goods, India cannot join either with the same spirit or with the same amount of produce as some of the Overseas Dominions, for although she is one of the largest exporters to Great Britain for many of her products, she cannot sacrifice her foreign markets at the present stage of development of her resources. In matters relating to Imperial Defence we did very well indeed, and I think the military expert from India went away from the Imperial Conference as pleased as myself that, whilst adhering to the principle of disarmament as a maxim to be ever kept in mind, we did not budge an inch with regard to India's absolutely essential military defence in view of her long exposed frontiers and the great menace of Red Russia on her borders. It is best for all parties to realize that, whatever the Locarno Pact or the Singapore Base might involve India in some day in the future, and however desirable it may be for India to have battleships of her own, she must keep her army in the pink of condition; she must realize that the danger of invasion is always real to her at all times. Whilst we must do mine-sweeping and put the Indian Marine in a better state for a more efficient coast defence, so long as India is British India, so long as we can depend on the British Navy, we must keep our army in India, both British and Indian, really efficient, and not undermine its existence by any fetish of false economy. In this concern we must make the lot of the soldier and sepoy more happy in the barracks, which outside big cantonments is still far from being satisfactory.

From the above it will be apparent to all that India's contribution, however small, can be real in the Imperial Conference; and if the goodwill General Hertzog showed to me and the good spirit that was shown by the South

African Delegates to India and the Indians whilst in India lead to a real betterment of the position of Indians in South Africa, then it will open up for India and the Indians an era of goodwill and goodfellowship in all Dominions which will go a long way to make the position of her children more secure in the Dominions, and her status better and more substantial at the Imperial Conferences of the future.

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 includes :

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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.

NATIONALITY AND COMMUNISM IN ASIATIC RUSSIA

THE preoccupation of Western Europe with the philosophical and political aspects of Communism as expressed by the Bolsheviks has tended to obscure the interesting developments which have been taking place since the revolution among the minor nationalities who formerly found themselves within the area of the Russian Empire. These minor nationalities may for purposes of generalization be

aggregated into three groups: (1) the "western" group, including the Finns, Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians, and Moldavians; (2) the "Slavonic" group, represented by the White Russians, Ruthenians (Red Russians), Ukrainians (Little Russians), the Siberians, and the various Cossack communities, who had developed more or less pronounced "localist" or "autonomist" tendencies; and, lastly, (3) the "south-eastern" group, including the Georgians, the Armenians, the innumerable autochthonous tribes of the Caucasus, and the Turkish-speaking Muhammadan folk of the Crimea, the Volga, Eastern Trans-Caucasia, and Central Asia.

The nationalities composing the "western group" secured and maintained their independence as a result of the revolution. Their success was due to several causes: the national groups were comparatively homogeneous; social and economic conditions were, although backward, in advance of those of Slavonic Russia; national sentiment, in the minds of the masses, proved stronger than social animosity, and the social struggle was mainly confined to aggression against German and Russian landlords; lastly, and primarily, the western groups had as an immediate geographical background the whole peninsula of Western Europe, and they enjoyed the continuous, though variable, support—military, diplomatic, and economic—first of Germany, and later of the Entente Powers.

The nationalities of the second or "Slavonic" group never aimed definitely and strongly at separatism from Great Russia. Policies during the revolution and the civil war were fluid and confused, but the principal among the minor Slavonic groups, the Ukrainians, aimed always at restoring the old historic domination of Kiev over Moscow and all Russia rather than at secession and independence. The Slavonic fabric will never rip; it is only the alien fringe which may be frayed away.

The "western" group of nationalities have become part of Europe; the Slavonic sub-national groups will indu-

bitably remain in association with Great Russia. The nationalities of the "south-eastern" group remain to constitute an intricate and many-sided problem, which must inevitably influence and be influenced by the politics of Europe and Middle Asia during the coming half-century. There are something like twenty-five million Turkish-speaking Muhammadans within the borders of the Soviet Union. The most intelligent of the Russian Muhammadans, those of the Crimea and of Kazan, favour—and favoured before the acquisition of power by the Bolsheviks—a federal autonomy in union with Russia. The Turks of Central Asia—themselves intellectually stunted and only emergent from the mediæval social conditions which prevailed under the native emirates—are inclined to follow the trend of their more sophisticated cousins of the Volga. At most, there is no practical background—that is, no geographical nor economic background—for any vague separatist tendencies which may be nourished by the Russian Muhammadans. The Crimea and Volga Turks are scattered communities, mingling with and surrounded by Slavs. As example, the population of the present Socialist Soviet Republic of the Crimea is 50 per cent. Russian. The Turks of Central Asia, more numerous and more homogeneous, are separated from the world by mountains, desert, and sea, and are clamped within the Soviet Union by a comparatively efficient system of strategic railways and by an inclusive and exclusive economic régime. Nevertheless, the national and political individuality of the Russian Muhammadans is a fact of great political significance. The fact that these communities are not anti-Russian and not separatist does not mean that they are not anti-Bolshevik and not opposed to the old Muscovite policy of centralization. Their significance is that they are a powerful non-Slavonic element within the Soviet Union—an element which may, one day develop into a Muhammadan, an Asiatic, and a virile junior partner. There are already indications that the Bolsheviks realize their importance,

Daghestan and among the Ajars. The political alliances of the Mussavetist (nationalist) Government of Baku, in 1918 with the Young Turks, and in 1919-20 with the Kemalists, were born of necessity rather than of inclination. In fact, Hassan Aghaiev, the leading Pan-Turanist of Baku, and his acolytes found a more enthusiastic following among the non-Turanian but pro-Turkish tribes of Daghestan than among the comparatively sophisticated Tatars of Baku. And Nariman Narimanov, poet, sociologist, and Communist, the only powerful thinker whom the Tatars have produced, Bolshevik though he was, was an ardent prophet of the "Iranian Idea"—that is, of the community of interest of the Trans-Caucasian Muhammadans with the Persians rather than with the Turks. But if the union of the Trans-Caucasian Tatars with the Osmanli was psychologically impossible, and if their union with the Persians was politically impossible, their independence was both geographically and economically impossible. Geographically a Tatar republic could only exist as a member of a Trans-Caucasian federation; economically Baku, the centre and political "all" of the Tatar Republic, could not exist independently of Russia, with the Volga as a channel of petroleum export, and all Russia as a market. Only an artificial marketing arrangement with the European Powers, and the multiplication of the capacity of the Trans-Caucasian pipe-line by eight or ten times, could have solved the problem of Baku petroleum, have maintained the Tatar Republic, and have made possible an independent Trans-Caucasian Federation. The Tatars, even the Conservative Mussavetist party, the organ of expression of the great Tatar capitalists, recognized the inevitable necessity of reunion with Russia. Now, while the Trans-Caucasian Tatars tend to be nationally and culturally attracted to the other Muhammadan and Turkish-speaking communities of the Soviet Union, and are likely to co-operate politically with these elements, they find themselves of all the national minorities of the Union the most completely bereft of power

in their own region. The great industrial centre of Baku is only secondarily the capital of the Azerbaijan Tatars, and primarily a centre of Soviet power, where the numerous Russian and Armenian representatives of the heterogeneous working population are inclined to regard the oil city as the second stronghold of the revolution rather than as the capital of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan.

Of the Azerbaijan Tatars it may be said that while they hanker after independence more than their fellow Muhammadans of the Volga and the Crimea, they are generally inclined to look forward to a future within the fabric of the Russian State. A serious conflict between the Tatars and the Russo-Armenian element in Baku is always possible, if not imminent, but an actual effort towards independence in the future seems improbable. In the event of a war between the Soviet Union and Turkey, it is to be doubted whether more than an insignificant minority of the dispossessed bourgeoisie and a few disappointed Menshevik (or Nationalist) politicians would favour insurrection, and it is certain that the inclinations of the Tatars are not so adventurous as those of either the Daghestanis or of the Ajars.

The position of the Armenians and of the Georgians is very different to that of the Turko-Tatars. Psychologically and culturally, as individuals and in the mass, they are as much ahead of the Russians as their Muhammadan fellows are behind. The Russians have always suffered from the fact that their politically-intelligent class has been small out of all proportion to the numbers of the population; the Georgians and the Armenians suffer equally because their politically-educated class is too large in proportion to the labouring class. In Georgia 90 per cent. of the population are agricultural workers, and it would not be an exaggeration to say that all the rest are politicians. The Armenians have a business capacity which has enabled their superfluous and active intelligentsia to find a scope beyond the barren fields of their own land, and to become the industrial

if they are not yet actually susceptible to their influence, in the definitely Asiatic turn which has been given to Bolshevik—that is, to Muscovite—policy within the last five years. The Uzbek and Turkmen Republics are now equal partners with the Ukrainian and White Russian (Minsk) Republics and the Russian and Trans-Caucasian Federations in the Union of Soviet Republics. Further, the intellectual and cultural activities of the Russian Muhammadans—activities which are always an indication of coming political developments—are manifold, and have received every official encouragement from Moscow. Important archæological expeditions and a whole school of politico-historical writers are attempting to revive, or to invent, a great tradition of Turko-Tatar culture; while the Turkological Conference at Baku (1923), which was the corollary to, and the intellectual fellow of, the Baku Conference of Eastern Peoples (1921), did much to initiate and to organize the whole process of the Turko-Tatar revival. Lastly, the adoption of the Latin alphabet for the Muhammadans of Russia is likely to do much to facilitate the progressive education of the new proletarian intelligentsia which is growing up among the Muhammadans, while at the same time gently weaning them from the influence of the more conservative sections of Islam who continue to use the Arabic script.

There is another direction in which the Muhammadans are likely to exercise an important influence on the internal politics of the Soviet Union, or for that matter upon any form of organization into which the peoples of the former Russian Empire may presently emerge. With the Ukrainians, the White Russians, the Georgians, the Armenians, and other minor national groups, Slavonic and non-Slavonic, the Muhammadans of Russia combine to constitute a heterogeneous groupment within the Soviet Union of peoples who are opposed to any centralist basis of political organization, and who are jealous of the domination of the Great Russian. The issue of “centralism” as

opposed to “localism” has already emerged in the politics of the Soviet Union, and whether or not the Communist system of government survives, this will undoubtedly constitute one of the main problems of Russian politics. It remains to be seen whether the “localist” elements have the capacity to combine against the Great Russian, or whether Moscow will compose its differences with Kiev, Minsk, and the Don, in order to impress an ultra-Slavonic character and policy upon that seventh part of the earth's surface which is involved.

The position of the Tatars of Eastern Trans-Caucasia—the so-called Azerbaijan Tatars*—is peculiar, and differs in important respects from that of the other Turkish-speaking Muhammadans of the Soviet Union. Geographically their situation was favourable to separatism, as they found themselves upon the frontiers of Russia, and immediately adjacent to the territories of Turkey and Persia. The connection of the Eastern Caucasus with Persia goes back to the early historic period, and it is still less than one hundred years since these lands were finally lost to the Shah (Treaty of Turkmanchai, 1828). The whole civilization of Eastern Trans-Caucasia is essentially Muhammadan, and primarily Arabo-Iranian, as distinct from Turkish; and furthermore, with this region are associated the beginnings both of Zoroastrianism and of Sufism. It was, therefore, no fantastic claim—on historical and cultural grounds—which the Persian Delegation to the Peace Conference preferred to Baku, Derbend, and Shamakha. The Osmanli Turks, on the other hand, were never popular in Eastern Trans-Caucasia, in contra-distinction to the superior influence which they always enjoyed among the tribes of

* The term “Azerbaijan” was adopted by the Tatar nationalists of Baku as the name for the short-lived Republic formed out of the old Russian Governments of Baku and Elizabetopol. The object of the Tatar nationalists was to express their sense of cultural and linguistic unity with the Tatars of Persian Azerbaijan, and to attract these latter away from the Persian crown. The native and historical names for the Muhammadan regions of Eastern Trans-Caucasia were Shirvan (north), Aran (centre), and Mughan (south), which last name still survives.

and merchant class in many parts of the Near and Middle East. The Georgian, more gifted than the Armenian, seems to lack, on the average, any great business capacity. He is by choice a soldier, a writer, a musician, an artist, and always a politician; but he has not the ability of the Armenian to apply himself to productive work, irrespective of the state of politics. These characteristics are exemplified under the present régime. The Armenian has accepted the Soviet Republic, and has meanwhile, without abandoning his principles or his aspirations, relegated the national idea to the background for solution at a future and more propitious date. At present he is applying himself, with no little success, to the economic development of the Armenian Soviet Republic.

The Georgian, on the other hand, broods and dreams and intrigues optimistically and uselessly. A pathetic and entirely miscalculated belief in the interest of Western Europe in the cause of Georgian independence led him into the bloody and fruitless insurrection of 1924. But the slaughter and execution of approximately 4,000 of his countrymen has not convinced him of the futility of further insurrection. Where it should be a principle of insurrection that no movement shall be undertaken without at least a chance of success, the Georgian runs to arms as a *beau geste*. It is magnificent, but it is not politics.

Under the new constitution for Trans-Caucasia, imposed by Moscow, an elaborate system has been set up, whereby the three Soviet Socialist Republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia combine to form the Trans-Caucasian Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics. Foreign policy, foreign trade, economic policy and labour laws, and military control are in the hands of the Union Government at Moscow. The Soviet Governments of Tiflis, Baku, and Erivan enjoy control of local administration, local justice, education, 'workers' welfare, agriculture, and of the militia or gendarmerie. Most precious right of all to the Georgians is the use of their own language, and observers who knew

Tiflis under the Tsars and under the Mensheviks say that more Georgian may be heard and read in the streets now than under either previous administration. Georgian, with Russian, Armenian, and Turkish, is one of the four official languages of the Union, a fact which serves to illustrate the importance which Moscow attributes to the conciliation of the nationalities.

In the relations of Moscow with the Georgians and Armenians there are two different tendencies which may well be compared to two streams running parallel but in opposite directions. On the one hand, the Georgian and Armenian Commissars who rule in Tiflis and Erivan are in all effect the agents of the Communist party; their masters are in Moscow, and are not their own people. On the other hand, the Trans-Caucasian Communists exercise an influence in the party out of all proportion to the importance of their own peoples in the Union. Apart from the more important figures—Stalin himself, Karakhan, Orjonikidze, Erukidze, the lately defunct Miasnikian, Mikoyan, Tskakhaya, and others—the lower ranks of the party contain many Trans-Caucasians, particularly Armenians. And the presence of these men in power in Russia is as frequently resented by Russians as is the control of Russia in Trans-Caucasia by Armenians and Georgians.

The attitude of the peoples towards Communism is more difficult to gauge. In contra-distinction to other national elements within the Union, it may be said that the Georgians definitely are anti-Russian rather than anti-Bolshevik; while the Armenians, though still cherishing their national ideals, are inclined to take advantage of their comparatively favoured position under the Bolsheviks. The Armenians are as much realists as the Georgians are romanticists, and the chief objection which individual Armenians have to the Bolsheviks is the fact that private business activities are both difficult and unprofitable. It must be remembered that the incidence of Bolshevism in

Trans-Caucasia was tempered by the anxiety of Moscow to occupy the country without heavy fighting, and to wean the intelligent classes away from the Mensheviks. The landowners and the small wealthy bourgeois class in Tiflis had already been dispossessed by the former Menshevik Government, and the change of régime imposed little further personal loss on them. And with regard to the Armenians, the Bolsheviks came almost as a relieving army to save Erivan from the Turks, while further they have restored the decaying oil industry, principally to the advantage and with the help of thousands of Armenians. Again, many of the Commissars, both at Tiflis and Erivan, are personally popular, and, as individuals, not undeserving of their popularity. On the other hand, the former nationalist leaders, Mensheviks in Georgia and Dashnakists in Armenia, had discredited themselves both by their ineptitude and by their factional quarrels. The failure of the Georgian revolt in 1924, which was largely encouraged by optimistic misrepresentations of the possibilities of foreign support made by the Menshevik emigrés in Paris, has done little to maintain their memories in honour among the unfortunate bourgeoisie in Tiflis and the provincial towns, upon whom fell the brunt of the reprisals of the Trans-Caucasian Cheka.

The peasant of Armenia and Georgia remains, as in Russia, the enigma, and, like his ox, he is a patient brute. Disillusion and weariness of wars and rumours of wars lie heavily upon the present generation. As example, the writer visited in the summer the Georgian town, not inappropriately named, Gori, which, during the previous seven years, had passed through two foreign occupations, three revolutions, a pitched battle, a peasant rising, two epidemics, and an earthquake. The inhabitants, who were, many of them, living in caves and dugouts, seemed, withal, 'wonderfully cheerful folk; but it did not appear to the writer that they would consider with any great enthusiasm the prospect of a new political adventure.

To formulate political prophecies is always ungrateful, and of all parts of the world it is in the Middle East that history follows the most surprising courses. It would appear, however, that, whatever may be the future development of political and economic organization within the area of the former Russian Empire, the nationalities of its south-eastern regions have little prospect of building up separate and independent national units. The destinies of the Turkish-speaking Muhammadans of the Crimea, the Volga, and of Central Asia, are indubitably bound up with those of the Russian Slavs.

In Trans-Caucasia it seems unlikely that any of the three nationalities—Georgians, Armenians, or Tatars—will have the opportunity to secure their independence by force, and even were that independence temporarily ensured, that they would have the possibility, on the one hand, to lead each an independent existence, or, on the other hand, that they would have the capacity and the international *esprit de corps* to function an independent Trans-Caucasian federation. The Russians, under whatever government, will not easily loosen their hold on Trans-Caucasia. It would require, at any rate, a war with another great world-power to shatter their grip. Economic and political evolution in the surrounding countries may radically alter the situation. The Trans-Caucasian nationalities, after a generation or two of collaboration in the present filleted form of autonomous federation, may develop the capacity to co-operate amicably to the mutual advantage of each nationality. There will always remain the lack of homogeneity both within a federation and even within each constituent republic, for whilst there are almost as many Armenians in Tiflis as Georgians, and almost as many Armenians in Baku as Tatars, almost half the rural population of the independent Armenian Republic was Mussulman. And there are the psychological factors—the political irresponsibility and mental indiscipline of the Georgians, the cosmopolitan realism of the Armenians, which makes

the Russian connection attractive to the individual, the pull of Islam among the Tatars. Historically Trans-Caucasia has never been a political unit; it has always been a cross-road of empire. As political units the nations living there have suffered—but these nations, and the individuals composing them, have sometimes benefited amazingly.

From generation to generation the diaspora of the Armenians and the Georgians has vitalized the social life of the Middle East. Men of the Caucasus have ruled in Petersburg and in Cairo; they have dominated empires from Leo the Armenian down to Stalin the Georgian. Various nations have differing characteristics: some form the material of empire—the English, the Germans, the Russians, or the Turks; others represent the instruments of empire—the Irish, the Scotch, the Albanians, possibly the Greeks, and the Caucasians. It is the difference between cohesive capacity and individualistic genius. The Caucasians do not appear to have cohesive capacity. In history they have found themselves crammed between two races who, less than any, produce men of individual genius—the Slavs and the Turks. For a thousand years the Caucasians have fertilized the mentally sterile civilizations of the Middle East; during the last hundred years their individuals and their influence have spread widely over Russia. Yet neither Georgians nor Armenians have ever really exhibited those qualities—many of them pedestrian—which are necessary to the foundation and maintenance of a self-sufficient modern state.

Such are the psychological conditions of their history, and in considering the practical politics of the present and future relationship of the Georgian and Armenian to Russia, it is well to bear in mind the nature of their historical psychology.

BRITISH POLICY IN CHINA

RECENT photographs of groups of Russian and Chinese leaders that have appeared in the Press tend to show that the Cantonese have had the benefit of the expert assistance of Russian Bolsheviks. The success achieved by the Cantonese armies, indeed, would hardly have been so expeditious and complete without such assistance. As it is, they have succeeded in taking the three cities, Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankow. Wuchang is important from the political point of view. It was the first city seized by the revolutionary forces under Li Yuan-hung, and has frequently been spoken of as the most desirable place for the capital of the New China. Hanyang is not less important from the military point of view as the arsenal of mid-China, and Hankow may be regarded as the commercial capital. To be in possession of these three cities, therefore, gives to the Southern party enormous prestige, and when we add the elimination of Wu Pei-fu, not long ago the most powerful of the militarists, it is easy to understand the confident expectation of many that the Kuomintang will ere long be masters of the whole of China. The expectation is strengthened by the fact that Marshal Feng is still in the offing and probably awaiting the propitious moment to make a move. He is at present west of Shansi, and can only reach Peking by the defeat or the collusion of Yen Hsi Shan. If he remains loyal to the Northern combination, he is not unlikely to make his way south through Shensi, and attack Wu Pei-fu in Honan. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that on more than one occasion it has been comparatively easy for revolutionary forces to obtain control of the country south of the Yangtse, whereas it has not been so easy to make the push northwards. The Northern people are more stolid

than the Southern and less inclined actively to support revolutionary movements. It was so when Li Yuan-hung seized Wuchang and was opposed by Yuan Shih-kai on the north of the river. Later, during Yuan Shih-kai's régime, the Northerners were more or less favourable to him, while the Southerners regarded him as the enemy of democracy. The elimination of Wu Pei-fu, too, may prove not to be so complete as appears. It is not very long ago that, owing to the desertion of Marshal Feng, he was compelled to retire into private life only to reappear later hardly less powerful than before. It may be that at the present moment he is consolidating his forces in Honan in readiness to oppose the advance of the Southern armies, though much depends on the attitude of his generals.

All this has a direct bearing on the policy of the Powers. It is said that the Cantonese Government is removing its capital to Wuchang and demanding recognition as the Government of all China, and there is a disposition on the part of some in this country to advocate that course. Let us not forget, however, that it is at just such a moment as this that there is the greatest danger of hasty action, the temptation to cut the Gordian knot. On the one side there are those who would resort to gunboats, reminding us that force is the only thing that Orientals understand. And on the other side, reacting from such counsels, we are urged to show our sympathy with the one party cherishing democratic ideals and give them immediate recognition. Both agree that the worst of all policies is the policy of drift. At this point it may be as well to clear our minds of some confusion with regard to this word "drift." The same thing may by some be called drift, and by others patience, according to the point of view. To illustrate our meaning, which in intent is the reverse of military, by a military reference, it means patiently to stand one's ground until the propitious moment for action arrives, as Wellington did at Waterloo. But to return to our argument: as we said in our last issue, force is no remedy, and to resort

to anything of that nature feeling that *something* must be done would be fatal. On the other hand, the temptation to take a false step in the opposite direction in the same spirit of impatience is equally to be deprecated. The solution of the problem must be an agreed solution. That is one of the axioms of the situation. But another axiom is that we should not interfere in the internal problem, that we should not on any pretext take sides with any party. Let it be made clear to the Cantonese, as to any others, that if, and when, they are masters of the whole of China we shall be ready at once to give them *de facto* and *de jure* recognition. But to recognize the Southern party at the present stage would create complications which might prove serious. To begin with, it would mean taking sides, and to recognize one party as the Government of a section of China would raise the question of which Government should inherit the rights and responsibilities of the old Peking Government and other questions not less thorny. Still there are arguments in favour of recognizing them, temporarily, as the *de facto* rulers of Canton, and any other Provinces of which they may be in actual occupation. Chiang Kai-shek, the Cantonese leader, in his *pronunciamiento*, stated that immediately a military victory is obtained a people's conference will be called. The statement is most welcome, because, as was said in our last issue, it is as important that the domestic differences should be settled by agreement as that the international differences should be so settled, and any Government set up as the result of a truly representative conference will, we are convinced, receive the whole-hearted support of the Powers.

But much has yet to be achieved before that point is reached, and the difficulty by which the Powers are confronted is that we cannot hope for any permanent settlement of our difficulties with China until China has settled her own differences. Take, for example, the "unequal treaties," comprising the questions of Customs administration and extra-territoriality. With regard to the former, the British

Government occupy the position of trustees not only to those of their own nationals who have invested money in funds secured by the Customs, but also to large numbers of Chinese who have invested in Chinese loans, having the same security because of their confidence in the integrity and efficiency of the administration. Now it may very well be that it would be the part of wisdom for our Government to surrender its responsibility with regard to the Customs, a responsibility which has been discharged with such honour and prestige for so many years, but it would be much to its dishonour to make such surrender without adequate provision for safeguarding the interests for which it has been made trustee. Similarly with regard to extra-territoriality. Granted that the time has come when as a matter of expediency all extra-territorial privileges should be surrendered, it still remains that some treaty must be negotiated to take the place of "unequal" treaties. But neither of these things can be done unless there be a Government or Governments with whom we can negotiate with some assurance that the agreements arrived at will be binding and permanent. There may be Governments, but it is doubtful whether there is much likelihood of a Government being formed by agreement which will be able to control both North and South China for any considerable period.

All this shows how inextricably interlocked are the external and internal aspects of the problem. But while we say this we do not mean that the Governments of the Powers should fold their hands. The lives and property of their nationals must effectively be protected, every opportunity should be seized to make clear to the Cantonese and every other party that we wish only the best for China and that the new national sentiment has our whole-hearted sympathy, that we are willing to revise all treaties that are obnoxious to that sentiment, and that we are ready to give full recognition to any Government that can truly be said to be the Government of China. And we may go further. Whatever concessions can be made without compromising

those responsibilities which we have just indicated, and are immediately practicable, should be made without delay.

It is a matter for the keenest satisfaction that both the new British Minister in China and the Foreign Office at home appear to be fully alive to all these considerations and to be pursuing a policy in line with what we are advocating. There is naturally a certain amount of reticence with regard to the interview or interviews between Mr. Miles Lampson and Mr. Eugene Chen at Hankow, but what has been divulged seems to indicate that the policy of the British Government is to avoid interference in the internal affairs of China, to make perfectly clear to all parties its non-partisan attitude, to give its approval to any Government that will guarantee the safety of life and property and freedom for trade. Along some such lines it is to be hoped that a *modus vivendi* may be arrived at. In any case, the advent of Mr. Miles Lampson appears suggestively to synchronize with the importation of a new spirit into British policy which is to be heartily welcomed.

NETHERLANDS INDIES SECTION

[Recent events in Java have stimulated interest in the political and economic development of Holland's Eastern possessions. This new section will furnish readers with informative articles regarding these problems.—EDITOR, "ASIATIC REVIEW."]

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION

BY G. GONGGRIJP

(Editor of the *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, The Hague)

BRITISH INDIA and the Netherlands Indies are both agrarian countries. As in British India, the economic policy of the Government will always have to be framed with an eye to the requirements of the farming population. Although in some respects the Dutch East Indian Archipelago occupies a favourable position as compared with British India, and the constantly recurring menace of famine as a result of drought is unknown there, nevertheless the economic position of the Indonesian population shows many points of resemblance with that of the great mass of the population of British India, a resemblance which is especially striking if one limits the comparison to Java. That island—with which we may include for this purpose also Madura—is distinguished from the other islands of the Archipelago by its extraordinarily dense population. It is well known as one of the most densely populated countries of the world, counting nearly 700 souls to the square mile. The factors which determine the prosperity of any people are many. We may, however, summarize the most important in a concise formula—viz., prosperity is in the main determined by the relation between the number of the population and the total means of production at their disposal. Under

the term "total means of production," one must understand the land and all property representing capital, including the technique of production, which is at the disposal of the population. In Java the proportion is unfavourable. Although, on the whole, the soil is fertile, the average area of arable land at the disposal of the peasants is small; in many districts, in fact, it is too small to form a solid basis for prosperity. Although in Java large estates are less frequently met with than in British India, the parcelling out of the land into small lots may form as considerable a barrier to national prosperity as extensive landed property. From the beginning of the present century the Government has energetically promoted the granting of credit to the population. Banks, both large and small, were established for the purpose of granting credit to the peasant and the small native merchant at cheaper and easier rates than the advances which he could obtain from either the Indonesians, the Chinese, or the Arabs. It is, however, difficult to make capital productive in the full sense of the term when applied to arable land on a small scale. Although the Government tried to make the education given in a steadily increasing number of schools accessible also to the peasant, the latter, when he had received tuition, frequently saw an opportunity of turning the acquired knowledge to better account in the large towns, in offices, in factories, or on estates, than on his father's small holding, which he sometimes had to share with his brothers. The needs of the Javanese are still very small, despite the influence of the Western world. His inclination to exert himself more than is necessary to supply his simple needs is not great. On the other hand, he feels an overwhelming temptation to pledge his property, to convert the future proceeds from his farm, his fruit trees, and his labour into some immediately available wealth or hard cash. In short, the difficulties which the Netherlands meet with in their

efforts to increase the prosperity of the indigenous population of Java are many and varied, and are sometimes deeply rooted in the national character. Over-population, the absence of inclination to save, shortage of capital, a low degree of economic development are the phrases which one meets with most frequently in the literature on the subject.

The period between 1903 and 1914 was one of great prosperity for the European export trade—sugar, rubber, tobacco, tea, coffee, cinchona—of “the Tropical Netherlands,” in the more narrow and real sense of the term. The Convention of Brussels, which meant the end of the artificial protection of the European beet sugar industry, introduced a new era for the cane sugar cultivation in a number of tropical countries. The Dutch sugar industry in Java, which in the last sixteen years of last century had to contend with great difficulties and to work strenuously to maintain its position, began to yield good profits. As a result of its development and flourishing condition, capital was increasingly attracted to the Dutch East Indies. The sugar culture served as it were as a magnet for other cultures, and in the ten years preceding the outbreak of the world war, foreign investments increased enormously. Naturally, the country at large benefited by this prosperity, whilst it was also reflected in the position of the indigenous population. The natives’ share in this prosperity, however, was a modest one. Most of the profits made naturally left the country. Wages continued at a low level. Nevertheless, the income of the Javanese increased considerably as a result of the influx of foreign capital. The opportunities for wage-earners increased, whilst, as a general rule, wages on the estates and in the factories were higher. Moreover, the indirect results of such investments of capital were important. The country was being opened up at an increased rate. The peasant frequently had an opportunity of selling his products at high prices. The advantages of the develop-

ment of monetary and commercial intercourse in general, however, involved certain disadvantages. For an economically backward population, such increased commercial intercourse offered more opportunities for contracting debts and converting its future income into hard cash. Above all, the greater development of the sources of prosperity were repeatedly neutralized by the steady growth of the population. In 1914 the economic position of the indigenous population of Java was not unfavourable, and in a sense even prosperous. From a Western point of view, however, it was still very poor, so far as capital and knowledge were concerned. Many districts were congested, whilst the position of the peasants contrasted very unfavourably with that of other classes of the population to which the Government desired to raise it. What changes have the years of war, and those which followed it, brought in their situation? On the economic life of the Dutch East Indies the war in the main had the same effect as on other neutral countries. The money market became very easy, whilst prices soared. Many producers and exporters of colonial produce, as well as a number of importers, made great profits. Although such profits were expressed in a weakened guilder value and had thus a misleading effect, and although many profits, especially those made by importers, proved shortly before the change in the rate, in October, 1920, to have existed only on paper, yet the tropical Netherlands amply profited by the war prices. For the Government the years of war were no more profitable than they were in any other neutral country. Overwhelmed by the boom and wave of prosperity, the Government in most cases increased the corps of officials far too extensively. It was frequently too liberal in placing orders, whilst the directors of certain industries under Government control, such as the State Railways, delayed too long in raising the rates in accordance with the general rise in prices, as a result of which, just when the

Colonial State expenditure rose to an unprecedented height, the revenues from many sources were really very small. In fact, in many cases, considerable losses had to be registered. Although taxation for a considerable part filled the gap in the State finances, the Dutch East Indies Government ultimately emerged from the war and the post-war years poorer than before. The public debt of the Dutch East Indies increased more considerably than the value of the State property.

It has been said above that the effect of the war in the Dutch East Indies was in the main the same as in other neutral countries. There is, however, one cardinal point of difference. Whilst, in the various countries of Europe, the worker has succeeded in improving his position by an increase in wages proportionate to the cost of living, such has not been the case in the Dutch East Indies, at least, not in such a measure as to prevent workers from suffering in consequence. Being uneducated, inadequately organized, and, even when organized, under inefficient leadership, they found that their wages, as a general rule, in the war and post-war years, remained behind the index figure. From an examination of the prices of import and export articles, as expressed in the Dutch East Indies trade balance before and after 1914, it is possible to draw the conclusion that the war has made the terms of exchange for the Dutch East Indies more unfavourable. Prior to that year, Java exchanged her exports against the products of European, American, and Japanese industry on more favourable terms than after that date. The explanation which has been given for this is that the world, which was impoverished by the war, had less to offer to the Dutch East Indies in exchange for its colonial produce than prior to 1914. I believe that this explanation is, to say the least, very incomplete, because the productive capacity of "the world" has, after all, scarcely suffered in consequence of the war.

Indeed, in some countries, such as the United States, the statistics show that the productive capacity has considerably increased. The only great country which has really emerged from the war with a reduced productive capacity is Russia. Apart from transport difficulties of a transient nature, "the world," despite the war, was in a position to offer an abundance of manufactured goods to the Dutch East Indies, whilst the belligerent Powers paid, with borrowed money when necessary, the highest prices for the colonial produce they needed. Behind those who offered the output of Western factories on the world market, however, stood the perfectly organized workmen who wished to produce such goods only for higher wages and during shorter working hours. Behind those who offered the colonial produce of the Dutch East Indies there was no such labour organization. In my opinion this is not the complete explanation of the less favourable terms of exchange for the Dutch East Indies—such an explanation would lead us too far—but it may be taken to contain the essence of the situation.

What, the reader may ask, has all that to do with the *agrarian* population of Java? This becomes clear as soon as it is realized that most of the work on the large estates in Java is season work, and that labour there is recruited from the agrarian population. A large portion of their income is derived from the wages they earn and what they receive in rent for the land which they regularly let to the sugar manufacturers and the tobacco planters.

Moreover, what has been said of Indonesian labour in Java applies also, more or less, to the independent Javanese farmers who raise for their own account and on their own soil rice, cassavi, maize, copra, and poultry, and also grow fruit, and who must sell part of their produce in order to obtain money for the payment of taxes and the clothes, utensils, earthenware, and the numerous small articles they

need. In such an exchange they have in most cases to deal with Chinese, who are far their superiors commercially. Every alteration in the value of money places the Javanese at a disadvantage. Even when the currency is depreciated and the relation between the Javanese and the Chinese becomes respectively that of debtor and creditor, there is not the shadow of a doubt that the Chinese who advances money has safeguarded himself against loss. In a word, the indigenous population has scarcely been able to profit by the rise in prices, and has, as a general rule, experienced the detrimental effects of its economic backwardness.

When, almost six years ago, Governor-General Fock took over the government of the Dutch East Indies, the Budget had failed to balance, and he was compelled to introduce drastic economies. He also made a thorough enquiry into the possibility of increasing the revenues of the country. It was recognized that it was reasonable—or, at any rate, necessary—that the indigenous population should also be made to bear its share in the additional burdens to be laid on the shoulders of the tax-payers. There was much to be said in favour of this plan. If future budgets did not balance, it would become impossible to maintain the rate of the Dutch East Indian guilder, which had already depreciated too much. To maintain the purchasing capacity of the guilder was of primary importance, above all in the interests of the great mass of the population. Moreover, the intrinsic value of the taxes paid by the indigenous population of Java had decreased owing to the drop in the rate of the currency between 1914 and 1920. The three important direct taxes which the Javanese have to pay are land revenue, poll tax, and income tax. Of these, the land revenue and poll tax are the most important, and it is just these two which follow least regularly the fluctuations in the value of money, and are therefore the most rigid. In normal times, when such

fluctuations are slight, this would cause no difficulty. In fact, I believe it to be a great advantage that a tax laid on an educated people, the vast majority of whom are still illiterate, should show the same assessment figure year after year. When, however, the fluctuations in the value of money are so great as has been the case in the Dutch East Indies in the last twelve years, this lack of elasticity must naturally be felt as a burden.

The taxes to be paid by the native population were raised, and this increase occurred at the very time when the guilder again appreciated, whilst the revenues of the population, partly as a result of the crisis which supervened towards the end of 1920, did not increase, and, in fact, between 1920 and 1922 reached the lowest point. As a result, the higher taxation was doubly felt, for both the nominal amount and the intrinsic value of each guilder to be paid increased. Without calculating in actual money and logically applying a corrective with the aid of index figures, the course of affairs seems to have been as follows: In 1914-1920, the intrinsic income of the population of Java did not rise, and probably even dropped to a certain extent. The intrinsic value of the taxes it paid dropped fairly considerably as a result of the depreciation of the currency. In 1920-1924 the intrinsic income of the population had not yet risen with the appreciation of the currency, and between 1920 and 1922 even dropped to the lowest point. The nominal amount of the taxation it had to pay was increased, whilst, as a result of the rising value of the currency, the intrinsic value of the taxes paid increased even more.

In face of the above explanation, it cannot be matter for surprise that in 1921 and 1922 the district officers began to complain of the burden of taxation, and that this subject was repeatedly discussed in the Volksraad. The Government, realizing that these complaints were well founded, instructed two of its officials, Mr. J. W. Meyer Ranneft

and Mr. W. Huender, to make a speedy enquiry into the burden of taxation which was weighing upon the native population. In a remarkably short time—six months—their report was completed. Great credit must be given to Mr. Meyer Ranneft, the leader of the enquiry, for abolishing the misleading calculations in money made in the years following 1920, and placing the economic position in its proper perspective. For this purpose, he not only made use of a general Dutch East India index figure, and of index figures for import and export products, but also had a native index figure drawn up which reflected the fluctuating value of a guilder in the hands of the Javanese. This was necessary, in view of the pronounced dual character of the Dutch East Indian community. Many of the arguments contained in this article may be found in the report.

Naturally, some portions of that report show traces of the great haste with which it was drawn up. Nevertheless, it contains a wealth of data, highly valuable hints for the economic policy of the Government and, *inter alia*, a detailed analysis of the land revenue, the tax introduced by Raffles, which, after many difficulties and attempts at improvement, has ultimately become one of the best for the indigenous population. Nevertheless, it still contains serious flaws. One of the worst of these undoubtedly is the uneven distribution of the burden of the tax.

The principal suggestion which the report contains—the officials were not expected to make definite proposals—was the abrogation of the poll tax. This tax is the outcome of the “*heerendienst*” or “statute-labour” system, which required the indigenous population of Java to work a certain number of days for their chiefs and for the Government; it was gradually abolished between 1882 and 1916, and the poll tax was introduced in its place. In 1924, 4,342,000 people, assessed for poll tax, paid a total of 10,930,000 guilders. The tax is mostly levied from the land-owners, sometimes

also from all house-owners or able-bodied men in the village. It is the least popular tax, and in practice it weighs most heavily on the small, poor landowners. Wherever the land revenue weighs heavily, it is usually land revenue plus poll tax which renders the burden so heavy, as is stated in the report. As a pithy paradox puts it: “The first improvement in the land revenue is the abrogation of the poll tax.” In addition to this, the rising generation, which has never known the old services, does not understand the reason for the poll tax. Land revenue, they argue, is payment for the land, income tax is levied on one's income. For the poll tax, however, there is no such basis now. The abrogation of the poll tax will constitute an important improvement and will be greatly appreciated by the population of Java. Governor General Fock had a proposal to this effect before the end of his term of office.

The Dutch East Indies have rapidly recovered from the crisis of 1920. The “Tropical Netherlands” are again prosperous. The Dutch East Indies Budget has in the last few years shown considerable surpluses. Part of the national debt of the Dutch East Indies has been profitably converted. The Government can once more devote its full attention to its principal task, the development of the indigenous population. This task is a very heavy one because, economically as well as otherwise, it is essentially a task of education, and the education of a people proceeds extremely slowly in those possessions. Where the proportion between the number of the population and the means of production (the soil) is far more favourable, this task will probably be easier, at least, from an economic point of view. An important native rubber culture has already developed, whilst the first stage is also perceptible of an extremely important and long-desired development—*i.e.*, the formation of native-owned capital. In Java, however, the difficulties will continue to be considerable, on account of the abundance of

population. Fortunately, if the signs are not deceptive, it would appear that the national income has in the last few years moved in an upward direction.

The reader may ask whether the communistic disturbances, which recently broke out in various districts, have any relation to the increased taxation in 1920 and 1923. For political reasons, certain persons have *a priori* answered this question in the affirmative. We deny emphatically, however, that any such connection exists. The disturbances were simply the result of "communistic" propaganda. That in a district like Bantam, where no Western capital is at all available, such propaganda had a local success, was due to the fact that propaganda against the "infidel" authorities in a country with Muslim communities like the Dutch East Indies always has a chance of success, whenever it chooses to make use of the numerous petty arguments which any loquacious demagogue may choose to employ when he addresses an uneducated crowd whose credulity is well-nigh incredible.

THE INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

BY SIR LALUBHAI SAMALDAS, C.I.E.

[After serving as Chief Revenue Officer in an Indian State for fifteen years, the author entered business. He assisted to start and develop the Bank of Baroda, and was a promoter of the Provincial Co-operative Bank. In 1914-15 he was Member of the MacLagan Committee on Co-operation. He was for three terms Member of the Bombay Legislative Council, and then Member of the Council of State, 1921-1925.]

WHEN one talks of industrializing India, it has to be remembered that agriculture forms the main and staple industry of the country, and that between 80 and 85 per cent. of the population depend for their subsistence on agriculture and allied village industries. The problem of improving the economic condition of the population is two-fold—viz: (1) Helping the agriculturist to produce more, spend less on interest, and practise thrift, so that the saving may be utilized for giving back to the land what has been taken out of it; and (2) removing the congestion on the land by drawing off the surplus agricultural population to industrial centres. One of the objects of further industrialization of the country is to provide occupation to the surplus village agricultural population, for unless that is done there will be greater subdivision of land, which will lead to further deterioration of the economic condition of the villages.

This remedy, though very necessary, can only affect a very small percentage of the population. The greater need is to (a) remove or lessen the indebtedness of the agriculturists, (b) provide him with adequate financial facilities for the annual agricultural operation, (c) help him in marketing his produce without the intervention of the middleman, and (d) where necessary make him long-term advances for large agricultural improvements. This need is to a certain extent met by the co-operative movement, and the object of this article is to show how far that movement has been successful in coping with the larger problem.

The co-operative movement in India owes its origin

mainly to the report of Sir Frederick Nicholson, who had been deputed by the Madras Government to study the working of this movement in Europe. A few years before the Madras Government took the lead in this matter, a proposal to start an Agricultural Bank was submitted by some public men to the Government of Bombay. The country was thus awake to the necessity of doing something to relieve the indebtedness of the agriculturist and to provide him with facile credit. Some of the political leaders who had given thought to the subject had suggested the establishment of a bank on the lines of the Egyptian Land Bank, but the first definite move was taken by the Government of India after the publication and consideration of the Nicholson Report. A Bill was submitted to the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and was passed without any serious opposition from the non-official members, some of whom said that the measure was merely an exotic and will not solve the problem of agricultural indebtedness. Some twenty-two years have passed since that measure was put on the statute book, and during that period the Government of India found it necessary to amend the Act in 1912, and considered it desirable to have an inquiry made in 1914-15 into the results of the working of the Act. The promoters of the 1904 Act thought that the rural Credit Societies (Village Societies) would be in a position to carry on their financial operations with capital raised locally, supplemented by a small State aid, and whatever deficiency remained would be made good by deposits from individual sympathizers of the movement or by loans from urban societies, which were expected to attract more money than was required for the legitimate purpose of financing their members. Those who were responsible for the original measure had either no idea at the time of the ultimate financial requirements of the movement, or believed—as some people even now fondly do—in the so-called hoarded wealth of the rural population, and hence did not make any provision in the Act for central financing institutions. The movement had grown to such an extent in the first seven

years that capital locally raised did not suffice for the financial requirements of the members, and attempts were made by the Registrar of various Provinces, in consultation and with the help of a few leading public men interested in the movement, to start Urban Banks with the avowed object of financing agricultural Credit Societies. It was, however, soon found that going round the statute in this manner was not of much use, and it was decided to amend the Act so as to give a statutory status to the central financing institutions.

The statutory recognition of this type of society gave a fillip to the organization of such institutions, and consequently to the whole movement. The following figures tell their own tale: By 1912 there were started seventeen societies working as Central Banks with a membership of 1,987; while within two years of the passing of the new Act the number of Central Banks increased to 289, in addition to five Provincial Banks. The working capital of the movement, which was under three-quarters of a crore (ten millions) of rupees, had by 1914 increased to $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores, of which it is interesting to note about 3 crores were held by Provincial and Central Banks. This large increase was not *entirely* due to the new legislative measure—no measure of any kind *can* do that. The large growth in the working capital and the number of the Central Banks was due to the fact that the movement was not only drawing within its fold more and more agriculturists who wanted financial facilities, but that it began to appeal to the class known as the 6 per cent. philanthropists and had won the confidence of that class of investors.

This extraordinary growth led to a kind of nervousness in the minds of those officials of the Government of India who were responsible for conducting the movement on sound lines. They wanted to be assured that it was not rushed by enthusiasts on unsound lines, and that there was no danger of a crash following such great speed. A Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Edward Maclagan, who retired some two years back as

Governor of the Punjab. The Committee toured round India (including Burma), inspected various societies, examined official and non-official workers in the movement, and submitted their report in June, 1915. That report was sent to the various Provincial and Local Governments for their opinion, and it was after three years—*i.e.*, in 1918—that the opinions of the various Provincial Governments on the recommendations made by the Committee were considered at a Conference of the Registrars of Co-operative Societies, which was also attended by some non-official workers. Referring to the work of the Committee at the first Conference of Registrars held after 1918, Mr. Calvert, the Chairman of the Conference, and a member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, said: "The experience of seven more years' strenuous labour brings us, I venture to think, to a still better position to appreciate the great value of the work done by that Committee and to testify to the good influence its report has exercised on the growth of a sound movement in India." Most of the Provinces have accepted the MacLagan Committee's recommendation about the general financial policy to be followed to safeguard the interests of investors and to ensure financial stability. The results of following these sound lines of working the movement as laid down in the report can be easily gauged by the splendid progress achieved during the next quinquennium. The number of Central Banks, including Provincial Banks, increased from 194 to 333, while the working capital invested in the movement increased from $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores to $17\frac{1}{4}$ crores—*i.e.*, by more than 200 per cent.

The progress since that year (1919) has been, if anything, more rapid. The number of the Provincial and Central Banks has increased from 333 to 530, and the working capital of the movement has increased from $17\frac{1}{4}$ crores to about 50 crores, which means an increase of 5 crores in the working capital per annum. It will thus be seen that the progress has not only been steady and continuous, but has

been at an increasing rate during each quinquennium; and so far it can be called quite satisfactory.

Till now we have paid more attention to the agricultural credit side of the movement than to other branches. In an agricultural country the correct thing to do is to lay as much stress as possible on the agricultural side of the movement without in any way ignoring other branches thereof.

As regards Agricultural Societies, the first thing to be done was to provide their members with sufficient capital to enable them to carry on their annual agricultural operations without being obliged to go to the village money-lender, known as Sowcar in the north and west and Chetty in the south and Burma. That the movement has succeeded to such an extent that the agriculturist is not obliged *ever* to apply to the Sowcar for advances for current purposes is more than I or any co-operator can say. But the very fact that the working capital within the movement amounts to 50 crores means that the Sowcar is eliminated to that extent. One of the signs of this elimination is that the Sowcar has in some places come forward to help the movement by giving deposits. While a great deal has been done to provide capital for agricultural operations to the members of the societies, very little has been done to free them from the accumulated debt, to secure which the agriculturist has very often to mortgage part or all of his lands. The existing financial institutions usually take deposits from the public for a period of one year, and advance moneys to the primary societies for practically the same period. It is not sound banking to accept deposits for a shorter period and give those moneys on long-term loans. Consequently the work of debt redemption, which requires long-term loans, is carried out only where the Provincial or Central Banks have either raised moneys by long-term debentures or deposits, or where they are in a position to lay aside a portion of their share capital for this work.

It is now felt that as the movement has made sufficient

progress in the direction of providing financial facilities for the current needs of the members, it may very well take up seriously and in a systematic manner the work of liquidating the existing debts of its members. It is recognized on all hands that this work cannot be undertaken by the existing financial institutions. It will be necessary to start a new type of bank—Land Mortgage Banks—for this purpose. The problem is a vast one and bristles with difficulties; that however, is no reason why genuine efforts should not be made to tackle the same. Both these points—viz., how far the existing credit institutions can and should undertake this kind of work and the necessity of establishment of land mortgages—were carefully discussed at the All-India Co-operative Conferences held recently in Bombay. The first Conference, called the Registrars' Conference, but attended also by non-official co-operators invited by the various Provincial Governments, was held under the auspices of the Government of India. The other was a non-official Conference of representatives of the various co-operative financing institutions, at which the Registrars and Government officials were invited to be present and take part in the discussion of the financial problems.

The resolution below,* as adopted at the Registrars' Conference, shows that that body recognized the necessity

* 4. *Liquidation of Old Debts.*—(1) This Conference is of opinion that it is desirable that well-conducted Village Societies should undertake liquidation of old debts as far as possible and consistent with the current needs of the members, but no such society should take up the work until it is in a position to lend money for a sufficiently long period to enable members to repay their loans to it from their income.

(2) It is recognized that Provincial Banks and Central Banks may lend a portion of such funds as they are in a position to invest for a long term in assisting Village Societies to take up the work of liquidation of old debts.

(3) This Conference is of opinion that a society undertaking liquidation of debts on a large scale should prepare definite schemes after ascertaining carefully the debts, both secured and unsecured, of the members and the lands they hold, and that in this work it should be assisted by the Union staff, the staff of the Central Bank, or officers of the Co-operative Department. Such schemes might follow the general line given in the Bombay circular on the subject.

of the existing credit institutions exercising great caution at the time of undertaking work of this nature. In saying that this work should be undertaken "consistent with the current needs," the Conference desired to lay great stress on the fact that the primary duty of these societies is to make sufficient provision for the current needs of their members. Stress has been laid on the necessity of restricting these new activities to the capacity of societies to lend money for a "sufficiently long period to enable the members to pay from their income." Although some debt redemption work will be undertaken under this resolution, as the Bombay Provincial Bank has been able to do on account of its guaranteed long-term debentures, it will be very little compared with the needs of the movement, and therefore it was thought necessary to adopt the resolution regarding Land Mortgage Banks, which runs as follows:

2. *Land Mortgage Banks.*—(1) Mortgage Banks based on co-operative principles are desirable in many parts of India. No transaction should be undertaken which is not economically profitable to the borrower.

(2) *Objects.*—The principal objects should be:

(a) The redemption of the land and houses of agriculturists.

(b) The improvement of land and of methods of cultivation, and the building of houses of agriculturists.

(c) The liquidation of old debts; and

(d) The purchase of land in special cases to be presented in the bye-laws.

3. *Area and Management.*—The area of operation should be the smallest unit consistent with competent management. The imposition of liability on village Credit Societies or the confinement of mortgage loans to members of such societies is not recommended, but the bank should consult the Village Society in the case of all loans to members of such a society. Where there is no legal obstacle, preferably a mortgage with possession should be taken, and the mortgagor should be retained as a tenant of the bank.

Punctuality in payment should be rigidly enforced in Mortgage Banks.

A similar resolution was adopted at the Provincial Banks Conference. It now rests with the Government of India

to take action on the recommendation of the two most important co-operative bodies in the country. There is no need of awaiting the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, as that Commission can hardly say anything new on this subject which is not known at present by the leading co-operators and agricultural economists in the country. Moreover, a definite scheme for the establishment of such a bank has been sent up to the Bombay Government by the Registrars' Co-operative Societies in consultation with the Provincial Banks, which will have to be considered before the Royal Commission submits its report.

All co-operators recognize—and none more than myself—that the work of debt redemption will have to be slow and must be begun in compact selected areas. The movement will have to grow from below, and ought not to be forced from above. As stated in the first resolution of the Registrars' Conference quoted above, a detailed scheme will have to be made by each society. The preparation of such a scheme presupposes a knowledge of the economic conditions of the members of the society. Such knowledge we don't possess for any Province. Attempts were made first in Bombay by James McNeill—now the High Commissioner for Ireland—and then in other Provinces for finding out the agricultural indebtedness of selected areas. This kind of work will have to be done by each society before applying for loans to the Land Mortgage Banks. As the work of liquidation of existing debts is bound to be slow if it is to be steady and continuous, the earlier the recommendations of these Conferences are accepted by the Government of India without any unnecessary delay the better it will be for the movement.

In the earlier years of this movement, the Registrar and his non-official co-workers had thought it necessary to confine their activities to the development of agricultural credit, and even now greater attention is naturally paid in an agricultural country like India to the agricultural needs of the country. This does not, however, mean that the

other sides of the movement have been ignored. It is true that the number of non-agricultural societies is very small, as said above—*i.e.*, 5,432—compared with 64,281 Agricultural Societies; but their working capital is as high as 37 per cent. of the working capital of the Agricultural Societies. Even among the non-agricultural societies a very large number belong to the credit type. The chief among the non-credit type are the Weavers' Societies, Housing Societies, Societies for Carpenters or Tanners, and a few Insurance Societies—the last mainly in Burma.

The growth of the movement as a whole must be considered satisfactory. The Chairman of the Registrars' Conference was quite right when he said:

“The Raiffeisen type of societies has proved so successful here, that we may well see in it a message of hope; for if Germany, after fifty years of effort on co-operative lines, was able to break the power of the money-lender and gradually convert her societies from credit to thrift, there should be good reason to expect that similar efforts will in due time produce similar results here. I do not say that fifty years will suffice for India. The task here is so much the greater, and there are special obstacles peculiar to the country and its social system which will only be overcome by prolonged persistent efforts.”

He was at the time referring to the agricultural credit side only, but the co-operators in India are alive to the necessity of spreading their activities over other fields also; and if the official and non-official co-operators will go on working in the same harmonious spirit as they have done, there is no reason why India should not, on account of reduction—I will not say effacement—of agricultural indebtedness and the consequent agricultural improvements, be able to take its place in line with the economically advanced countries of the West.

THE INDIAN STATES

III.—BARODA. CAPITAL OF THE GAEKWARS

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

INDIAN States, with a few exceptions, of which Kashmir is the most important, are called after their capitals. Baroda follows the general rule, and the State is called after the chief town, or rather city, which the Gaekwars made their capital towards the close of the eighteenth century.

The family came originally from a village in the Poona district of the Bombay Presidency. They were Mārāthā peasants of fairly good position, being patels or headmen, and it is generally thought that the name originally meant cowherd or herdsman. In after years, when the family rose to eminence, an attempt was, if I remember right, made to establish a Rajput origin and to claim that the name Gaekwar was bestowed on the head of the family in recognition of his rescuing some cows from Muhammadan butchers. It was also said then that the name means cow protector, or gate for cows. However this may be, the family came to the front about the time the Brahmins, who took the place of Sivaji's descendants, had taken the title of Peshwa, and were sending, yearly, hordes of Mārāthās all over India. These great raids always started at the end of the monsoon, the annual rains, in the Hindi month Kaitik, which corresponds to our October. The great festival of the Dussera was always taken as the date for assembling the raiders, who did not return till just before the beginning of the next rainy season.

Among these the Gaekwar family soon obtained a character for courage and power of leadership, and they

were given by the Peshwas the command of the Mārāthā armies, who harried the west of India. This portion of the great Continent of India is called Gujerat, and the language is Gujerathi. It is spoken by ten or twelve millions, and resembles Hindi, but is much interspersed with Arabic and Persian, for the Malabar Coast, as the western shores of India are called, was much frequented for many centuries by adventurers, sailors and soldiers, from Arabia and from the Persian Gulf. It was the first land in India seen by the bold Vasco da Gama, after he had rounded the Cape of Storms, which he renamed the Cape of Good Hope. And the Portuguese and other European nations, who came east by that route, founded their earliest settlements in Gujerat. Surat and Broach, at the mouths of the Tapti and Narbada Rivers, were, from the first, great trading centres, and the English merchants, at the former place, successfully resisted even the great Sivaji when he attempted to plunder their warehouses. North of Surat is the Gulf of Cambay, which receives the Mahi and Sabarmati, on the latter of which stands the important city of Ahmadabad, once the seat of a great Muhammadan kingdom, of which the stately mosques and the tombs of its rulers still remain. This kingdom was subdued by the great Mughals at Delhi, and Gujerat became one of the provinces of the Delhi Empire. It became more Muhammadan than Hindu, and Baroda, which is near Ahmadabad, still preserves, in numerous Muslim buildings, traces of the long period the Muhammadans ruled there. After the death of Aurengzebe, the last of the great Mughal emperors, in 1707, the power of the Empire rapidly declined, and the hold of the emperors on the outlying provinces almost ceased. Incessant raids from the Deccan, which gradually became more regular, tore away the last traces of Muhammadan rule, and the Mārāthās became the ruling race in Western India. The first Dāmāji Rao Gaekwar became second-in-command of the Mārāthā armies in the beginning of the eighteenth century. This Dāmāji Rao and his nephew, Pilāji Rao,

who was the actual founder of the family, followed by his grand-nephew, Dāmāji Rao II., reduced practically the whole of Gujerat, and in 1753 the Mārāthā armies took Ahmadabad, and so destroyed the last vestige of Muhammadan rule.

The Gaekwars originally established themselves at Songarh, which is the real cradle of the family, and made it their capital. Their rule soon became permanent, and they no longer returned to the Deccan after their raids. They left Songarh and moved to Baroda after the capture of Ahmadabad, and made it their headquarters, which it has remained up to the present. It is inland from the Gulf of Cambay, and stands on a small river, little more than a deep dry nullah in the hot weather, which is of no use for navigation or irrigation, but has to be crossed by several fine bridges. It has no very remarkable old buildings, but is surrounded by many noble groves of fine trees, overshadowing the tombs of many Muslim nobles, saints, and fakirs. There are also many large *baolis* or covered wells, spacious and deep, with successive galleries of carved stone leading to the water by broad flights of steps, through rows of stone pillars and pilasters (*vide* account of Baroda in Thornton's "Life of Sir R. J. Meade," p. 158). The city, which has a population considerably over 100,000, is not fortified; but the central portion, where the old palace is, has walls, and became the stronghold of the Gaekwars. The rest of the city was, and is, an open town, covering a great deal of ground, and is a great trading centre. The main streets are flanked with fine houses and shops belonging to tradesmen, merchants, bankers, and nobles; and near the western gate (*vide* Caine, "Picturesque India") are, or were, interesting aviaries and menageries, with extensive *filkhanas*, or elephant stables, where in olden days a hundred of the finest elephants, with magnificent golden trappings, were kept at an enormous cost. These adjuncts of Hindu royalty are to-day very much reduced in numbers, but even now the Maharajah

and his train, when he rides out in state processions, present a fine appearance; and the great contests of elephants, rams, and other animals, in the great arena are interesting to those who are fortunate enough to see them. All this magnificence was handed down, to the rough conquerors from the Deccan, by the old Muhammadan rulers, who, though only the satraps of Delhi, kept up much of the magnificence of the Imperial Court. The Emperor Shah Jehan, afterwards the most regal and magnificent of the great Mughals, was for a time the Governor of the province of Gujerat, and lived at Ahmadabad, where his palace, called the Shahi Bagh, is now the residence of the Commissioner of the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency. The territories reduced by the Gaekwars were chiefly occupied by Rajput chiefships, and these were left as they were under the Muhammadans, but had to pay a fourth part of their revenue, under the name of "chouth," to the Mārāthās. Of these small chiefships some seventy-eight are in the Kathiawar peninsula, and several others lie in the Bombay Political Agencies, Palanpur, Mahi Kantha, and Rewa Kantha. The Mārāthās, though Hindus, were, and are, unpopular in Northern and Western India. They came there as conquerors, and showed as little consideration for those whom they subdued as the Prussians did for France. They were foreigners, and could only maintain their position by armed force. So we find that all the Mārāthā leaders were great soldiers, and devoted themselves to the upkeep of a strong force in their territories. At the great battle—the third fought on the same plain—of Paniput, the Gaekwar was present, but managed to escape the destruction of the majority of the Mārāthā chiefs and their armies. This was in 1761, and it practically put an end to the Mārāthā Confederacy, and left the various leaders practically independent. The earlier Gaekwars were able soldiers, and established their authority all over Gujerat and Kathiawar, but to maintain it and to levy the tribute from the Rajput and Muhammadan

nobles they had to keep up a large standing army, which under the name of "an army on circuit" collected their dues. This was, of course, largely composed of their own countrymen from the Deccan, who were bound to them by ties of kinship and of self-interest; but it was also largely augmented by recruits from the north of India, and also by Arabs, who took service in great numbers in the States of India. These mercenaries were necessary to keep the native population of Western India in control, and to force them to pay up the exactions, often cruelly enforced, of the Mārāthā rulers; but at times the mercenaries turned against their paymasters, with whom they had no real sympathy, and it was one of these revolts which brought the Gaekwars in touch with the British. Very early in the nineteenth century the Arabs revolted, and besieged Anand Rao, the then Gaekwar, in his fortified palace. At that time Surat had recently been created a Presidency, and the headquarters of the British East India Company in Western India. It is not far from Baroda, and Anand Rao solicited help from Mr. Duncan, who was then the head of the Company at Surat. His doing so led to the end of the independent existence of the Baroda State, for Mr. Duncan at once complied, and sent a force to Baroda, on the Gaekwar's invitation, which, indeed, easily subdued the Arab revolt, but established instead the rule of the British. Colonel Walker, who commanded the force sent, became in due course the first of a long line of British Residents who have generally been influential in directing the affairs of the Baroda State.

The first treaty between the East India Company (British Government) and the Baroda State is dated 1802, and by it certain districts were handed over by the Durbar for the upkeep of a force of all arms in the State, for the protection of the Gaekwar and his family from external and internal foes.

A large tract of land, as a cantonment, was ceded in full sovereignty for this force. The British Residency

was built for our representative. The building stands in extensive grounds, which include a walled-in cemetery, large gardens, and fields for grazing. An English church was erected, and good bungalows for the officers of the Baroda Force. Unfortunately, want of proper hygiene and sanitation, coupled with a faulty water supply, made Baroda very unhealthy for Europeans, and the numerous graves in the cemetery testify to the heavy toll on the younger officers and men who were quartered there. Eventually only one Indian infantry regiment was left at Baroda, the commandant commanding the station, and one of his officers being cantonment magistrate, under the general supervision of the Resident. One of the provisions of the agreements between the British Government and the Gaekwar was to relieve the Durbar of the collection of the Gaekwar's dues from his tributary states and landowners in Gujerat and Kathiawar. These were paid over to the political authorities, by whom the money was handed to the Durbar. This arrangement entirely withdrew these people from the harassing visits of the Baroda "army on circuit," and has, I believe, worked well. The Presidency of the Western Government of the East India Company was soon after transferred to Bombay, after which it has since been named, and there is no doubt that several of its most profitable districts passed under British sway in this peaceful and satisfactory way, without any expenditure on the part of our Government. It was, indeed, a most remarkable extension of territory much approved by those who came under British rule, and who have benefited from it ever since. The extension of means of communication, increase in population, and other causes have certainly made the districts ceded far more valuable than they were when we took them over. But no one, I believe, would venture to question that this is the result of Western civilization, and due to the establishment of law and order by a strong and even-handed administration. It is not possible, in the limits of this article, to go fully into the history of the State

during the fifty years between the first agreement between the British Government and Baroda.

In 1857, when nearly all India was affected by the great mutiny of the Bengal army, this did not extend to the Western Presidency except to a very small degree ; but the echoes of the storm were heard in Gujerat, and the ruler of Baroda, then Maharajah Khande Rao, like his brother Mārāthā princes at Indore, and Gwalior, threw in his lot with the "Sirkar" and gave the British very material help, especially in the way of transport for our armies going north. The Maharajah's assistance was cordially rewarded by a grateful British Government after the suppression of the great revolt. He was created a G.C.S.I., and received various material concessions as rewards for what he had done.

To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

OPIUM IN CHINA AND INDIA

BY SIR RICHARD M. DANE, K.C.I.E.

ON February 28, 1909, an International Opium Commission, sitting at Shanghai and composed of delegates from U.S.A., Great Britain, Japan, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, Russia, Portugal, Persia, Siam, and China, recognized in their first resolution "the unswerving sincerity of the Chinese Government in their efforts to eradicate the production and consumption of opium throughout the Empire." At present the poppy is grown in practically every province of China in which opium can be profitably produced, and China is said to be producing more opium than any country in the world.

The decision of the Chinese Government to free the country from opium was announced in a decree issued by the Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi on September 20, 1906. The increasing poverty and weakness of the Chinese were ascribed to the opium habit, and a period of ten years was fixed within which the evils arising from foreign and native opium were to be completely eradicated.

The late Sir John Jordan, who was much interested in the opium question, reported officially as British Minister that the decree was issued on the initiative of Mr. Tong Shao-yi, a Cantonese, who was then a Minister under the Imperial Government. Mr. Tong had visited India in connection with the negotiation of a Tibet trade convention, and had gathered, while he was there, from conversations with Sir Edward Baker and other members of the Government of India, that Indian revenue considerations would not be permitted to bar the introduction in China of measures for the suppression of the opium trade. On his return to China he accordingly induced the Government

to adopt the policy of complete prohibition. The Chinese Government was also encouraged to take action by the debate in the House of Commons on May 30, 1906, on the motion brought forward by Mr. Theodore Taylor, in the course of which Mr. (afterwards Lord) Morley said that "he thought he might say that to any plan for the restriction of the consumption of opium brought forward in good faith the Government of India and H.M. Government would say that they would agree to it, even though it might cost them some sacrifice." As a result of the debate the House of Commons reaffirmed its conviction "that the Indo-Chinese opium trade was morally indefensible," and requested H.M. Government to take such steps as might be necessary for bringing it to a speedy close.

The policy of prohibition appears to have been inspired by three motives. Firstly, there was the question of morality. Many Chinese are sincerely opposed to opium, and the first formal prohibition of its importation, in the time of the Emperor Keaking, appears to have been dictated entirely by moral considerations. As to this, however, it must not be forgotten that tobacco smoking was similarly prohibited in the time of the last Ming Emperor (A.D. 1628-44); but the prohibition was not enforced. Secondly, there was a legitimate desire on the part of the Chinese to strengthen their country by the abolition of an enervating habit. Thirdly, there was an intense antipathy to foreign opium, as an article from which foreigners were making large profits, and which was associated in their minds with the humiliation which China had sustained at the hands of men whom in her heart of hearts she hated and despised. Personally, I think that this third motive was the driving power in the prohibition campaign; and the backsliding which has occurred since the disappearance from the scene of Indian opium supports this view.

The revenue derived from opium by the Imperial and Provincial Governments when the decree was issued was

large. The revenue from the Customs duty on foreign opium is understood to have been £1,800,000, and the annual gross revenue which was derived from the taxation of native opium was estimated by the Chinese delegates to the International Opium Commission at 25,000,000 taels—about £3,000,000 at the then rate of exchange. But in the first ardour of the anti-opium campaign financial considerations were disregarded.

The campaign itself was a notable episode. Regulations were framed for the restriction of poppy cultivation, for the closure of saloons for the smoking of opium on the premises, for the licensing of shops, and for the enforced discontinuance of the habit by officials. The British Government was approached in January, 1907, and in January, 1908, it was agreed that with effect from that year the Government of India would reduce for three years the annual exports of opium from India (then 67,000 chests) by 5,100 chests, this being one-tenth of the amount (51,000 chests) which was admittedly exported to China, provided that an equivalent decrease was made in the production of opium in China and in the imports of Persian and Turkish opium. In the provinces the policy of prohibition was pursued with enthusiasm. Attention was at first principally directed to the suppression of consumption, and in some provinces drastic measures were taken against opium smokers. But as the campaign proceeded, it became apparent that the suppression of poppy cultivation was the only practical way of getting rid of the drug, and this measure was prosecuted with great vigour. In Shansi twenty farmers were shot dead and thirty were wounded for cultivating the poppy in defiance of orders. In Yunnan, where opposition was offered by a combination of Lolo tribesmen and Chinese, fourteen persons are said to have been decapitated; and in Hunan, when Mr. Rose visited the province in 1913, the authorities stated that in one prefecture 200 farmers had lost their lives in an attempt to save their crops from destruction.

By 1910 it was clear that the Chinese Government was carrying out its undertaking; and on May 8, 1911, a formal agreement was signed at Peking, by which the British Government undertook to continue the 10 per cent. reduction of the annual exports of Indian opium to China, and to discontinue the export in less than seven years if the production of native opium were completely stopped; and also agreed that Indian opium should not be conveyed into any province of China in which the cultivation of the poppy had been effectively suppressed. This agreement left to the Chinese complete control over retail sales, and in some provinces Indian opium was unjustifiably seized and destroyed. But the campaign was conducted on the whole with great goodwill on the part of both Governments, and the inspections of provinces, which were made by joint commissions of British and Chinese officials, acted as an incentive to Chinese zeal.

As province after province was inspected and reported to be free from poppy cultivation, it became clear that the production of opium in China was likely to be suppressed before the expiration of the seven years, and that, if the importation of Indian opium were continued, even in the restricted quantities which had been agreed upon, there would be large stocks of it in Hongkong and China which could not legitimately be disposed of. In these circumstances the cessation of the export to China of Indian opium was seen to be inevitable, and the opium merchants themselves petitioned that further export might be discontinued. In January, 1913, it was accordingly announced that the Government of India had decided to stop the export to China of Indian opium; and the last sale at Calcutta of opium for export to China took place in April of that year. A net annual revenue of about £3,000,000 was voluntarily relinquished, and the Rulers of the opium-producing states in Central India and Rajputana were constrained to take part in this moral reform. I doubt, however, if there is any Briton who is not glad that the

export to China of Indian opium has been discontinued. If the Chinese will not give up opium, it is better that they should consume the produce of their own country.

The disposal of the stocks of Indian opium in Hongkong and the Treaty Ports of China offered much difficulty. In the beginning of 1914 the stocks were about 10,000 chests, and the area to which the opium could legitimately be sold was steadily decreasing. The stocks were gradually reduced, but the opium commanded enormous prices. The temptation was great, and, after some hesitation, action was taken which cast suspicion on the unswerving sincerity of the Chinese Government. Rumours of schemes, in which high Chinese officials were interested, for the purchase of this opium and for its sale to the public, began to circulate. Public opinion, Chinese and foreign, was for three years strong enough to prevent these schemes from materializing, but in 1918 the 1,200 chests then remaining were actually purchased by the Government. The transaction was much criticized, and protests were lodged by the British and American Ministers, and Mr. Hsu Shih-chang, who was then President of the Republic, ordered the opium to be destroyed.

By the beginning of 1915 the production of opium in China had been reduced to very small proportions. In January and February of that year, I travelled through places in Yunnan and Szechuan, which were formerly important producing centres, but saw no poppy. It was still cultivated in the territory occupied by the aboriginal tribes and in the Shan States on the border of Burma; and, at the time of my visit, opium was being smuggled from Yunnan into Kwangtung through Indo-China. This, however, was a comparatively small matter. Throughout China, the quantity of opium available for consumption had been enormously reduced.

An important fact which emerges from the situation thus created has hitherto escaped notice. The quantity of opium exported from India to China in 1907 was taken to be 51,000 chests, and there was also some importation of

Persian and Turkish opium, though the amount was not large. The quantity of opium annually produced in China was estimated in 1905 by Dr. Morse, the able Statistical Secretary of the Chinese Maritime Customs Department, at 376,000 chests; and Mr. Tang Kao-an, one of the Chinese delegates to the International Opium Commission, insisted that "no manipulation of figures could alter the fact that more than 600,000 piculs" (approximately 600,000 chests) "of opium were consumed annually within the Empire up to the year 1906." If we take Dr. Morse's estimate, which is lower than Mr. Tang's, we have the fact that the amount of opium produced in and imported into China at the time when the policy of prohibition was adopted was not less than 427,000 chests a year; and the quantity consumed in any one year is not likely to have differed materially from the quantity produced and imported. Opium smoking was not eradicated. Stocks of the drug were purchased and held by wealthy persons as soon as they realized that prohibition was seriously intended; and the suppression of poppy cultivation and the restriction and eventual discontinuance of the recognized exports of Indian opium led to much smuggling from Siberia, where the production of opium has been found to be practicable, and from the Portuguese settlement of Macao and other places in the East to which Indian opium was still exported. But even if we assume that the quantity of smuggled opium and hoarded stocks available for consumption amounted in any one year to 50,000 chests, and I think that this is a liberal estimate, it follows that consumption must have been reduced by not less than 377,000 chests, over 23,000 tons a year. In other words, many thousands of Chinese must have been compelled to give up opium smoking. In some cases the habit is said to have been broken off by sheer will power. In others treatment was necessary. On this subject the remarks of Mr. J. F. Brennan, who was one of the British Consular Officers employed in the work of inspection, are worthy of reproduction.

"The breaking off of the opium habit is not such a difficult or lengthy affair as is generally supposed, three weeks or a month being, as a rule, sufficient to effect a cure even in bad cases. The method of treatment adopted in these refuges is as follows: For the first five days the patient is given doses of morphia equivalent to the amount of opium he has been in the habit of consuming; after that the dose is decreased by a tenth until none is given at all, and at the same time the patient is nourished on good food, and is further strengthened by means of ordinary tonic medicines. The difficulty lies in the fact that the victim has usually taken the drug in the first instance to gain relief from some disease, and on his abandoning the habit the malady reappears."

The facility with which large numbers of Chinese abandoned, for the time at any rate, the use of the drug shows that, even in China, there has been much exaggeration in regard to the opium habit. The Royal Opium Commission of 1893-95 did not visit China, and the question of the Indian opium trade with China was not, it must be admitted, disposed of by their Report. But the Commission was composed of able and independent men; and the conclusions at which they arrived, with only one dissentient voice, on the subject of the opium habit, as ordinarily practised in India, merit reproduction. That opium almost everywhere in India is the common domestic medicine of the people, that it is extensively used for non-medical and quasi-medical purposes, and that the non-medical uses are so interwoven with the medical uses that it would not be practicable to draw a distinction between them in the distribution and sale of the drug: that as regards the use of opium as a stimulant, the practice of taking the drug in pills or infusions is of old standing and is generally followed in moderation and without injurious consequences: and that as to the quasi-medical habit the evidence of medical witnesses leads to the conclusion that in the circumstances of India in respect to climate, diet, modes of living and medical aid, this use is probably on the whole beneficial.

It is not clear that the actual smoking of opium is necessarily more injurious than the eating of the drug, provided that the object with which it is smoked, and the associations and surroundings in which the smoking takes place, are not in themselves objectionable. The Straits Settlements Opium Commission, which reported in 1908, was of opinion that the smoking of the prepared extract "is by far the least deleterious method of using opium." In India the feeling against opium-smoking is probably due to the fact that the smoking usually takes place in brothels and amid disreputable surroundings and is connected with sensuality. There is undoubtedly an immoral as well as a moral use of opium, but in China, as in India, opium is doubtless often used as a restorative or for medical or quasi-medical purposes, and its use for such purposes may be comparatively harmless or even be actually beneficial.

The abuse of opium is, of course, a serious evil, but the abuse of alcohol is also a serious evil. The two habits are comparable. Opium appears to have a special attraction for some races and alcohol for others. The abuse of alcohol is a more serious evil for the individual and for the persons with whom he is brought in contact, but opium, even when used in moderation, has an enervating tendency and is, therefore, for a nation a more dangerous thing. Apart from other considerations, the smoking of opium is an expensive habit, as the amount of the drug which is commonly used by the smoker is considerably larger than the amount used by the eater: say 50 grs. to 5 grs. The quantity also of raw opium which is lost in the manufacture of the smoking extract (chandu) is not less than 30 per cent., and if the opium is of low consistence it may be more, and this loss of raw opium adds to the expense. The poor in China cannot afford an expensive habit. In China there can be no question of limiting the use of opium and its derivatives to medical purposes. There must either be complete prohibition or complete license. The evils

arising from the abuse of opium are so serious that prohibition is probably preferable; but, in my opinion, the Chinese should be allowed to deal with the matter in their own way. Pressure to induce them to repeat the violent proceedings of 1906-15 does not appear to be justifiable.

By anti-opiumists in this country and by American writers and speakers the extent of the responsibility of Great Britain and India for the use of opium in China has been enormously exaggerated. A trade in opium in the East existed before the Portuguese doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and the Portuguese were the first Europeans to take part in the trade. From the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf the trade to Malacca was in the hands of the Arabs, and the opium carried was Turkish and Indian (Malwa) and possibly Persian. The Turks in Europe at this time were aggressive, and D'Albuquerque made war upon all Muhammadans, whom he regarded as Turks. But he treated kindly some Chinese, whom he found at Malacca; and a trading settlement was established by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century at Macao, near the mouth of the Canton river in China.

In a letter written from Cananor to the King of Portugal on December 1, 1515 (which was found in the Portuguese archives by Mr. Danvers, the head of the Record Department at the India Office), D'Albuquerque makes the following remarkable reference to the opium trade: "I also send you a man of Aden who knows how to work afyam and the method of collecting it. If Your Highness would believe me, I would order poppies of the Azores to be sown in all the fields of Portugal and command afyam to be made, which is the best merchandise that obtains in these places and by which much money is made. . . . Afyam is nothing else, Senhor, but the milk of the poppy: from Cayro where it used to come, none comes now from Aden: therefore, Senhor, I would have you order them to be sown and cultivated, because a shipload would be used yearly in India and the labourers would gain much also,

and the people of India are lost without it if they do not eat it: and set this fact in order for I do not write to Your Highness an insignificant thing."

Duarte Barbosa, another Portuguese of note, whose narrative was published in A.D. 1516-18 and is translated into English in Hakluyt's "Voyages," makes several references to the opium trade. "This city of Malacca," he writes, "is the richest trading port, and possesses the most valuable merchandise and most numerous shipping and extensive traffic that is known in the world. They" (merchants Moorish and Gentile) "bring thither opium and other merchandise and drugs from Cambay. They" (the Chinese) "go with all these goods to Malacca, where they also carry much iron, saltpetre and many other things, and for the return voyage they ship there Sumatra and Malabar pepper, of which they use a great deal in China, and drugs of Cambay, much anfiem which we call opium, wormwood . . . and many other things." Cambay, on the west coast of India, was then a place of importance.

It is clear also from Barbosa's account that Malwa opium was taken at that time to Burma and Siam as well as to China.

The Portuguese destroyed the so-called Moorish trade, and the Manchu Emperors crushed the activities of the Chinese maritime population, and the trade between China and the countries to the west passed gradually into the hands of the Europeans.

In addition to Barbosa's references, we have the evidence of Cæsar Fredericke, a Venetian, who travelled in the East for eighteen years, and published an account of his travels in or about A.D. 1581. Fredericke describes at some length two ventures in opium which he made to Burma from Cambay and the port of Chawl on the west coast of India: "And for, because that at my departure from Pegu, opium was in great request, I went then to Cambay, to employ a good round sum of money in opium, and there I bought sixty parcels." His expectation of large profits was not,

however, realised, as a ship from Cambay, bound for Assi (Acheen?) with "great quantity of opium there to lade pepper," was driven by adverse winds to Pegu the day before he arrived, so that opium, which was "before very dear," fell to a "base price." He was compelled, therefore, to remain for two years to dispose of his opium. Notwithstanding this disappointment, on his return to India he went to Chawl and laid in another stock of opium, with which he travelled back to Pegu and there disposed of it at a good profit. "Once more," he writes, "I lost occasion to make me rich, for whereas I might have brought a good store of opium again, I brought but a little, being fearful of my other voyage before. On this small quantity I made good profit." Fredericke also mentions the fact that opium was brought to Pegu by ships from Mecca, and that Cambay opium was the only commodity that could profitably be brought from the Indies (*sic*) to Pegu at that time.

British officers in Burma, concerned at the effects of opium smoking on the Burmese, have stated that opium was unknown in Burma until the country was conquered and annexed by the British. In so far as these statements may have been intended to mean that the evil effects of opium smoking on the Burmese had followed the British conquest of the country, the statements are probably true enough. In Burma, as in China, the smoking of an extract of pure opium appears to have been a comparatively recent habit. It is true also that the annexation of Arakan to Bengal in 1826, after the first Burmese war, and its treatment as a province of India, did lead to an increased consumption of opium by Burmans, as the regulations for sale of opium in Bengal were not stringent. But the statements, if taken literally, are incorrect; and so far from opium being unknown in Burma, it is probable that it was through Burma that opium first found its way into Yunnan in China.

In India the true home of the poppy appears to have

been Malwa, the fertile elevated plateau in Central India, all of which belongs to Native States. The climate, soil, and agricultural conditions are specially suited for the production of opium; and it is doubtful if any other crop can have the same value for the peasant farmers, who cultivate the land, or for the ruling princes, who collect their revenues from the produce.

Shekh Abul Fazl wrote the Akbarnameh, or description of the administration of India under the Emperor Akbar in A.D. 1590, and in this work he says that the poppy was then cultivated in all the territorial divisions of Northern India from Allahabad to Multan, and specially mentions the excellence of the crop in Malwa, and the habit of the people there of giving opium to their children until they were three years old. It is noteworthy that he does not mention Behar, where for many years the greater part of the opium sent to China was produced, as an important opium centre, though he refers to the excellence of the rice and sugar-cane. Ralph Fitch, however, an Englishman, who travelled in the East from A.D. 1583 to 1591, and who visited Patna, describes it as a "very long and great town," where there was "very much opium and other commodities." It seems clear, therefore, that the poppy was cultivated and opium was produced in Behar before the end of the sixteenth century.

When the Dutch ousted the Portuguese from the control of the Eastern seas, the trade between India and the Malay Archipelago fell into their hands; but the Portuguese trade with their settlement at Macao, at the mouth of the Canton river in China, does not appear to have been interrupted.

Mr. F. C. Danvers, in a memorandum compiled by him from the records at The Hague of the Dutch East India Company, quotes an account of the Company's trade in 1613 in which it is said that 200 pounds of opium were annually sold in the Malaccas, and that the drug was profitably sold in Siam, Pegu, and China. After the

capture of Malacca by the Dutch in 1640, opium was taken by them to Batavia, and in 1676 a monopoly of this trade was granted to them by the native Ruler. Malwa opium was first taken, but in 1659 the Dutch began to carry Bengal or Behar opium from the Hugli. For some years after opium was provided by contract for sale on behalf of the English East India Company at Calcutta, the standard for the opium which the contractors undertook to supply was the best opium of the Dutch East India Company.

Tobacco cultivation and tobacco smoking are said to have been introduced into China from the Philippine islands, and opium smoking was in the first instance a development of tobacco smoking. Kaempfer, the Westphalian, saw the Javanese smoking tobacco steeped in opium in 1689; and Francois Valentyn, a Dutchman, who wrote in 1726, says that the Javanese are madat smokers and opium eaters. Madat or madak is the word used in India to denote the calcined leaves steeped in opium, which are smoked in a pipe in the same way as tobacco. The Dutch conquered Formosa in 1624 and held it until 1661, and the habit of smoking tobacco and other ingredients steeped in opium appears to have spread from Java to Formosa as a result of the Dutch occupation. A Chinese work, published in Formosa in 1746, and translated by Dr. Edkins, of the Chinese Customs Department, contains extracts from earlier works, in one of which opium smoking as then practised is thus described: "Opium for smoking is prepared by mixing hemp and the grass cloth plant with opium and cutting them up small. This mixture is boiled with water in a copper pan or tripod. The opium so prepared is mixed with tobacco. A bamboo tube is also provided, the end of which is filled with fibres from the coir palm." The method thus described is very similar to the madak smoking practised in India.

The English East India Company traded to some extent in opium, and in 1683 orders were issued to make opium a part of the Company's investment. Opium was carried

from Bengal to Bencoolen and Balambangan in Sumatra for sale; but while Bengal was under native rule, the Company does not appear to have taken a specially prominent part in the trade. After the battle of Plassey, however, the Company's servants at Patna began to compete actively with the Dutch for the purchase of opium. The French and the Danes also took part in the traffic. The proximity of Bengal to the Malay Archipelago, which was then the principal market for the sale of opium, assisted Behar opium in its competition with Malwa opium from Central India, and Behar became in time the principal opium-producing centre in India. The competition between the European companies led to disputes, and, although the Company's servants at Patna gradually acquired control, disputes were not entirely prevented. In 1773 a monopoly of the provision of opium for export in Behar and Bengal was accordingly assumed by the East India Company on the ground, as was said in the resolution on the subject, "that the trade could not be laid open at this juncture without being productive of evil consequences to the ryots and the country." Notwithstanding the dissensions between Warren Hastings and his Council, the decision to assume the monopoly was unanimous. In the resolution the Malays were mentioned as consumers of the opium; and in 1775 the total demand for Indian opium in the Far East was estimated at 3,980 chests. In 1785 it was estimated at 3,500 chests, of which 1,200 were for China and 2,300 were for the Malay Archipelago.

The monopoly was not viewed by the Court of Directors with favour; and in the years from 1775 to 1789 the question whether it should be maintained was considered on several occasions. The decision of 1773 was, however, upheld. A monopoly of the right to supply opium to the European countries appears to have existed under native rule, and a monopoly held openly by the Company was considered to be preferable to any other arrangement for the conduct of the trade.

As Hastings put it in a letter to his Council dated October 15, 1873: "I learn that from the first introduction of the culture of opium into Behar, or at least from a long series of years, it has always been a monopoly and, of course, always in the possession of power and influence." Sir John Macpherson, who succeeded Hastings as Governor General, made a similar statement when the question of the monopoly was considered in 1785. "I very much believe," he said, "that it never was and never can be secured in this country on any footing but that of a monopoly of some kind or other: such are the dispositions and habits of the natives and the peculiar customs of the country." He added that a monopoly of the trade in opium and saltpetre was held for many years by a native merchant, called Fakhr al Tujār, who had the exclusive privilege of supplying the European Companies with these articles, for which he paid an annual rent to the Government.

The interests of the people of the country, of which they were the rulers, were regarded by the Company and its servants as the paramount consideration: and they felt no responsibility for the morals or the health of the consumers of the opium. As Hastings put it: "Opium was a pernicious article of luxury, which the wisdom of Government should carefully restrain from internal consumption."

For twenty-six years after the assumption of the monopoly the opium was provided by contractors. The contract system had, however, serious defects. When the contractors were selected a suspicion of corruption was created. One of the articles in Hastings's impeachment was that he had given the opium contract to one Sullivan in terms that were "glaringly extravagant and wantonly profuse." When the contracts were thrown open to competition, the cultivators were inadequately remunerated and retaliated by adulterating the opium. In 1797, therefore, it was decided that the opium should be provided by Government agency, and the system then introduced subsisted without material alteration until the present century.

For fifty years the trade in Behar opium was not pushed either by the Government of India or by the Court of Directors. The area under poppy was restricted, and the policy of the Company was to raise as large a revenue as possible from the sale of approximately the same quantity of opium as was found to be in demand when they assumed the monopoly, though, with the object of increasing the price obtained for opium at the Calcutta sales, the quality of the drug was improved as much as possible. Until the habit of smoking an extract of pure opium was invented, the demand for opium in China and the Malay Archipelago appears to have remained constant. In 1797-98, the first year of the agency system, the number of chests offered for sale was 4,172, and in the twenty-two years from 1797-98 to 1819-20 the average annual number was 4,089, and the largest number in any one year was 4,966 in 1811-12.

The Company and the Government of India were willing and, indeed, anxious that some of the opium produced should find its way to China, but except on one occasion, in 1781-82, they did not take any part in the trade; and the opium was sold at Calcutta by public auction for export either to the Malay Archipelago or to China by private merchants. In 1781-82, when the Eastern seas were full of French and Dutch privateers and difficulty was experienced in disposing of the opium, Hastings did send a ship to China with 1,601 chests of opium for sale on the Company's account; and another ship was sent to the Archipelago. This venture formed another of the articles in Hastings's impeachment, the charge being that for the purpose of advancing money to the opium contractor, and in order to favour certain individuals, a loan was raised and the Company was engaged in a smuggling venture with China. The speculation was not very successful: the Supercargoes at Canton reported that the importation of opium was strongly prohibited, and the Company in England received, from a Mr. Fitzhugh, a letter which appears to have exaggerated somewhat the penalties nominally

incurred by its importation. The venture was accordingly condemned by the Court of Directors on the ground that it was beneath the dignity of the Company to be engaged in an illicit trade; and the export in future of opium to China for sale on the Company's account was strictly prohibited. It is noteworthy that the Supercargoes in Canton reported in regard to this venture that the demand in China had been adequately met by Malwa opium imported by the Portuguese at Macao; and the Chinese merchant who purchased the opium announced his intention of re-exporting a great part of it to the Malay Archipelago. Although the Supercargoes had some misgivings, the ship containing the opium was brought to the usual anchorage of the Company's ships, and the opium was sold to one of the recognized Chinese monopolists.

The policy of the East India Company may be condemned as deceitful, but a contraband trade surreptitiously and peaceably conducted was less obnoxious to the Chinese than a trade conducted in open defiance of their regulations. It must not be forgotten also that the Company was merely continuing a trade which they found to be in existence when they became rulers of Bengal.

The Malwa opium trade was, as I have shown, much older than the Bengal trade, but for thirty years after the establishment of the monopoly the Government in Bengal does not appear to have been aware of its existence. In 1803 the Government of Bombay was asked to check the trade, but the measures taken were ineffectual. The opium was produced in the Native States in Central India and Rajputana, the Portuguese ports of Diu and Daman were open to the trade, and Sind was at this time independent territory. The opium was taken from Malwa to Karachi and from Karachi to Diu and Daman, and from there it was exported to China. By 1818 law and order had been restored in Malwa after the Pindari War, and the opium industry developed rapidly. In 1820-21 the Government of India attempted to control the market by purchasing in

Malwa the opium produced there for the export trade, but this modified monopoly (as it was called) did not prevent the expansion of the Malwa industry. In 1824, therefore, a policy of restricting the production with the consent of the Native States was decided on. Treaties were negotiated with the Rulers of producing States, which provided for the sale to the British Government of the estimated surplus production of their dominions over and above the amount required for local consumption, and the opium thus purchased was sold by auction for export. Treaties also were negotiated with Udaipur and other States, by which they undertook, for a cash payment, to prevent the transit of opium through their territory. The important producing States of Gwalior and Bhopal, however, declined to enter into any engagements, and the Transit Treaties failed to close the road to Karachi. Serious smuggling affrays occurred; and in 1827 the policy adopted was sharply criticized, in the interest of the people of Central India, by Sir C. Metcalfe, who was then Political Resident at Delhi. The Treaties were said to have been procured by "an improper exercise of our irresistible political influence," and to be "detrimental alike to the people and the Princes." In 1828 he again, as Member of Council, attacked the Treaties; and in 1829 Lord William Bentinck, who was then Governor General, decided that "paramount considerations of justice and good faith" necessitated the abandonment of the attempt to interfere with the production and export of Malwa opium. The Treaties were abrogated; the export of Malwa opium from Bombay was permitted on payment of a duty; and to meet the competition of Malwa the restrictive policy, which had been in force in Bengal for nearly sixty years, was abandoned, poppy cultivation was extended, and the number of chests of opium offered for sale at Calcutta was steadily increased. The Malwa opium trade increased so rapidly after this change of policy that the exports of Malwa opium to China, in the three years from 1836-37

to 1838-39 (48,608 chests), exceeded the Bengal exports (41,104 chests).

The East India Company's monopoly of the China trade was withdrawn in 1834; all British subjects were left without control; and the free traders, many of whom were lawless men, carried the increased quantity of opium thus made available to China in open defiance of Chinese regulations. The opium trade, however, though it was the most important cause, was by no means the only cause of the war of 1839-42.

For many years opium was on the Chinese Customs Tariff at Canton, and was admitted as foreign medicine on payment of a duty, but there is evidence that it was treated as contraband as early as 1764. It appears, however, from Chinese records, that it was contraband merely because it was not included among the articles in which foreign commerce was permitted, and that its importation into Canton, which was the only port open to foreign trade, was not formally prohibited until the first or the fourth year of the Emperor Keaking, A.D. 1796 or 1799. An edict prohibiting opium smoking in Formosa and the vicinity appears to have been issued as early as 1729, but it is clear from Chinese records that this prohibition did not apply to Canton. The discovery that the drug was liable to abuse may, however, have led to its exclusion from the articles in which foreign commerce was permitted.

The wording of the edict of prohibition, which I found in the manuscript records of the East India Company, is inconsistent with the existence of any previous formal prohibition, and other Chinese records appear to show conclusively that no such prohibition existed.

When Hsü Nae-tsi, the Vice-President of the Sacrificial Court, proposed officially, in or about June, 1836, that the importation of foreign opium on payment of duty should be legalized, he said that in the Emperor Kien Lung's reign, and previously, opium was inserted in the

tariff as a medicine and was admitted into Canton, but that its importation was subsequently prohibited.

The Governor and Deputy Governor of Kwangtung also, when reporting on the proposal, on September 7, 1836, said that "in the reigns of Yung Chung and Kien Lung opium was included in the tariff of medicinal drugs, and there was then no regulation against purchasing it or inhaling it"; but that in the fourth year of the reign of Keaking the sale of it was prohibited. The Governor and Deputy Governor were in favour of legalization, but Chu Tsun, a member of the Imperial Inner Council, who was strongly opposed to the proposal, said in his minute on the subject much the same as they did: "In regard to opium special enactments were passed for the prohibition of its use in the first year (*sic*) of Keaking (A.D. 1796), and since then memorials presented at various times have given rise to additional prohibitions."

Opium does not appear to have been known and used in China as early as in India, but Chinese works, referred to in a valuable Historical Note on opium by Dr. Edkins, of the Chinese Customs Service, which was published in 1889, show that the seeds of the poppy were used for medicinal purposes as early as A.D. 973, in the time of the Tang dynasty. The first actual reference to opium, however, which has been discovered, is in a work by Wang Hsi, who died in 1488, in the time of the Ming dynasty. Wang Hsi was for twenty years in charge of the north-west frontier province of Kansu, and the knowledge of opium appears to have reached Kansu from Central Asia. Wang Hsi describes the method of extracting opium, and refers to the value of the drug for treatment of dysentery.

The principal opium-producing provinces in China are Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kweichow in the west and Kansu and Shensi in the north-west, and it is in these provinces that the use and abuse of opium are said to have been most prevalent. It is a most noteworthy fact that Indian opium does not appear to have found its way into these

provinces at any time, except possibly in small quantities for the personal use of the importers. From statistics of the imports of foreign opium into China from 1863 to 1908, which were supplied by the Chinese delegates to the International Opium Commission, it appears that the total number of chests taken inland from the coast as far as Ichang, in the province of Hupeh in Mid-China, in thirty-one years, was sixteen only; and that in the eighteen years ending with 1908 one chest of foreign opium was taken to Chungking in Szechuan in 1894, one in 1906, and one in 1907. The British Consul at Chungking in a report dated April 25, 1881, on the cultivation of the poppy and the use of opium in Szechuan, said: "There appears to be absolutely no genuine Indian opium consumed in Szechuan, unless it be that an official now and again brings a ball with him from Hankow." In a report on opium in West China, which was submitted in the same year, the quantity of Indian opium consumed in Szechuan was estimated by Mr. Spence at seventy piculs (about seventy chests). If Indian opium was only consumed to this trifling extent in Szechuan, to which province there is a well-established trade route by the Yangtse river, it is clear that in the other western provinces, where there are no facilities for transportation, Indian opium must have been unknown. Even into Shansi, the province adjoining on the west the metropolitan province of Chihli, Indian opium does not appear to have ever been imported. The cultivation of the poppy in Yunnan in particular appears to be of long standing, and as the cultivation in Szechuan is said to be of more recent date, the knowledge of the drug appears to have been brought to the province through Burma. Dr. Edkins tells us that in a Chinese history of Yunnan, which was published in 1736, opium was said to be a common product of Yungchangfu, a district in the west of the province; and the extent to which the poppy was cultivated in the Shan States and the tribal country on the Yunnan-Burma border supports the view that the Yunnan cultiva-

tion had a south-western origin. The Chinese delegates to the International Commission mentioned the fact that to this day locally produced opium is known in Yunnan as fu-yung or a-fu-yung, an obvious reproduction of the Persian afyun; while in the maritime provinces the Chinese name for opium is yapien. In 1836 Chu Tsun, who was a Yunnanese, said, in the minute written in opposition to the proposal then under consideration for the legalization of the foreign opium trade, that in Yunnan the poppy was "cultivated all over the hills and the open country, and that the quantity of opium annually produced could not be less than several thousand chests."

The climate of South China is like the climate of Bengal, hot and damp. In Kwangtung, the south-east of Kwangsi, Kiangsi, and the east of Hunan there does not appear to have ever been any large production of opium, and what was produced was probably very inferior. The East India Company tried to produce opium in Lower Bengal, but the product was so bad that the attempt was abandoned.

The great demand for opium, which arose in China at the end of the eighteenth century, was the result of the invention, apparently by a Chinese, of the method of smoking in a special opium pipe a prepared extract of pure opium. In the Historical Note which was submitted to the International Commission by the Chinese delegates it is said: "There is no record to show when opium was first smoked by itself, but it is thought to have originated about the end of the eighteenth century, and to have coincided with the edict of 1796 prohibiting the importation of all opium." This appears to be correct. Sir George Staunton, in his account of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China, says that the "mandarins employed part of their leisure in smoking tobacco mixed with odorous substances and sometimes a little opium." In 1793, therefore, the modern form of the habit does not appear to have been generally known in North China. The edict of prohibition, however, refers to the preparation of an extract from opium, so

that in 1799 the modern form of the habit was evidently practised.

When the great demand arose, Indian and other foreign opium was imported at Canton and native opium was produced in West China. The demand in the east of China was met by an increase in the import of Indian opium for much the same reason that salt is carried by sea from European countries to Calcutta. The Indian opium was better, and was probably also much cheaper owing to the greater facilities for its transportation. The superior quality of the Indian opium doubtless assisted it in the competition, but the preference shown for it appears to have been exaggerated. The areas of consumption of Indian and Chinese opium appear throughout to have been well defined and to have been determined mainly by the ordinary operations of commerce and by the facility of transport from the place of production. The foreign opium area included some of the richest parts of China; and it was in this area that foreigners were prominent. This made foreign opium more conspicuous and also in Chinese eyes more objectionable. By Chinese, inimical to foreigners and unacquainted with their own western provinces, the charge that opium had been introduced by the foreign traders would, therefore, naturally be made.

It is possible that opium, without the admixture of other substances, was first smoked in East China, and if this was the case, the inventor probably used foreign opium. But this is the full extent of the responsibility of foreign opium for the evils which have resulted from the use and abuse of the drug in the western half of China.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, October 18, 1926. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, 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., K.C.S.I., and Lady Dane, General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Edward MacLagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Herbert John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Ernest Wilton, K.C.M.G., Sir Selwyn H. Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir George Shaw, C.S.I., Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. J. S. Dane, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. and Mrs. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. S. N. Mehra, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Martley, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Dr. W. R. Parker, Miss Nina Corner, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Major Roberts, Mr. J. R. O. Johnston, Mrs. Floyd, Mr. F. S. Tabor, Miss Roberts, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Dr. Henry Hall, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. A. B. De, Colonel Jones, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Miss Partridge, Mr. R. Gundy, Mrs. Meyer, Dr. Shah, Dr. Gilbert E. Orme, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject of our talk this afternoon—opium—is rather apt to slip the memories of even those who are most interested in Indian affairs. It had a great story in the past, a variegated story, not always a creditable story, and in recent years its fluctuations have played a very important rôle in the vicissitudes of Indian finance. It is therefore a good and proper thing that our memories should be jogged from time to time on a subject which once possessed very great importance, and there is certainly no person in the world fitter to jog our memories in that respect than the lecturer this afternoon. At one period in his eminent Indian career he took a very prominent part in advising the Government of India and, through them, His Majesty's Government here on questions which had arisen in China of a character with which we are far more familiar to-day than we were then, and to which at that time we gave comparatively little heed. At a subsequent period, in the course of his certainly not less eminent Chinese career, Sir Richard had an opportunity of seeing how the aspirations of those earlier days developed in practice. We hope he will tell us something about both stages this afternoon, but whatever he speaks about will be worth hearing, and we are very much indebted to him for coming and giving us this paper.

Sir RICHARD DANE: It may be asked why I have thought it necessary to spring this question on the public, but the opium question still excites great controversy at Geneva and other places, and people who ought to know better make very misleading statements about it.

In a letter to the *Baltimore Sun* in September, 1925, Senator Borah made the following statement: "Foreign Governments are imposing upon

China the opium trade, and it is undermining and destroying the physical and moral well-being of the whole nation." The Chinese Chargé d'Affaires said at Geneva the other day: "We would refer in this connection to the opium war by the result of which China was compelled to take opium from England." Half-truths, they say, are the worst falsehoods, and I thought it was necessary, in view of the misleading statements of this nature, which are so often made, to give an account of the prohibition campaign for the suppression of opium in China and of the early history of the opium trade in the East.

Sir Richard Dane proceeded to read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are definitely indebted, and we may hope that a larger circle than those within this room will subsequently share our debt, to Sir Richard Dane for the admirably lucid manner in which he has explained the circumstances, to many of us the previously somewhat obscure circumstances, in which Indian opium became one of the staple exports from Calcutta to China. Few thinking Englishmen and few thinking Indians have ever been wholly comfortable about those obscure incidents, or about the degree of responsibility for what subsequently became the regulated commerce between India and China in the product which we know did much moral harm in the latter country.

Of course, it may be said, and said with considerable truth, that even if the charge of forcing opium upon China was to some extent true, it surely has been wiped out by our action subsequently, and more than wiped out by the many humanitarian services that we have since rendered to China in diverse ways. That, however, is an incidental reflection, for we have heard to-night in unmistakable terms and with historic accuracy how His Majesty's Government and the Indian Government, or I should think I might almost say how His Majesty's Government at the persuasion of the Indian Government, gladly and promptly responded to the outburst of apparent zeal in China for the reform of its own domestic evils fifteen or twenty years ago. It was a romantic story; it has been sketched to you to-night; and it was a story for which India has received in the public forum somewhat less than justice, and far too little credit. The demand that China made was based on an undoubted wave of enthusiasm at the time, embracing an element of the Nationalist Movement, with which we have become much more familiar recently—a wave which completely swamped that great pro-Consul Sir John Jordan, and which it is only fair to say was at the time promptly and honourably translated into action by the Chinese authorities of the moment.

I should like to recall here one small incident which I am sure Sir Richard will remember in connection with the policy of those strenuous years. It is associated with the name of a distinguished Englishman, or rather, Scotsman, who was associated with Sir John Jordan in supporting that first outburst of enthusiasm in China, Sir Alexander Hosie. To his lot it fell to carry out the elaborate, difficult, and often dangerous task of touring through the whole of China, visiting every province, visiting very often the most out-of-the-way corners of every province, in order to provide materials for the assurance which the Government of India required, that

genuine efforts were being made on the part of China to suppress their own consumption of opium as a preliminary to the cessation of our exports. For two years Sir Alexander carried out that task, amid much privation and under great hardships, and he embodied the result of his travels in a report which, as a romance of adventure and travel, would rank high among the classics of its sort in the English language. Yet, so little interest was taken in the whole subject in England, that the Foreign Office, for whom Sir Alexander Hosie was acting, did not even take the trouble to print or publish this report. I shall never forget the naïve gratitude with which Sir Alexander acknowledged a copy of our Simla proceedings, which we sent to him as a matter of courtesy, and which included the report printed *in extenso* by our Government Press. It was the first time he had seen it in print, and he was extraordinarily pleased.

The reaction which followed this wave of moral enthusiasm in China was certainly in many ways lamentable. It was, I think it is perfectly fair to say, directly responsible for a loss which need not—I do not put it too highly, I hope—have been so immediate or so drastic a loss to the Indian revenues, a loss to the revenues of many Indian States, a loss to many thousands of Indian peasants. But let that pass. We accepted that when we threw ourselves into association with China in its reform policy. The reaction is more deplorable in other ways, and it is particularly deplorable as it represents the failure of a great nation to put its own house in order.

There is one other element, regrettable in the extreme and difficult to deal with in temperate language, among the consequences of that reaction. I refer to the way in which an attempt has been made by certain sections of fanaticism to cast the blame of that failure upon India and the Indian Government. You know that in recent years the whole question of opium has been the subject of a series of International Conferences at Geneva. I do not think the purpose of those Conferences has been sufficiently appreciated by the world at large. The manner in which a section of the United States delegates aired at these Conferences their vicarious righteousness, and tossed aside as nothing the sacrifices of the Indian Government and many thousands of Indian peasantry, was contemptible to a degree, and we can only assume that it did not represent the volume of the better sense of the American people.

I should like to see the paper which we have heard this afternoon published broadcast in the United States, and I respectfully suggest to the officials of this Association that they might, if they see good, take steps to have it reprinted in some prominent and respectable American periodical. It would help to remove one of the perfectly needless, perfectly baseless prejudices which our good friends across the water are, I am sure, quite unwittingly accumulating against us to-day.

Well, that is the story of recent events. As for the rest of the paper, I think the highest praise that we can give it is to say that both in its erudition and in its moderation of statement it comes up to the best traditions of this Association, to the best work of research into Eastern subjects with which this Association occupies itself.

I should like now to invite the experts, whom I see in the room, on

Chinese subjects and on opium in particular, to continue the discussion, reminding them always that their oratory has to be limited in each case to five minutes.

There is just one point on which probably someone in the room might very lightly touch. It may be within the memory of some of us that, when it became obvious that Indian opium was no longer going to be available for export to China, an attempt was made to see whether the admirable opium grown in Behar and in part of the United Provinces could not be used for the production of the morphine products, which previously came almost exclusively from Asia Minor, and the cultivation of which, or, at least, the export of which had been checked by the war. It was felt that possibly, with necessary improvements in the agriculture, in its tillage or in its production, the opium of India could serve the same purpose of humanitarian and medical aid which the Turkish opium had previously monopolized. What happened to that experiment I personally do not know, but there may be some of the speakers who would be able to discuss it or to suggest some expansion of it in the future.

The discussion is now open.

The SECRETARY: I do not propose to interrupt the discussion, but it may help those who wish to speak to arrange their ideas if I just say that I should like to assure Lord Meston that I, at any rate, will do my best to get this paper circulated.

Most of those present, I dare say, will obtain copies of the ASIATIC REVIEW; but I would just like to ask them if they can interest their friends in this paper, and will let me know at 3, Victoria Street, I will let them have copies, which it is quite easy for us to get from the printers. I hope we shall be able to get quite a large circulation with your assistance.

Sir LOUIS DANE said he would like to inform the meeting that the Association took all possible measures to let it be known in quarters interested that his brother proposed to deliver this lecture; an invitation was sent to the Chinese Legation, to the Anti-Opium Society, and to other societies interested in the opium trade. He very much hoped that some of them would come and, possibly, in the course of the discussion, show that his brother was entirely wrong in his conclusions. However, they had not come, and one could only suppose that the statement that had been made of the case of the opium trade was not questionable. He would like to emphasize one point that had been referred to by the lecturer that the foreign imported opium that came from India and other parts of the world never reached Western China at all, except in the smallest possible quantities; it was too expensive. Those provinces all grew their own opium, and those were the provinces in which the greatest evils from excessive opium consumption were said to exist, so that the evils that existed in the Western Provinces of China in no way owed their origin to the action of India. The Indian opium came by sea into the maritime provinces, so that, at any rate, India was only concerned with having supplied the Eastern part of China.

They had heard a great deal of most interesting old history, and some

might be interested to learn that opium was freely exported to China long before the English were aware of the existence of the sea route to India, or had anything to do with the China trade at all. The price of the opium that came to India from Aden, as compared with the opium that came down from Malwa to Cambay was in the proportion of about three to two, and there was a good deal of import into China, even in those very early days, from Berbera, Aden, Maskat, and Cambay, through Malacca.

The account of Indian and Eastern trade given by Duarte Barbosa was most interesting. He went out with Vasco da Gama in 1500, and served as factor and secretary at Calicut and Cannanore until 1515. He was said to speak Malayan better than the Indians, and translated for da Gama and Albuquerque. In the diligence of his researches he was a second Herodotus. A translation from the original Portuguese manuscript of his work by the late Mr. Mansel Dawes, published in 1921, is well worth reading, and shows how little India has changed in many ways in four centuries.

India and its Government had never got sufficient gratitude for the attitude they took up on the question of the opium trade, and the enormous losses that they sustained in stopping it. Not only did they lose £3,000,000 a year of actual revenue, but it was probable, taking everything into consideration, that, from the beginning of the reduction of export, the actual loss of revenue was nearer £6,000,000 a year. Moreover, the Indian States and the cultivators were put to very heavy and grievous losses by the determination of the Government of India to prohibit the export of opium. He thought India had not much to be ashamed of, and it was most regrettable to think that all these losses were sustained to no purpose because the opium cultivation in China was perhaps now larger than it ever was before, and a larger amount of opium was being produced than the imports from India and the production in China before the stoppage of the trade.

On behalf of the ladies and gentlemen present he would like to say how very much obliged they were to Lord Meston for coming to preside, and to his brother for his exceedingly interesting lecture upon a subject which was not altogether very well known.

Sir ERNEST WILTON said that he desired to express his heartiest thanks to Sir Richard Dane for his instructive paper, and to Lord Meston for his kind reference to the late Sir Alexander Hosie, an old friend of the speaker. He had carried on the task of the latter, and examined jointly with Chinese officials the provinces in which opium was cultivated. After the eradication of the poppy throughout China in 1917, the supply of the drug became scarce and the price prohibitive to all but the rich man; the abuse of alcohol and morphia increased markedly with the suppression of opium cultivation. Of recent years he regretted to say the production had increased considerably, and one reason for this was the poor means of communication which made necessary the production of something valuable in small bulk. Maize and other cereals had been tried, but it was found not profitable owing to difficulties of transport.

With regard to the possibility of curing people of the opium habit, he

thought it was impossible to get reliable statistics, and he doubted if more than one-third of these cures were permanent. One of the chief reasons probably was the recurrence of the old disease for which the opium was originally taken.

The future of China with regard to opium was rather difficult to foresee. He did not agree with Sir Louis Dane in saying that more opium was grown in China than before. Statistics were difficult to secure, but he thought the probable amount was about three-quarters. He did not think that opium consumption could be enforced by statute in view of the present indifference of Chinese public opinion on the subject. It might be that a practical step in this direction would first of all have to be taken by the issue of licences to sell and permits to smoke opium subject to proper control and progressive restriction. He thought, however, that the responsible Chinese rather shrank from taking the initiative in what appeared to be a retrograde step.

Mr. S. M. MALLIK said he would like to add a few words on the Indian aspect of the question. By the prohibition India suffered at least a loss of over 60,000,000 rupees in revenue and many millions again in loss to cultivators and landowners. At that time England was kind enough to promise, if there was any loss it should be repaid, but England had never paid that loss, and India has been made to lose heavily since. He refused to believe that this was done in the interests of morals so long as millions and millions of rupees worth of liquor were being sent into his country, forced right into the heart of the villages in the most distant portions of India.

A LADY MEMBER asked if someone would kindly say if opium had the same permanent injurious effect as alcohol, and what was the effect upon children.

Sir RICHARD DANE: That is a very difficult question. I remember quite well when the Opium Commission of 1893 to 1895 was making its inquiry in India, I said to a distinguished representative of the Canadian missions in that country: "I can quite understand the attitude of a man like yourself who is an absolute prohibitionist, but what I cannot understand is how men can come forward here and say that opium in India is a far greater evil than alcohol." He entirely agreed with me that it was not. I think on the Indian undoubtedly the evil effects of alcohol are greater; whether that is the case with the European or not I do not know. Sir George Birdwood gave evidence before that Opium Commission which was thought to be very extravagant. He said that, for an European, smoking opium was like smoking straw. I went into an opium shop in Mandalay with Mr. Bridges, the Commissioner of the Division, and we both smoked a pipe, and came away agreeing that we felt nothing at all. I do not know what would have been the result of smoking ten pipes, but that was the result of one.

As regards what Sir Ernest Wilton said, I entirely agree with him with regard to the great economic value of opium to the Western Provinces of China, and that is the reason why I do not believe it will ever be suppressed there. It is extremely valuable and portable, and it enables the people in

these provinces to export with facility their surplus product, and obtain in return whatever goods they want from the coast.

I think Sir Ernest rather misunderstood me in my remarks about the curing of the opium habit. I did not mean for a moment that those men who had given it up had given it up for ever. All I said was that it showed that there had been very grave exaggeration in regard to the opium habit. The contention of the anti-opiumists before the 1893-1895 Commission was that there was no such thing as a moderate use of opium, and that it was perfectly impossible for a man to give up the habit. Some Superintendents of Indian gaols appeared before the Commission and said that when a man who was an opium eater was put in gaol, they knocked off the opium at once without any injurious consequences; and I remember that their evidence was considered by some people to be hardly credible. I contend that what has happened in China has proved that although the evils of the abuse of opium may be very great, as long as a man uses it in moderation the evil is not as great as commonly alleged. In China when the quantity of opium available was reduced by some 20,000 tons a year, countless thousands of Chinese must have simply given up the habit, although I dare say they reverted to it as soon as they got a chance. Putting aside prejudice, as long as they use opium in moderation it is very doubtful whether they are very much the worse for having done so, but, of course, the danger is that they may not use it in moderation.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have had a most interesting afternoon, and it is my pleasant duty to ask you formally to do what has already been done by several speakers, to express your indebtedness and obligation to Sir Richard Dane for the very admirable paper that he has read. (Applause.)

The following note on Sir Richard Dane's paper has been received from Mr. S. N. Mehra:

At the recent meeting of the Association, the subject of opium traffic was fully discussed to the satisfaction of the members present, and we naturally concluded, after listening to the able speeches from several distinguished officials, that everything had been done by the British Government to control the traffic in that baneful drug. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Mallik attacked the British liquor policy in India. Now, I think the Government has also taken some steps to control the liquor traffic, but, of course, it is quite impossible to stop all abuses by a stroke of the pen.

As to Mr. Mallik's remark about the British pocket, I think he is quite wide of the mark. The opium traffic must have affected the British pocket very considerably, and yet the Government did not think of the British investors when they decided to suppress that shameful abuse.

POST AND TELEGRAPH WORK IN INDIA

BY SIR GEOFFREY R. CLARKE, C.S.I., O.B.E.

THE histories of postal systems throughout the world are almost identical. As soon as a country has a settled Government the ruling authority is forced to establish some means of communication for the conveyance of its orders to, and for obtaining information from, distant places. As Governments grew stronger and countries developed, means of communication were steadily improved and regular mail services established. The great transition has always been the alteration of the postal service from being a mere agency for the conveyance of Government despatches into a great public institution for the benefit of the whole community.

The postal system of India developed upon these lines, and we find it in existence as far back as the fourteenth century. At that period, when Ibu Batuta, the Arab traveller, visited India, there was an organized system of couriers established throughout the country, which was governed then by the tyrant Mahomed Din Tughlak. The system seems to have corresponded very closely with that maintained in the Roman Empire.

In his "History of South India" Colonel Wilks tells us that in 1672 there was a regular postal service in the kingdom of Mysore. This service was not merely an ordinary instrument for conveying intelligence, but an extraordinary one for obtaining it. The postmasters were confidential agents of the Court, and the inferior servants were professed spies, who gathered all possible information from the correspondence which passed through their hands. The system, which was more fully developed by Hyder Ali, became under him a terrible instrument of despotism.

The Mogul emperors kept a regular system of postal lines, known as "daks," and Ferishtah, the historian, tells us that Sher Shah, during his short reign of five years, 1541-1545, was the first who ever employed a mounted post in India. The Emperor Akbar had post-houses built at stages ten miles apart on the principal roads, and swift Turki horses were placed at each stage.

The British do not appear to have found any established system of communication when they began to extend their dominions in India, and in the middle of the eighteenth century it was a matter of no small difficulty to send a letter more than a hundred miles. A regular postal system was first introduced by Lord Clive in 1766, and the *zamin-dars*, or landholders, along the various routes were held responsible for the supply of runners to carry the mails. In Bengal great improvements were made by Warren Hastings; a Postmaster-General was appointed and postage was charged for the first time on private letters. At this period, 1784, the territory occupied by the East India Company consisted of three isolated areas adjoining the presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, each with separate postal systems. By 1827 the Indian Empire had been consolidated, and it was therefore necessary to consolidate the postal service. It was not, however, until 1837 that an Act was passed establishing the absolute monopoly of the East India Company in the conveyance of letters for hire. Postage was still levied according to distance; for example, the cost of a letter from Calcutta to Agra was 12 annas, and from Calcutta to Bombay 1 rupee, and elaborate tables for the calculation of distances were supplied to all post-offices. The Act of 1837 gave rise to much discontent, as it led to the abolition of many private postal lines, which the Company was not able at the time to replace with lines of their own. To remedy this state of affairs district posts were created in each district, for which the local landholder had to pay a cess. In time, however, the extension of the Imperial post rendered these

district establishments unnecessary, and they were finally abolished in 1904.

The most important advance in postal administration was the introduction of postage stamps in 1854. In that year cheap postage rates, irrespective of distance, were fixed for the whole country, and a Director-General was appointed to take charge of the Department. The uniformity of postage irrespective of distance had many opponents at the time. It was recommended by the Post-Office Commission of 1850 on the ground of fairness, simplicity, and the facilities it gave for the introduction of other improvements into the Department. To use the words in the Report of the Commissioners: "Combined with a low rate of charge, it forms the conspicuous and chief benefit which the carriage of letters enables Government to confer upon the whole body of its subjects, by almost annihilating distance and placing it within the power of every individual to communicate freely with all parts of the Empire. It makes the Post-Office what, under any other system, it never can be—the unrestricted means of diffusing knowledge, extending commerce, and promoting in every way the social and intellectual improvement of the people." These are brave words, and in order to appreciate the courage which gave expression to them we must try to visualize the condition of things in India in 1850, when communication between distant places was attended with much difficulty and uncertainty.

India has to face the same postal problems as other countries, but these are greatly complicated by the diversity of races, the large number of scripts in which the various languages are written, the illiteracy of the great majority of the people, and the difficulty of communications. It is impossible to get any staff, except in the most important offices, which can deal with all the scripts used, and recourse has to be made to one of the Returned Letter Offices, of which no less than seven are maintained. To benefit the ignorant population, the system of paying money orders

in cash at the residences of the payees has been adopted. This system is expensive and fraught with risk, though on the whole it has worked well, and it is undoubtedly an enormous convenience to the poorer people, and especially to those who live in villages at a distance from a post-office. It entails, however, great responsibility for the postmen, who have frequently to be entrusted with considerable sums of money. In large towns special sets of postmen are kept for this purpose only, and it can be easily conceived what ample opportunity for fraud arises when the payees can neither read nor write. Communications in India are steadily improving, and there are now about 36,500 miles of railway services, 10,000 of mail-cart lines, and 4,000 of motor lines. Despite these improvements, there are still 90,000 miles over which mails are carried by 20,000 runners and village postmen. The romance of the Post-Office lies with the mail-runners. They are largely drawn from the lowest castes and least civilized races of India. They are a superstitious class, ready to face wild beasts and wandering criminals, but also ready to go miles out of their way to avoid an evil spirit in a tree. With them the mail-bag is a fetish, which must be protected at all costs. Dishonesty among them is very rare, and they are wonderfully true to their salt, which seldom exceeds 20s. a month. Not a year passes that does not take its toll of runners, who lose their lives in the execution of their duty. It may be a tiger, a swollen river, an avalanche in the Himalayas, a gang of robbers. The work goes on just the same; the mail goes through whatever happens.

A most interesting article upon the romance of the Indian Post-Office was written some years ago by Sir Arthur Fanshawe, Director-General of the Department, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and in this he gives full credit to the loyalty of these faithful servants of the Post-Office.

The true spirit of the service is nobly expressed by Rudyard Kipling :

"Is the torrent in spate? He must ford it or swim.
Has the rain wrecked the road? He must climb by the cliff.
Does the tempest cry 'halt'? What are tempests to him?
The service admits not a 'but' or an 'if.'
While the breath's in his mouth, he must bear without fail,
In the name of the Empress, the Overland Mail."

There is no branch of the Government service that comes in such close contact with the people as the Post-Office. Its officials are consulted in all kinds of family troubles. The village postman is a kind of perambulating branch office. He receives and delivers correspondence in the villages on his beat and pays money orders. He sells stamps and quinine, and, being a local man, he has to face a certain amount of public opinion if he does not act fair and square. In some hill-tracts he is provided with a bugle to announce his arrival, and to the inhabitants of these he brings news of the outside world; he writes their letters, reads their postcards, and explains to them his own conception of the mysteries of the money-order system.

The money-order system in India enters largely into the life of the people. It is the sole means by which the poorer people remit money; and the introduction of rent and revenue money orders has proved a great boon to the agricultural classes. The fact that last year over 34,000,000 of money orders, exceeding in value 840,000,000 rupees, were sent shows how popular the system is. Many of these money orders are value payable orders, sent in payment of goods despatched under the Cash-on-Delivery system. In 1924-25 a sum of over 266,000,000 of rupees was collected by the Post-Office and paid to tradespeople for merchandise sent through the post. In India, where there are few large retail firms outside the Presidency towns, the Value Payable Post has proved an inestimable convenience to the up-country purchaser, who pays the Post-Office for his purchases on receipt and is put to no further trouble.

In view of the recent controversy in the Press about the introduction of the Cash-on-Delivery system in England, it

may be interesting to note how the system works in India, where it has been in force for many years. The Cash-on-Delivery system is especially suited to a large country like India, where there are very few big shopping centres, and where a very small proportion of the community keeps a banking account. Whether it is equally suited to a country like England, with many large shopping centres and excellent communications, remains to be seen. Like everything designed for the good of mankind, the Value Payable Post, as the system is known in India, is not altogether an unmixed blessing, and is a source of continual anxiety to the officials of the department. The weak point in the system is that people have to buy articles without seeing them, and if they are disappointed in their purchases they are inclined to think that the Post-Office is at fault and to demand their money back. It is customary in India for certain ladies to dispose of their garments through the medium of the advertisement columns of the leading newspapers. The dresses are always by Paquin and quite new; the hats are the latest from Paris. This is the seller's point of view. How different that of the purchaser! As Postmaster-General I have received many a bitter complaint of the filthy rag which was received under the designation of a new Paquin gown, and for which I was personally held responsible. The Value Payable Post also suffers from that trust in Providence which is a peculiar feature of the Eastern mind. Although strictly forbidden by the rules of the Post-Office, the small Indian trader sends out numbers of articles as value payable to persons who have not given any orders for them, trusting that some of them will be accepted by a confiding public, and, strange to say, he manages to do a certain amount of business in this way. On the other hand, many people are quite ready to order things from shops which they hope to be able to pay for on arrival, but unfortunately for the firms that supply them these hopes are not always fulfilled. The Indian schoolboy, who is very like all other

schoolboys in the world in this respect, is specially tempted by the flashy catalogues issued by the cheap-jack firms of Calcutta and Bombay; and when in a fit of enthusiasm he orders a five-rupee watch, it doesn't follow that he has the money, or is even likely to have it; but his self-esteem is satisfied by the mere issue of the order, and as for his ability to pay when the time comes it lies on the knees of the gods.

The result of this trait in Eastern character is that about 15 per cent. of the value payable articles have to be returned to senders.

During the last twenty years the total number of postal articles handled has increased from 700,000,000 to 1,300,000,000. In 1921-22 the figure had reached 1,440,000,000; but since then the volume of letters and postcards declined considerably owing to the doubling of the initial letter rate from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 anna, and of the postcard from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ anna. This measure was greatly criticized at the time, and I shall deal with it later.

TELEGRAPHS

The first telegraph line in India was opened between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour, a distance of thirty miles. It was constructed by Dr. O'Shaughnessy, Professor of Chemistry in the Medical College of Calcutta, who used to occupy his leisure time in making experiments in telegraphy. The success of this line was so convincing that Lord Dalhousie persuaded the Court of Directors to sanction the immediate construction of lines between all the important towns. This prompt decision to extend the telegraph in India without delay had a significance that he little dreamed of at the time. Had this extension scheme been discussed in the usual leisurely official way valuable years would have slipped by, and the telegraph service would not have been at hand as the organized and efficient aid which it proved when the Mutiny broke out in

1857. It has been truly stated that at this period "the electric telegraph saved India."

The extension of telegraph lines to rural areas through the agency of the Post-Office was decided upon in 1883, and gradually small post and telegraph offices were opened all over the country. The number of such offices on March 31, 1925, was 3,555, and the traffic sent by them about 11 million messages. The operators in these offices are postal clerks, and are quite distinct from the General and Station Service telegraphists who man the Departmental Offices. The latter are picked men, who get a very careful training in telegraphy. Selections are made from their numbers for the engineering branch, and in recent years the very highest posts in the service have been opened to these recruits. It has been found that by making the telegraph service a *carrière ouverte* the ordinary operator is encouraged to use every effort to improve himself, and to keep abreast of modern developments in telegraphy. Most modern developments require great technical knowledge and skill in dealing with delicate apparatus. Any operator can manipulate and adjust a Morse instrument and circuit, but it is a very different proposition to adjust Baudot instruments which send three or even four messages in each direction over a single wire at the same time. The very highest technical skill is wanted. In fact, modern telegraphy is becoming more and more dependent upon the technical expert. The operator in most cases has merely to use a typewriter, or handle a simple transmitting key. In India many lines are over a thousand miles in length; they are all overground, and subject to perpetual disturbance. In forest tracts they are liable to be broken by elephants or falling trees, and in low-lying country to be submerged during the rainy season. Low insulation is a common trouble. This is often due to spiders' webs, salt deposits on the wire, electric storms, and other unavoidable causes. The maintenance of these long lines is a constant source of expense and anxiety, as the com-

munications of the whole country depend upon their being kept in good order, and with the introduction of high-speed telegraphy proper maintenance is becoming a more and more important factor.

The problem for the telegraph engineer nowadays is not the erection of new wires to meet increased traffic on the main circuits, but the greater use of existing wires by multiplex high-speed instruments at the terminals. When one long wire extending over a thousand miles can be got to do the work of four, think of the economy and the saving in maintenance charges! I do not intend to-day to enter into a discussion upon high-speed telegraphy. It is an intensely fascinating study, and one which requires a knowledge which I do not possess. I have only referred to it in connection with its enormous importance to our communications in a vast country like India. With modern apparatus increased traffic does not necessitate either more wire circuits or more staff; it does demand, however, the highest technical skill in the terminal and repeater offices.

The cable communication to India was first undertaken by the Red Sea and Telegraph to India Company of 1858, which was subsidized to some extent by the British Government. Long-distance submarine cables were not, however, laid until 1866, when the success of the Atlantic cable, two thousand miles in length, was established. Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt, India, China, and Australasia were linked with Great Britain between 1866 and 1870 by the Eastern Associated Telegraph Companies. Two land lines were also constructed—the Indo-European, via Persia, Russia, and Germany, and the Turkish line by cable between Karachi and Fao, and then through Mesopotamia and Constantinople. Cables to Penang, Singapore, Hong-Kong, and Australia were laid in 1871 and 1872. The amalgamation of the various companies operating this side of India, and their registration as the Eastern Telegraph Company, conduced to bring about an efficient working of the cables.

The further registration, in 1873, of the Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Company, absorbing the companies which existed east of India, and the duplicate and triplicate lines since laid between many points, have established the system which enables us to telegraph to even our remotest colonies with such admirable facility.

During the war, both the land lines between Europe and India failed, and the whole burden of a very heavy traffic fell on the Eastern Company's cables. It must be remembered that during this period the State traffic increased enormously and, owing to the uncertainty of the post, all commercial business was done by telegraph. The strain on the cables was very heavy; but the Company's staff worked with untiring zeal, and though there were unavoidable delays at times, during those four years the cable communication between India and Great Britain never failed.

There are at present four cables between Bombay and Suez, a cable from Aden to Colombo direct, and a cable from Aden to the Seychelles and thence to Colombo and the Far East. Madras is connected with Penang by two cables, so that India is in a very strong position. Not only has India a great deal of telegraph communication of her own both to the West and East, but she forms the transit link for many telegrams between Europe and countries to the east of her. For the handling of this transit traffic two wires between Bombay and Madras are placed at the disposal of the cable companies, and the through traffic is entirely handled by them. This method has proved most satisfactory; it saves delays and references regarding a large number of messages which pass across India.

Recently the Eastern Company have been allowed to have their own offices in Calcutta and Rangoon, and have been given the use of a direct wire to Bombay. This arrangement has facilitated the disposal of foreign traffic, and has enabled the Indian Government to effect a saving

in staff. One very important link still remains—namely, the connection of Rangoon by cable with India. Rangoon is dependent at present upon very precarious land lines and an uncertain wireless service. It is frequently cut off from all telegraphic communication with the rest of the world, and the want of cable communication is very badly felt.

The growth of telegraph traffic since 1869 has been: inland telegrams from 311,000 to 17,000,000 a year, and foreign telegrams from 43,000 to about 3,000,000.

TELEPHONES

The development of telephones, both trunk and urban, in India has been very slow. Licensed companies have been allowed to operate in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon, and Karachi, and, just when expansion was about to take place, the war intervened, and they were greatly hampered by the difficulty of obtaining apparatus. These companies, which had licenses subject to termination at intervals of five years, were naturally unwilling to incur large capital outlay without some security of tenure. They have now been given long licenses, and have installed new plant to replace the present out-of-date systems and to meet the large increase in connections demanded.

The systems in up-country towns and the trunk lines are all maintained by Government, and although there has been a steady expansion in the last five years, telephonic communication is still in its infancy. Automatic telephone exchanges have proved a great success in Simla and Lahore, and installations are now being erected in other places. These installations, especially the small ones, are particularly suited to Indian stations, where there are few subscribers and where it does not pay to keep operators on duty for twenty-four hours. It is a matter of experience that an operator who gets few calls at odd times becomes inattentive, and he is very likely to be asleep or away getting his tea when most urgently required. The automatic telephone obviates all such inconveniences. It is

always ready, and enables the caller to get directly on to the number required. Wherever it has been introduced there is an immediate increase in the demand for new connections, and its great popularity is now assured. Trunk lines are gradually spreading over the country. The long distances in India and want of business enterprise have hampered their extension. When it was first proposed to connect the vast coalfields near Raniganj by trunk with Calcutta, a distance of about 150 miles, few of the companies were willing to come forward and guarantee a minimum number of calls. Now, however, that the lines have been constructed they are used extensively, and three trunks are kept very busy. Owing to the transfer of the winter headquarters of the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi, a system of trunk lines was set up between Simla and Delhi. These have now been extended throughout the Punjab and North-West Provinces, and almost all the important towns in the north-west of India are in telephonic communication. Delhi has been connected with Bombay, and Lahore will shortly be linked up with Karachi. The next step will be to join the great commercial centres Calcutta and Bombay with each other.

Comparisons of the number of telephones to population have no real meaning in a country like India, where over 80 per cent. of the population consists of peasant cultivators and labourers, who would never in any circumstances use telephones. The figures for some of the leading countries are :

United States	...	1	telephone to every	8	persons.
Canada	...	1	" "	10	"
United Kingdom	...	1	" "	47	"
India	...	1	" "	7,300	"

So, judged by statistics, we must be considered as being among the backward countries.

Another branch of the service that is still in its infancy is that of wireless telegraphy. In 1918 there were thirty stations, including ship stations. Of the fixed stations the most important are those on the coast—*i.e.*, Bombay,

Karachi, Calcutta, Rangoon, Madras, and Port Blair. These stations do a great deal of regular traffic with ships, and Port Blair is in continual communication with Rangoon, as this is the sole means of telegraph for the Andaman Islands. During the war the inland stations were taken over by the army, and were practically idle. They never did any real work. The apparatus, which is of the spark type, is out of date, and the staff had deteriorated. Although it has not been possible to refit more than a few stations with continuous wave apparatus, all stations have to handle a certain amount of commercial traffic every day. On the whole, it has been found that in a country where there is ample means of communication by the ordinary telegraph systems there is little need of wireless telegraphy for internal traffic. Wireless, however, does possess an important strategic value in the event of interruptions to land lines, and this is a danger that is ever present in India. Until 1923 communication by wireless was at hand speed, and therefore very slow. The first trial of a high-speed circuit over a long distance was made in 1924 between Rangoon and Madras, and the results have been encouraging. The problem of "atmospherics" still remains to be solved, and the wireless branch is devoting much study and research to this subject.

The history of the Imperial Wireless Station in India is sad reading. This was commenced in 1912 and abandoned. Various efforts have since been made to have a long-range station erected; and finally, in 1925, a company was formed, and obtained a license for erecting a short-wave beam station for communication with England. The trials are to take place very shortly, and should prove most interesting.

In a country where there is seldom perfect peace it is only natural that the Post-Office must accustom itself to war conditions, and the Field Postal Service has been a feature of the Indian Post-Office for more than sixty years. During that period there have been over forty wars and expeditions, extending from Burma to the Mediterranean,

and as postal arrangements were required for the forces engaged, the Field Post-Office system in India has been steadily developed and perfected, and is now recognized as part of the military organization of the country. In 1914, when the Great War broke out, very severe demands were made upon the post and telegraph staff. A large contingent was sent to East Africa, consisting of about 900 men; a big postal staff accompanied the Indian Expeditionary Force to France. In 1916 Mesopotamia, so far as Indian troops were concerned, was the most important theatre of war, and the whole postal and telegraph work of the country was carried on by staff from the Department. The telegraph staff was lent to the Army Signal Service; but the postal staff formed a separate unit under the control of a director, subject to the orders of the Director-General in India. The magnitude of the work may be gauged by the average monthly figures for 1918. These were:

Letters and postcards	...	12,000,000
Parcels		70,000
Money orders		67,000
Value of money orders	...	3,000,000 rupees

Next in importance to Mesopotamia came the Indian postal service in Egypt, Palestine, and Salonika, and in these places the India Office worked side by side with the British Army Postal Corps. Field services were also established in Eastern and Southern Persia and in Aden. The Department is reasonably proud of its achievements during the Great War. A large number of personal distinctions were conferred, and over 500 men mentioned in despatches. The best proof of their work, however, is the high reputation which the post and telegraphs of India have earned among all branches of the army.

No paper upon the Indian Post-Office would be complete without a reference to that fine company which has carried our mails to and fro between London and Bombay since 1842. The weekly arrival and departure of the P. and O. mail-steamer is an event in India. It is the great link

with the Old Country, and means to the British residents more than words can describe. During the war the service had to be made a fortnightly one; and it is a wonderful record that, despite the loss of eight mail-steamers, throughout that whole period the fortnightly service was maintained with extraordinary regularity.

Various suggestions have been made from time to time to carry the mails by air, but up to date nothing like a reasonable proposal or a firm offer has been made to the Government of India. In 1920 I made an experiment of carrying mails by air between Bombay and Karachi in connection with the arrival and departure of the English mail-steamer. In all eighteen flights were made. The advantage to the public of Karachi was about fifteen hours in time, but the amount of mail carried was insignificant, and the service was abandoned. The actual flights were made by R.A.F. machines piloted by R.A.F. men, and were very successful. Only two failures involving serious delay occurred, and as the route was a new one, covering 500 miles, with only one intermediate landing-ground at Rajkot, the result was very creditable.

The new air service from Cairo to Karachi via Bagdad and Basra is promised for next year, and will be watched with the greatest interest. This service is admittedly in the nature of an experiment, and on the result of it will largely depend the future of air communication between England and India. There is little prospect of financial success for any air service which does not go through between India and England. The public will not pay any extra charge on letters to be taken at high speed between Egypt and India and by the ordinary mail-steamer the rest of the way. The saving in time is too small; and in these days, when all important commercial transactions are settled by telegram, the necessity for saving a few days out of fifteen or sixteen in the post is not of very great consequence. The efforts to establish air services in India up to date have certainly failed. The cost compared with the

possible revenue has been too high. In the beginning the serious mistake was made of trying to introduce commercial aviation with machines built for war purposes. One might just as well try to carry out the P. and O. contract at a profit with cruisers and destroyers. When a really good commercial aeroplane, economical in the use of petrol, has been designed for India, I have no doubt that air services which will pay their way can be established.

We now come to the thorny question of rates. There has not been so much discussion regarding telegraph as regarding postal rates, although the former are nearly as important. The reason is, I suppose, because the latter touch all classes of the community far more closely. Ever since the days of Rowland Hill the cry in the British Empire has been for cheap postage, and by cheap postage we mean the Imperial penny post. This rate was in force before the war, but the steady depreciation in the value of money led Government to reconsider the position.

The enormous rise in wages and in the cost of all services made it necessary to raise postal rates if the Post-Office was not to prove a heavy burden on the country's revenues, and we arrived at the startling position of a 2d. letter post and a 1½d. postcard in Great Britain. Telegraph and telephone rates were considerably increased at the same time, and although there was a great deal of grumbling the revised rates were accepted.

In India, ever since 1854, when a fixed rate of postage, irrespective of distance, was laid down, the initial rate for letters was ½ anna. At first the initial weight was small—*i.e.*, ½ tola, or one-fifth ounce—but it enabled the poor man to send his light and flimsy letter at a very small cost. The weight was subsequently raised to 1 tola, or two-fifths ounce, when the ¼-anna postcard was introduced. For many years India was able to maintain its postal service at these rates without any loss. It was run economically—perhaps too economically—but in 1919 things changed. Prices increased immensely, and the staff, which was

admittedly underpaid, demanded a fair wage. Committees were appointed to deal with the question of the pay of both the telegraph and postal staffs, and on their recommendation the pay of the former was increased by about 50 per cent. and of the latter by about 100 per cent. As a result of these increases the Post-Office began to show a heavy deficit, and the Finance Department became alarmed. In 1922 the initial rates were doubled to 1 anna per ounce for a letter, and ½ anna for a postcard. These rates compare very favourably with those in Great Britain, and are, in my opinion, fully justified. Distances in India are six times as great as in this country; we do not get the same volume of mail to handle, and much correspondence has to travel many miles by runners' lines, over which any appreciable increase in weight involves the employment of an additional runner at each stage.

It is generally accepted that the Post-Office in any country should just pay its way, but I do not consider it any great disaster if it fails to do so. Cheap postage is such an inestimable advantage to the life of a country, both on its social and business side, that the actual loss in maintaining the service may be more than counterbalanced by the general gain to the community.

It has been found by experience that high postage seriously interferes with the distribution of business and trade circulars, and it is possible that in this way the gain of a million pounds, say, to postal revenue may mean the loss of ten million pounds' worth of trade orders. This may be a gross exaggeration, but it is an argument for cheap postage, quite irrespective of its results in the Department itself.

With the introduction of penny instead of halfpenny postage into India last April, there was a very serious diminution in the volume of mail matter. It amounted at first to about 25 per cent. I am glad to say that the position is steadily improving, and I trust that even with the revised rates the traffic will return to its normal figure

very shortly. The increase in revenue is good, and is enabling the Department to pay its way and carry out many necessary developments. The development most required is the further extension of the post and telegraph services into rural tracts, and there is a very urgent demand for this from the people and from their representatives in the Legislative Assembly. In India the opening up of rural tracts to postal and telegraph communication is always performed at a loss, but it is the burden of pioneer work, which is one of the essential duties of the Department, and one which has to be undertaken.

In fixing postal rates the initial rate is the important item. However small the weight carried for this rate, be sure that the public will adapt itself to that weight in an incredibly short space of time, and that over 80 per cent. of letters will come within it. There is no doubt, however, that the reintroduction of the Imperial penny postage, which might also be extended to a few other countries, would be an immense mutual advantage, and would be hailed with approbation by all our dominions and dependencies.

With respect to telegraph and telephone rates, it is difficult to lay down any definite standards. The Indian public are particularly critical of the triple rate for urgent cables. This rate was laid down by the International Telegraph Union, and messages of this class take priority after Government Priority and Urgent Service traffic. We always resisted the introduction of urgent cables in India until our hands were forced by the transit traffic. Many urgent messages are received from and sent to the Far East, which have to pass through Bombay and Madras. Under the International Convention India could not refuse to accept transit messages, and the result was that the ordinary full-paid cables, originating in London, had to wait until these urgent messages were disposed of at Bombay and Madras. We were, therefore, forced to give Indian merchants the right to send and receive urgent telegrams at triple rates in order to enable them to compete

with other countries. Personally, I should like to see this triple-rate class of message abolished in normal times; but to do so would necessitate the concurrence of all the important states in the Union, and this is not possible to obtain.

Before closing my remarks, I should like to say a few words about the personnel of the Indian posts and telegraphs. Since 1913 the whole department which is responsible for postal, telegraph, telephone and wireless work is under a single head, the Director-General. The Chief Engineer, Telegraphs, is his right-hand man and has a great deal of independent authority. The wireless branch has now been separately organized and placed under a director, and a special officer under the chief engineer is in charge of telephones. The staff consists of about 120,000 persons. In recent years, when industrial strikes were the order of the day, the Indian posts and telegraphs had only three strikes, all among postmen, and the only serious one was at Bombay. This was purely political and was organized by the Non-co-operators. The men had really no grievance, and when they saw that the Department did not intend to yield one inch to their demands, they begged to be allowed to return to duty. On the whole, this large staff has worked with steady loyalty and devotion to duty, and I attribute this largely to the fact that the Department offers a free scope for advancement to its employees. A clerk may rise to be a Postmaster-General, a postman may rise to be a postmaster, and I have always laid the greatest stress on the personal influence of officers with their men. Punishments are, I admit, necessary to deal with delinquents in all services, but automatic punishments regardless of circumstances do more harm than good.

It is often much easier to bring a man back to the right path by having a straight talk with him than by imposing a fine which he cannot afford to pay. As for the really bad men, get rid of them quickly; they are the tares among the wheat, and will never do any good. Experience goes

to show that when human sympathy and the personal touch replace rigid rules greater zeal, greater fidelity, and better work are ensured.

There is, as you are aware, a persistent and natural demand in India to indianize the services. In the Post Office indianization began many years ago, and there has never been any distinction of race in the matter of promotion to the higher appointments. In fact, most of these are at present held by Indians, and very efficient and trustworthy officers they have proved. I think it is purely due to this elimination of race distinction both in the matter of appointment and pay that the Department has been able to work so smoothly in troubled times.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W. 1, on Monday, November 15, 1926, when a paper was read by Sir Geoffrey R. Clarke, C.S.I., O.B.E., entitled "Post and Telegraph Work in India." Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present :

General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Rayner C. Barker, C.I.E., and Lady Barker, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir C. C. Sanderson, Lady Clarke, Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. C. R. Rennie, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. A. D. Bonarjee, Mr. P. W. Marsh, Mrs. Wright, Mrs. Herron, Commander R. L. Nicholson, Mr. W. Sutherland, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mrs. W. G. Martley, Mr. S. N. Mehra, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. Harchand Singh, Mr. A. W. Berg, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Rev. O. Younghusband, Sirdar Harbans Singh, Dr. A. M. Shah, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Last year I was asked specially to go up to Manchester to give an important annual address. The preliminary proceedings before I got up to speak took exactly an hour and a half; when I got my audience I found them in a very bored mood and I quickly sent them to sleep. That will not happen this afternoon. Of all people the postman is the one man who is always welcome and who needs no introduction—Sir Geoffrey Clarke.

The lecturer then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have had, as we knew we should have, a most interesting lecture from Sir Geoffrey Clarke on a most fascinating subject. My mind goes back to the Budget debates in Delhi, when I was a member of the Legislative Assembly and when I was a colleague of Sir Geoffrey Clarke's. I well remember how he always got his Budget through without a single cut. I think that was partly due to the affection we all had for the Post and partly, I think, because there is an Irish strain in Sir Geoffrey Clarke. He referred at the close of his remarks to the splendid *esprit de corps* amongst Indians and Englishmen in India in the Postal Service. I know that that *esprit de corps* has been very largely built up by Sir Geoffrey Clarke, who is respected by one and all. (Applause.) He has not always accepted suggestions put forward by the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly. I recollect on one occasion one of my ribald colleagues suggested that monkeys might be trained as postal runners in forest areas, and I well remember Sir Geoffrey's reply that he did not think they could be so used, not even in "branch" post offices, and we elicited from him by further questions his fear that he

might not be able to keep them up to scratch! Sir Geoffrey Clarke has not referred to the fact that neither in the Postal Service nor in remittances have the Government the monopoly. It is still customary, at least in my experience and especially as regards the Orissa tracts, that every man who leaves his family to go down to Calcutta is the bearer of fifty or sixty letters from his village, and these are distributed slowly as the news gets round Calcutta that there is a letter lying somewhere for the addressee. It used to be a frequent excuse for my own servants to take a few hours off when they heard that there was a letter waiting for them. So that you will see that the Government have not yet secured a monopoly of the Indian Postal Service. In Sir Geoffrey's reply there is one official secret I wish he would enlighten us upon, and that is the mystery of the camp post offices. The Viceroy, the Governors and high officials, and even humble people like myself, when we are serving on various commissions, can be addressed by name at "Camp, India." It has always been a mystery to me how those letters were so promptly delivered, wherever we happened to be. Perhaps Sir Geoffrey can throw some light on that subject. Then in regard to telephones he has quoted very remarkable figures. I think what he says is partly due to the fact that in India we are cursed with so-called cheap labour. (Hear, hear.) I remember in Australia, where labour is so difficult, seeing telephone wires nailed up along the trees going miles away to a solitary farm. I remember, when my wife was staying with her brother, who is a doctor in New Zealand, she heard him answering the telephone one day and talking in soothing tones to what was evidently a distracted woman at the other end, whose child had convulsions, and recommending the course she should adopt. When he hung up the receiver, she said to him: "Are not you going round to see the case?" He said: "No, it is thirty miles away." So, ladies and gentlemen, there is no question but that the extension of the telephone system in places like India would be a greater boon than we at present realize. (Hear, hear.)

Now I do not wish to embark on the question of triple rates for telegrams. I have had many controversies with Sir Geoffrey Clarke on that subject in the past, when I was leading the commercial community in Calcutta, but we shall all be glad when the great grievance disappears. Sir Geoffrey Clarke has mentioned the question of the cash on delivery or the V.P.P. system, as we call it in India. I will leave that to others, because I have had no experience of it in England, but I see amongst us to-day Mr. Pilcher, who left the Assembly after far too short a time to enter the more senile British House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps he will be able to throw some light on the matter as a result of his experience in both countries. Neither will I talk of that very technical subject, beam telegraphy. We have here, I see, Commander Nicholson, who is a great authority on that subject, and he will no doubt give us his views. In regard to telegrams, they are not always sent quite correctly, even under the perfect system which Sir Geoffrey Clarke has indicated. A friend of mine, having seen his wife off on her homeward journey from Calcutta, was horrified to receive from Bombay a telegram reading: "Comfortable

journey so far. Very lovely without you." It took us all our time to make that man understand that the Telegraph Department had changed the "n" into a "v."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, as regards postal rates I am entirely at one with the lecturer. I do not think it right that the Postal Service should be used as an extra source of taxation. I was not quite clear, with regard to some of Sir Geoffrey's remarks, on which side he was coming down. As I understood him, he said it was not a great disaster if the Post Office failed to pay its way, and later on he said that increased revenue enabled the Department to carry out many necessary developments. It seems to me it is very desirable that the Post should just pay its way, and that the Postmaster-General should not be harried out of all new extensions by an over-vigilant Finance Member. However, I quite agree with Sir Geoffrey that the Post is of such great importance to the country that it should not be used to supplant the ordinary methods of taxation. 78662

Ladies and gentlemen, I will now call upon anyone present to open the discussion, and I hope we shall have an interesting one. (Applause.)

Mr. G. PILCHER, M.P., said he had just come from that senile assembly to which the Chairman had referred, and he had heard a member there ask a question of the Under Secretary of State for India with regard to a Sikh prisoner who had not had an interpreter with the help of whom he might voice his complaints to the jailer, who did not understand the Punjab language. In his opinion it would do a great many of the Labour Members of the House of Commons good to have heard Sir Geoffrey Clarke's paper; nothing could possibly give them a better conception of the stupendous character of the problems in India and of British achievement. Personally he knew Sir Geoffrey Clarke as Postmaster-General in the Assembly at Delhi, and he never heard our own Postmaster-General reply to questions in the House of Commons without being reminded of Sir Geoffrey Clarke. They were both men who got a great amount of work done. Speaking with regard to the return to the penny post in this country, he thought it would result in enormous benefits to our commerce throughout the world. It was a matter of congratulation to India that she had an anna post. He also was very interested in Sir Geoffrey's reference to the co-operation between Britishers and Indians in the Post Office. Sir Geoffrey had always kept the fair and just claims of the Indians well in view. The more they had of that co-operation and that kind of careful consideration for the feelings of Indians, the longer, he thought, would be our stay in India and the greater the work we should do for that country and the world in general. (Applause.) He remembered that the lecturer was in the gallery of the House of Commons at the time of the C.O.D. debate. During that debate there was scarcely a single speaker who took part in it who did not refer to a letter which Sir Geoffrey had written to *The Times* with regard to the V.P.P. system, as it was called in India. He would suggest that it was owing to the rather limited knowledge of some of our Members of Parliament that they used that letter so extensively. Although he might be wrong, it seemed to him, listening to Sir Geoffrey's lecture that afternoon, that there was some

disparity between the rather discouraging account of the V.P.P. in *The Times* and the account they had heard of the V.P.P. that day. However, Sir Geoffrey would no doubt be glad to know that Sir William Mitchell-Thomson was very pleased with C.O.D. after eight or nine months' working; it had brought in enormous revenue, and it was still rapidly increasing. With respect to beam telegraphy, the lecturer had dealt but slightly with it, and they would all like to hear more from him on the subject. They were very near to it now, and it was considered to be only a matter of experiment in order to bring it about. We had already established communication between this country and Canada, and it was hoped that we should be sending beam messages to India by next April, at a reduction of 25 per cent. or 33½ per cent. in all overseas charges. Whether the Indian Telegraph Department was being run at a profit or not, we in this country were still making a loss of from £4,000,000 to £5,000,000 in our Telegraph Department. He would conclude by expressing his great gratitude to Sir Geoffrey Clarke for his most interesting and informing paper. (Applause.)

Sir RAYNER BARKER congratulated Sir Geoffrey Clarke on his instructive and amusing paper. Sir Geoffrey had told them that the Eastern Telegraph Company had been given the use of a direct wire from Bombay to Calcutta and Rangoon, but he had omitted to add that a like facility between Karachi and Calcutta had been refused to the administrations working the Indo-European route on the ground that the traffic by their route between London and Calcutta was insufficient to occupy a single wire continuously. It was not well known to the public in general that there was direct communication between London, Manchester, and Liverpool on the one side and Karachi on the other. There was no manual repetition between those points, although, of course, there was automatic instrumental repetition. The speed of transmission at present was at the rate of forty to fifty words per circuit per minute; there were three circuits, two from London and one from Berlin to Karachi. In his opinion, there was little doubt that, but for the war, which interrupted the Indo-European route for nine years, London and Calcutta would have been in direct communication now. The Indo-European route was reopened just over three years ago, but the traffic which it carried before the war had not yet been recaptured. He thought if the citizens of Calcutta and Rangoon and their hinterlands would send an increasing proportion of their telegraphic correspondence "via Indo" it was bound to bring about the establishment of direct communication between London, Manchester, and Liverpool on the one side and Calcutta and Rangoon on the other. He trusted that Sir Geoffrey Clarke would bring his prediction to the notice of his successor in India. (Applause.)

Commander NICHOLSON said he was not, as had been alleged, an expert on wireless matters, but if Sir Geoffrey Clarke would permit him he would be glad to state what he knew with regard to the beam station for India. He understood that the beam station was not to be opened until April next year, and that the rates would not exceed the cable rates prevailing from day to day. It was hoped that the service would be at least an eighteen hours a day service. A telegraphic service to be a real

commercial success must be a twenty-four hours a day service every day, but if the beam service to India fell short of twenty-four hours per day it would at least provide for cheap traffic, which India very badly wanted, not only for commercial purposes but for newspaper purposes. If the beam service was properly exploited it would provide for a greatly increased amount of deferred news-traffic. A great deal of business had to be done by telegraph, but much could certainly wait for two or three days, and the beam station would be useful in that respect. The Canadian station was undoubtedly working, but he did not think it was working twenty-four hours a day.

With regard to the uncertain wireless service on which Rangoon was dependent, he had received that morning a letter from the Director of Wireless in India, who said that that service was carrying all the traffic that it was called upon to carry; he understood that there had been no case where it had been out of action as regards high-speed operation for more than six hours a day. With regard to telephony, there was no doubt that it had had a comparatively small development in India, but that was due to two causes: the first was that the population were not educated to the telephone habit, and the other cause was that it was no use trying to develop a telephone system unless one was prepared to put down a great deal of capital. One had to put down capital and build exchanges in order to engender the telephone habit. On that point also arose the question of laying cables instead of open wire lines. In a country like India he believed that the extra capital cost was well worth while when it came to long-distance communication by telephone. In conclusion, he desired to thank Sir Geoffrey Clarke for his very interesting paper. (Applause.)

Sir LOUIS DANE desired to express the feelings of what he might be allowed to call the general public. The audience that afternoon had heard scientists, and perhaps a few words from another aspect would not be out of the way. Sir Geoffrey had spoken of the extraordinary success of the postal work in connection with expeditions and wars with which they had unfortunately been visited during the past sixty years. Personally he could speak as to the success of the Postal Department in more than one war. One of the speakers had referred to the first connection by direct land-line between England and Calcutta. He remembered on one occasion in 1903 they had a Commission working on the borders of Persia and Afghanistan, and they were anxious to keep up constant communication with that Commission. There were great difficulties with regard to it. Experts had said that it was quite impossible to maintain any ordinary telegraph line, as the conditions were so singularly unfavourable. However, by utilizing some spare field telegraph material, which was lying at Quetta, a temporary line was sent across to Dalbandin. Of course, field material was not supposed to carry messages for great distances; but, to everybody's surprise, when the line was put up it was found that, so far from the telegraphic conditions being singularly unsuitable, they were most extraordinarily suitable. The result of it was that that temporary line, which was put up for a merely political purpose in connection with that Boundary Commission, was used for some years as a direct line

of transmission by land from England to India, and proved that this was feasible. Subsequently it was superseded by the line constructed by the Indo Telegraph Department, through Mekran to Karachi, but in the meantime a trade route was developed. A caravan road followed the telegraph line. Then came motors, and finally during the war a railway was built along it, which carries a good deal of traffic. After relating further instances of the useful work of the Postal Department in India, Sir Louis said he was sure that when the time came they would pass a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir Geoffrey Clarke for his most excellent paper. (Applause.)

Sir EDMUND BARROW, speaking as an old frontier explorer, said he would like to add his little tribute to the good work of the Post and Telegraph Service in India. He had been in many out-of-the-way places, but in none of them did he fail to get his *dak*. He did not think that they lost a single *dak* in nearly two years. He was sure that all officers who had served on the frontier in explorations would always be most grateful to the department for all it had done for them. (Applause.)

Mr. J. J. NOLAN, referring to the question of telegraphic communication between Rangoon and India and the recent meeting of Sir Basil Blackett and the Burma Chamber of Commerce, said that apparently nothing was going to be screwed out of the present Director-General unless the local government gave something in the nature of a guarantee towards the cost of the undertaking. That seemed to him to suggest that the present administration of the Post Office in India was not so alert as it was in Sir Geoffrey Clarke's time. It might be that the Treasury mind of Sir Basil Blackett could think of nothing but revenue. There was a point which Mr. Pilcher had raised with regard to the attitude of the Post Office towards revenue. He agreed that any suggestion of making the Post Office an extra source of taxation was certainly not in the interests of the country. (Applause.)

Mr. RICE (Honorary Secretary), in connection with Mr. Pilcher's remarks regarding the attitude of certain Members of Parliament in relation to India, said that they seemed to him to suggest that England had never done anything for India which could not have been much better done if we had not been there, and he was afraid that the old idea still lingered in some minds that England was in league with the devil. He did not think it was fully realized how much some of the institutions which had been introduced into India by England had entered into the lives of the people. That had been particularly noticeable during the war, when the people had difficulty in getting rice and in removing their coconut produce. With regard to the Post and Telegraph Department, of which Sir Geoffrey had spoken, it could be seen from the figures which he had quoted how enormously that was appreciated. He thought they had been particularly fortunate that afternoon in hearing experts speak on the various problems of the Postal Services. In conclusion, he desired to couple with the vote of thanks to the lecturer the name of Sir Campbell Rhodes, who had so very kindly taken the chair at the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am only too glad to have

had a front seat at such an interesting lecture, and I should like to express my own thanks to Sir Geoffrey Clarke before calling upon him to reply. I thank him not only for the lecture he has given us to-day, but for all the work he has done in improving our Post and Telegraph Service in India. We who use the telephone in England know how evil communications corrupt good manners, and we are grateful to a high civil servant like Sir Geoffrey Clarke, who must have had many opportunities of deserting his first love, for having stuck so loyally to his "post." (Loud applause.)

Sir GEOFFREY CLARKE: Sir Campbell Rhodes, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will take up a very small portion of your time in replying to the remarks that have been made on my paper. Sir Campbell Rhodes referred to his breach of the law. I have always thought as long as I have known Sir Campbell Rhodes that there was a latent disrespect for the law somewhere in him, and I can only congratulate his bearer on coming out of it safely. Now that both he and I have left India he can tell the story. His servant has rendered himself liable to very severe punishment, and I am sorry we did not get hold of him at the time.

With regard to the mystery of the camp post office and letters addressed to a camp in India, which Sir Campbell Rhodes said he received when he was on various commissions, that is the greatest nuisance that the Post Office ever has to deal with. High officials and gentlemen on these commissions now claim as a matter of right to have their letters simply addressed: "Camp, India." This concession was given to Governors and the Commander-in-Chief only in former days, and it was jealously guarded. It means that various tour programmes of enormous length have to be circulated not only among important post offices in the country, but to all railway mail services, and the unfortunate sorters have to scrutinize their long lists. We can only undertake to address them if they are addressed to "camp," and special clerks have to be kept to sort these letters, and special preparations have to be made. As Sir Louis Dane said, it is done with a great deal of accuracy and care. Even the King of England could not get his letters addressed "Camp" sent on to him. He has to have a definite address and the letters have to be forwarded. I do not think I will deal with the reduction in postal rates now. There is very little time left at my disposal. The whole question is very difficult. As far as possible the Post Office should pay its way, and I think it is advisable that it should pay its way, but I do not look upon it as an absolute disaster if it does not pay its way. I would much rather see the Post Office working with efficiency and just paying its way than see it making six or seven millions, which has really to be paid out of the people's pockets, and not working efficiently.

With regard to the letter which I wrote to *The Times* about the C.O.D., I am very glad to hear that C.O.D. has been a success in England, although I think it is rather early in the day yet to say how far it has been a success. I cannot see the necessity for C.O.D. in England. In places like India, South Africa, and Australia it is an absolute necessity. It may be that in India our parcel traffic can never really pay. We have heavy parcels and long distances. The parcel post does not bring in any money, and the

it was provided for the conveyance of Her Majesty's mails, but uncomfortable almost to the point of pain. In the middle of the night the gig gave a great jolt in crossing a shallow watercourse and I was thrown out and landed on the road. Young and light and active, I sprang up, and the driver pulled up when he noticed that the passenger on the seat beside him had disappeared, and I regained my seat without injury! Of course, it was not every traveller who could submit to an ordeal of this kind, and as a special favour the Postmaster-General would provide a truck or chassis on four wheels, on which an ordinary palanquin of the period was securely fastened. This was sent down the road and the horses relieved from station to station like the gigs, the road and its roughness being the same, but the recumbent position made the journey a little less fatiguing for stout and elderly people. On such an occasion I think the Postmaster-General bound his mails on the chassis instead of sending them as usual in the gig.

"Hoping these stray memories of the postal department in the Punjab sixty years ago may be of some interest,

"I am,

"Yours faithfully,

"W. COLDSTREAM.

"TO THE HON SECRETARY, EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

"November 16, 1926."

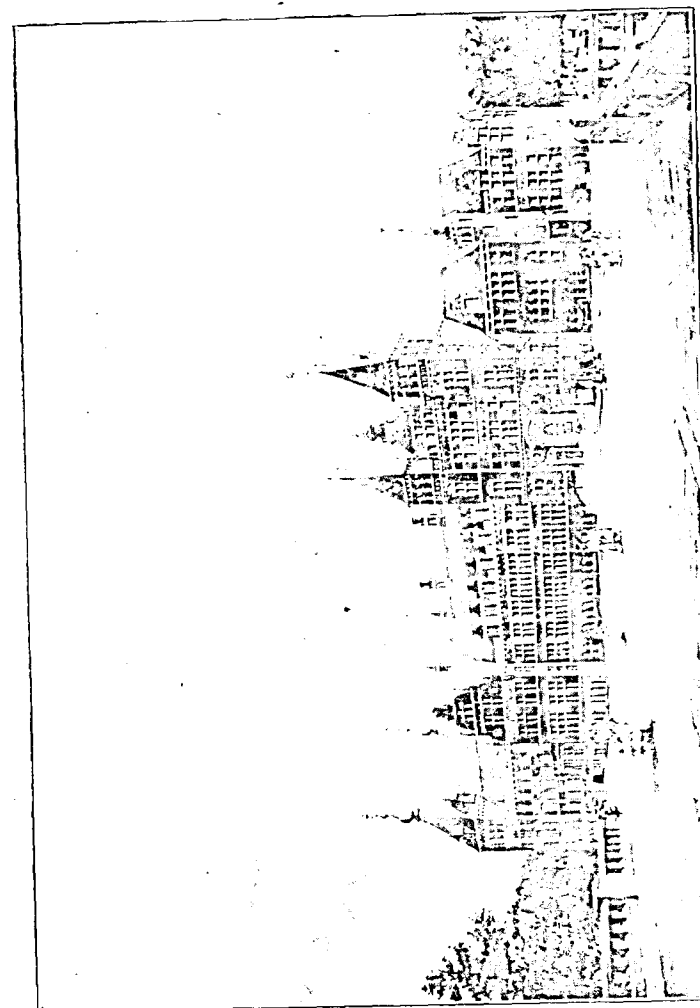
KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT.

THE Colonial Institute in Amsterdam was officially opened by the Queen of Holland in October. This imposing edifice on the Mauritskade has taken eight years to construct, and is built of red brick in the new Dutch style, which is so successful in giving a reposeful and harmonious effect even with large buildings, as previously demonstrated by the new Exchange on the Damrak.

The administrative services are entirely devoted to "Colonial Propaganda," which is divided into four parts: (1) "Propaganda by Illustration," (a) Trade Museum, (b) Ethnographical Museum, (c) Permanent and Temporary Exhibitions, (d) Films and Lantern-slides. (2) Information Bureau. (3) Instruction, viz. (a) Professorships at Universities and Colleges, (b) Syllabuses of study in East and West Indian subjects, Vacation Courses, Tobacco Culture, Lectures, and distribution of albums and maps in schools. (4) Publications and Library.

- A great part of the expense is being borne by private citizens. This fact proves the great interest that is being taken by Dutchmen in the development of their overseas possessions, large tracts of which are only awaiting capital and colonists.

The accompanying illustrations have been specially lent for publication in the ASIATIC REVIEW.



FACADE OF THE KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT IN AMSTERDAM (SEEN FROM THE MUIDERBORG).

By courtesy of Messrs. J. H. de Bussy, Amsterdam.

greater the volume of the parcel post the greater the loss to the Department. It is not a very heavy loss, but it is a distinct loss. I can say certainly, from having managed the C.O.D. for years and years, and also being responsible for devising the scheme of C.O.D. between India and England, that there is no part of the Post Office work which gives so much trouble to the Post Office officials as C.O.D. When you consider that you have to turn every post office into a sort of parcel depot you will realize it. Not only has the postman to go out with the parcels, but you have to keep separate accounts of small sums of money, and you have people who do not pay at the time; you have cases where the postman has to wait at the door. He has to ask for the money, and the lady of the house may not have the 15s. or £1 which is required, and that parcel has to go back to the post office. When you consider the immense trouble that the C.O.D. system gives to the Department, I very much doubt, despite the figures which the Postmaster-General may be bringing forward, whether it really pays. I should like to see the other side of the account—that is, as to what it has cost in extra postmen, the work of the clerical staff, and so on. I realize that in a great country like India it is an enormous benefit to the people, but I do not see that it is of very great benefit to this country. However, I am glad to hear that the new system of C.O.D. is a great success. I know the Postmaster-General has given very optimistic figures with regard to it, but I think we shall have to wait and see before we can say that the C.O.D. system is of great advantage in bringing money into the Post Office in this country. Now the beam system of wireless has been dealt with very ably by Commander Nicholson, and I have very little to add to what he has said. It is to Commander Nicholson that we owe the first high-speed transmission in India—that is, between Rangoon and Madras. In my paper I have said that it was uncertain, and I used that expression in a rather general way. Wireless communication is uncertain, and we have not had the very best reports lately about the wireless system. One gentleman here has spoken about Rangoon and cable communication and the general demand for it. The Rangoon Chamber of Commerce have been demanding a cable service to India very urgently during the last few months, and I have myself received a letter from the Governor of Burma on the subject.

I will not detain you by dealing with Sir Rayner Barker's account of the Indo-European Telegraph Department, of which he is a director. I think it is quite creditable to him, and I think as a director he ought to boost his own company. But for the war they would probably have had a direct line from Calcutta to Karachi. I do hear from the chairman of his company that the traffic has improved enormously during the last few months, and I hope it will continue to do so. I have no doubt that Sir Rayner Barker will persuade the Government in India to give him a direct line.

I thank you, Sir Campbell Rhodes, for presiding at this meeting, and I also thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the appreciation of my paper which you have shown. (Applause.)

Mr. W. COLDSTREAM writes:

"The discussion which followed the paper read by Sir Geoffrey Clarke on 'Post and Telegraph Work in India' was so full and interesting that I did not at the late hour intrude with the remarks which I herewith send you.

"Little was said about the great services which for eighty years have been rendered to the post in India by the P. and O. Company. The conditions in 1861, when I went to India, were vastly different from those of the present day. I went in a P. and O. paddle steamer, the *Indus*, from Southampton to Alexandria. There was no Suez Canal in those days, and we transhipped to the old *Bengal*, 3,000 tons—quite a respectable sized ship in those days—which took us from Suez to Calcutta. The railway had not then been finished across India from Bombay to Calcutta, and we took an unbroken course from Aden to Point de Galle, and thence by the east coast, touching only at Madras. It was a six weeks' voyage, for which my father paid a fare of £120. Two of the passengers were Mr. Cecil Beadon and Mr. William Muir, and about five and twenty recruits for the Bengal Civil Service, of whom I was one. The Bengal Service in those days included every civilian from Calcutta to Peshawar. When I lived as a student in Calcutta in 1861-62, the overland mail, as it was then called, arrived once a month. I think only shortly before that time it had been accelerated from a six-weekly service. When the P. and O. mail boat arrived at Diamond Harbour a gun was fired from the Fort, and the peons flocked down to the post office to get their masters' mails. It was a great and stirring day for Calcutta.

"The services of the Indian Post Office are not confined to deliveries within the bounds of the Indian Empire. Afghanistan, the Khanates, and Chinese Turkistan via Gilgit are dependent upon this widely radiating service. A letter from England to Kashgar takes about six weeks, and has to cross some of the highest passes in the world. It is easy to imagine how, with the march of events in Tibet and Central Asia, the service of the Indian Post Office must soon be widely extended.

"In the sixties the Postmaster-General of a province was a very useful person, as he controlled a large number of vehicles which ran where no other public or private service was in existence. In the early sixties the post from Lahore to Multan was carried in rough gigs over very rough roads, the sandy stretches and the muddy parts being laid down with straw and coarse grass. The run from Lahore to Multan, about 200 miles, was covered by the post-gig in about twenty-four hours. Horses were stationed at every six miles. One horse was in the shafts and one an outrigger. A traveller, unless he wished to go slowly, riding by stages or in a bullock cart, would hire a seat in the post-gig. There was only accommodation for one, and I well remember the twenty-four hours' journey, unbroken night or day, except by the change of horses, through a hot day and frosty night in January, 1864. The jog-jog of the gig with the ponies at a gallop was very uncomfortable, and a couple of pillows had to be bound round one to protect the back from constant friction against the steel bar surrounding the seat on the gig. The vehicle was safe enough as

THE NEW EAST

THE NEW POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE
CAUCASUS AND CENTRAL ASIA

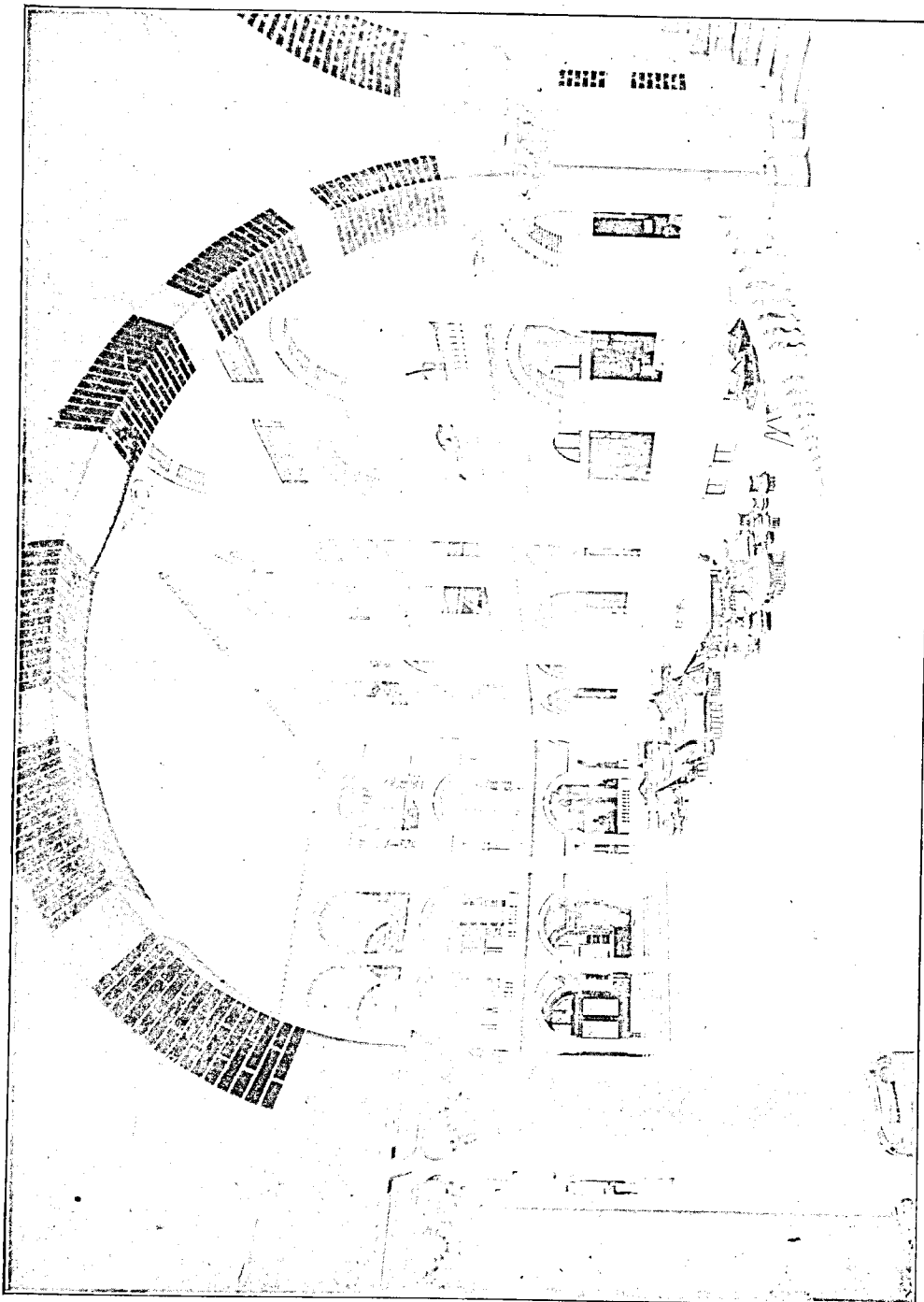
[This series, which has been discontinued since the end of the year 1924, is now being resumed with this paper furnished by a traveller who has recently returned from Central Asia.]

1. *Constitutional Status of the Minor Nationalities in the Soviet Union.*—The political reorganization of the former Russian Empire was embodied in the Constitution of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, adopted in July, 1923, and ratified in January, 1924, by the Second Congress of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The status of the various constituent units was established at the same time (July, 1923) by the Declaration and Treaty of Union between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (W.R.S.S.R.), the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (T.S.F.S.R.), and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (Uk.S.S.R.).

The formal status of the various constituent units, and the functions of the Union governing bodies, are defined and described at length in the Soviet Union Year Book, 1926; in "The New Russia," by Dr. L. Haden Guest, M.P.; and in the Statesman's Year Book for 1926. The powers reserved to the Union Government include foreign relations, foreign and internal trade, transport posts and telegraphs, organization and control of the armed forces of the Union, finance, economic policy, the principles of common law and labour laws, education, and the principle of amnesties throughout the whole territory of the Union. The Union governing bodies have further reserved to them: (1) The right to veto decisions of Soviet Congresses and of Central Executive Committees of the contracting Republics which infringe the existing Constitution, and (2) the right to adjudicate on disputes arising between the contracting Republics. The amendment of the fundamental provisions of the present Constitution is the exclusive prerogative of the Union Congress of the Soviets.

"The sovereign rights of the constituent Republics," it is stated somewhat ingenuously in the Treaty of Union (Section II., Clause 3), "are restricted only to the extent laid down in the present constitution and only in matters falling within the competence of the Union." It is further stipulated that each of the contracting Republics shall modify their constitutions as required by the present Union Constitution.

The organization of the various Republics, Autonomous Republics, and Autonomous Regions is framed on the same basis as that of the main Russian Federation. Many of these organizations still remain in an embryonic stage, but they are all developing on the principle of a delegation of power, through Congresses of Soviets, to Central Executive Committees and Councils of People's Commissaries. In the case of a Federation (the Russian Federation or the Transcaucasian Federation) there is a double organization, as for instance in Georgia, where the local Soviets participate in elections to the governing bodies of the Georgian Socialist Soviet Republic and indirectly to those of the superior Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, which includes also the Armenians and the Tatars. It is obvious that the independence of the



THE CENTRAL HALL, KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT.

By courtesy of Messrs. J. H. de Bussy, Amsterdam

smaller constituent Republics in the Union is very limited. The Central Executive Committees of the Republics appoint their own Commissaries for Agriculture, Finance, Food, Labour, Home Affairs, Justice, Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Education and Health. The Commissaries for Food, Finance, Labour, and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of each contracting Republic "carry out the instructions of the corresponding Union People's Commissariats" (Section X., Clause 68). In general, it may be said that the advantages accruing to the peoples of the constituent Republics are the use of their own language for administrative purposes, and the possibility to elect and to employ persons of their own nationality in administrative posts.

The Constitution of the Central Executive Committee of the Union provides for a degree of representation for the interests of the minor nationalities of the constituent Republics. The Union Central Executive Committee is composed of two bodies, (1) the Union Council and (2) the Council of Nationalities. (1) The Union Council is elected by the Union Congress of Soviets from delegates of the contracting Republics proportionally to the population of each Republic. (2) The Council of Nationalities is constituted of representatives of the contracting and autonomous Socialist Soviet Republics on the basis of five delegates from each of these, and of representatives of the autonomous regions of the R.S.F.S.R., each of which sends one delegate. It will thus be seen that, whereas the Union Council must be necessarily predominantly Russian, the minor nationalities are fully represented in the Council of Nationalities. The independent nature of the latter body is, however, modified by the provision that its constitution as a whole must be ratified by the Union Congress of Soviets. The Council of Nationalities is represented by seven members out of a total of twenty-one on the Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee, the supreme representative organ of the Union, to which is responsible the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

2. *Political Divisions in the Caucasus.*—The policy of decentralization on a national basis has been widely developed over the whole area of the former Viceroyalty of the Caucasus. In that half of the old Viceroyalty which lies to the south of the main chain of the Caucasus, the three independent Republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan were established in 1918. These three Republics failed, however, to maintain their systems of parliamentary government. In the spring of 1920 the Tatar "Mussavetist" (Nationalist) Government in Baku was overthrown, and a local Soviet Government was established, which immediately admitted Russian troops. In the autumn of the same year an advance by Kemalist Turkish forces on Erivan caused the downfall of the Armenian "Dashnakist" (Social Democratic) Government, and the arrival of Russian troops to check the Turkish invasion was accompanied by the proclamation of a Soviet Republic. In the spring of 1921 the troops of the Soviet Union invaded the territory of the Georgian Republic at several points, and after some fighting a Soviet Republic was established at Tiflis.

In 1923 the three Soviet Republics agreed to constitute the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, which now forms a constituent member of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The following minor political divisions were at the same time established, with the object

of allowing self-government to national minorities on the territories of the three Republics:

(i.) Within the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia: (a) The Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Ajaristan (capital Batum) comprises the districts round Batum and adjoining the new Turkish frontier. The Ajar tribes are Georgian-speaking Mussulmans, with Turkish sympathies, and they rose against the Russians in 1914 and 1917 and against the Georgians in 1919. (b) The Socialist Soviet Republic of Abkhazia (capital Sukhum) comprises the Black Sea coastal districts between the rivers Psoi and Kodor. The Abkhazians, who number something over 100,000, speak a language remotely connected with Georgian. This area previously formed an integral part of the Georgian Republic. (c) The Autonomous Territory of Southern Ossetia (capital Tskhinvali) comprises a small region south-west of the Darial Pass. The Ossetins speak an Iranian dialect, and have always exhibited Russian rather than Georgian sympathies.

(ii.) Within the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia, the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Nakhichevan has been created to give self-government to the Tatars along the north bank of the Aras, who inhabit the towns and neighbourhood of Nakhichevan, Ordubad, and Julfa.

(iii.) Within the Socialist Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan the Autonomous Territory of Mountain (Nagornie) Karabagh (capital Stepanakert, formerly Khankend) allows an autonomous administration to the local Armenian majority in the south-western districts of Azerbaijan.

In the Northern Caucasus are a number of autonomous units which are included directly within the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. These are: (1) The Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Daghestan, including all the territory between the Samur and the Sulak inhabited by the Muhammadan tribes of the Eastern Caucasus, and the Tatar tribes of the steppe round the east-north-east shore of the Caspian; (2) the Adighe Autonomous Territory, including a small territory along the Kuban and the Laba; (3) the Karachai-Cherkess Autonomous Territory, and (4) the Kabardo-Balkar Autonomous Territory, both of which areas comprise tribes living on the northern decline of the Western and Central Caucasus; (5) the Autonomous Territory of Northern Ossetia, (6) the Ingush Autonomous Territory, and (7) the Chechen Autonomous Territory, consisting of tribal areas at the northern end of the Darial Pass, extending from west of Vladikavkaz to east of Grozni. The Sunja Cossacks and the town and district of Vladikavkaz and also the town of Grozni are in enjoyment of similar autonomous régimes.

3. *Political Divisions in Central Asia.*—The details of the new political divisions in Central Asia are somewhat obscure, and no complete account of them is given in the publications to which reference is made at the beginning of this paper, although a useful résumé is given in "The New Russia," p. 24. In the Russian publication *Novie Vostok* (New East), Nos. 8-9, an account is given of the recent delimitation on a national basis carried out during 1924.

In the autumn of 1919 the Khan of Khiva was deposed, and a People's Soviet Republic was established, the mediæval name of Korezm being revived. In September, 1920, the Emir of Bukhara suffered the same fate, and a similar régime was established in Bukhara. The former

Governor-Generalship of Turkestan had already been constituted an Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic. In 1924 a Commission was set up by the Union Central Executive Committee to revise, in collaboration with the local bodies, the whole position in Central Asia on a national basis.

Three principal ethnic elements were taken as a basis of this territorial redistribution—the Uzbeks, the Turkomans, and the Kirghiz—and as a result the following organizations were established and are now functioning: (1) The Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic, within the borders of which is incorporated the Tajik Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic; (2) the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic; (3) the Kirghiz districts of the former Governor-Generalship of Turkestan were incorporated in the already existing Kirghiz Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic (Kazakistan), which is included within the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic; and (4) the districts inhabited by the Kara-Kirghiz and also by the Kara-Kalpaks were constituted as Autonomous Territories, and attached to the Autonomous Kirghiz Republic.

Politically and economically, by far the most important of the new Republics is Uzbekistan (capital Tashkent). The Republic consists of the richest part of the old Governorship of Turkestan, including Ferghana and the valley of the Zerafshan, Khiva and Bukhara, Samarkand, and Kokand. The Attached Autonomous Republic of Tajikistan, covering the frontier districts of Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan, include part of Southern Bukhara and the region of the Pamirs. The capital is Dushambe.

The Republic of Turkmenistan is bounded on the west by the Caspian, and on the south and south-east by Persia and Afghanistan. It includes the whole of the former military district of Transcaspiia, and a large part of the former Khanate of Khiva and of the former Emirate of Bukhara. The capital is Poltaratsk. The area of most of the Republic is desert, and the chief centre of population is the oasis of Merv. The parts of the former Governor-Generalship of Turkestan incorporated in the Kirghiz Republic (the capital of which is Orenburg) include the greater part of the former Provinces of Sir-Darya and Semirechinsk. Kara-Kirghizia has been constituted out of the southern part of the Semirechinsk Province, the eastern part of Ferghana, and the northern part of the Pamir region. Kara-Kalpakia consists of the steppe-country south and south-east of the Sea of Aral.

In October, 1924, the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. decided to admit the Uzbek and the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republics to membership of the Union.

In general, it may be said that the nationalities of Central Asia have not developed their regional rights to the same extent as have the Ukrainians or the nationalities of Transcaucasia, nor is the individual influence of the native Communists so evident at Moscow as is that of the Transcaucasian Communists. In Central Asia, except to a certain extent in the Uzbek Republic, the vast majority of the population is nomadic and illiterate, and the political machinery is controlled by the Russian official and colonial element, mixed with a small proportion of educated Muhammadans in the towns and settlements. Whereas the autonomous organization is in Transcaucasia a growing organism, it is in Central Asia little more than a form.

ASPECTS OF THE CONTROVERSY ON CUSTOMARY LAW IN INDIA

(With Map)

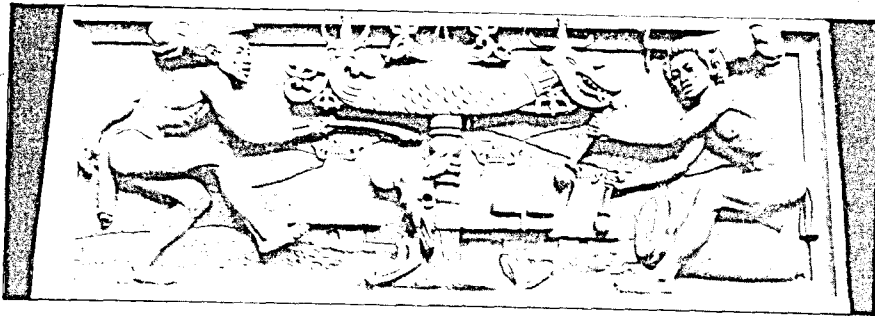
By C. VAN VOLLENHOVEN (UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN)

I

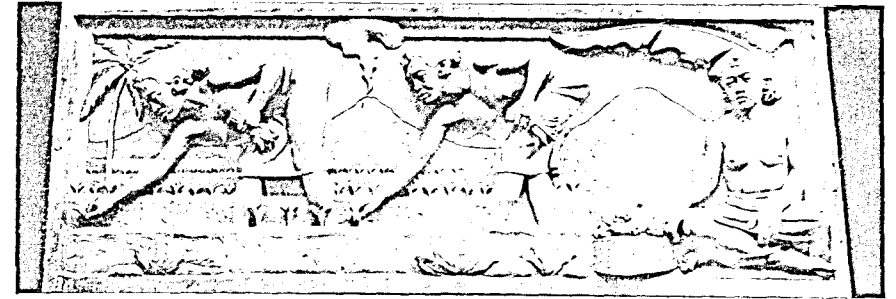
IN the Malay Archipelago three men of British nationality—Marsden, Raffles (with the help of the Netherlander Muntinghe), and Crawford—were the first to give serious attention to the study of customary law (1783, 1814, 1820). About the same time the native customary law of India began to excite the interest of Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859). This attractive personality was the fourth son of a Lord Elphinstone, related to a later Lord Elphinstone who was Governor of Bombay, but he himself was not a peer. It is hardly possible to understand the two distinct lines of policy in regard to customary law in the India of to-day, not only in the British India under direct government of the Crown, but probably in the Indian States as well, if we fail to go back to this Elphinstone and his work.

The great Warren Hastings had been Governor-General before Elphinstone commenced his Indian career, the career of the ideal administrator; for Elphinstone landed more than ten years after Hastings left (1796). This sequence has its importance. The two men, moreover, worked on an entirely different basis and in quite different territories. The work of Mountstuart Elphinstone was field work: he served as an official, not in Calcutta or elsewhere in Bengal, and not in an office of the central Government, but in Poona, and in Nâgpur, and Kabûl, and again in Poona, in fact in the States of Central India and in Afghânistân, where the life of the indigenous population was untouched by foreign influences; while he was in Afghânistân, he was the first man to turn his attention to

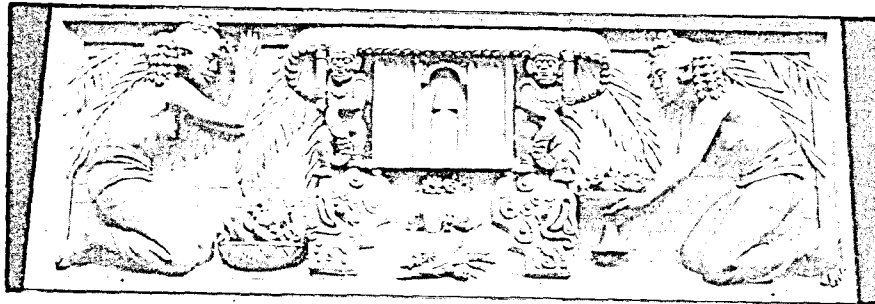
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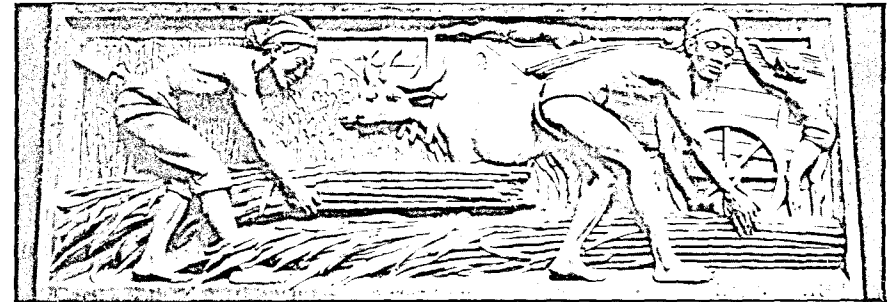
ANIMISM.



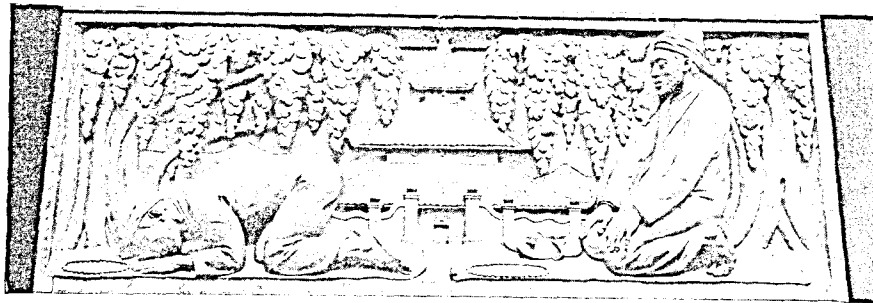
RICE.



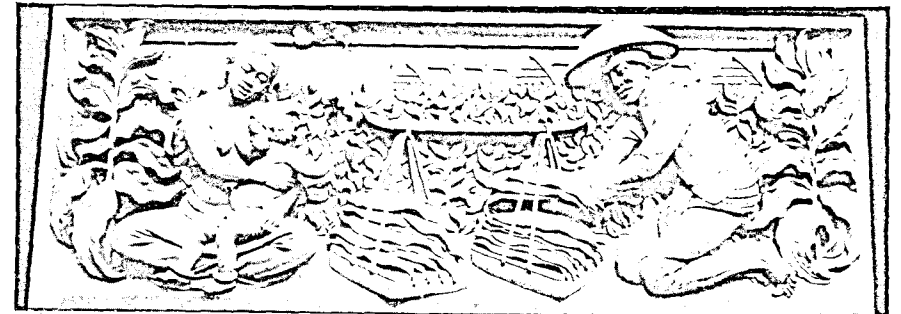
BUDDHISM.



SUGAR.



MUHAMMADANISM.



TOBACCO.



CHRISTIANITY.



RUBBER.

BAS-RELIEFS REPRESENTING THE FOUR LEADING RELIGIONS IN THE
NETHERLANDS INDIES AT THE KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT.

By courtesy of Messrs. J. H. de Bussy, Amsterdam.

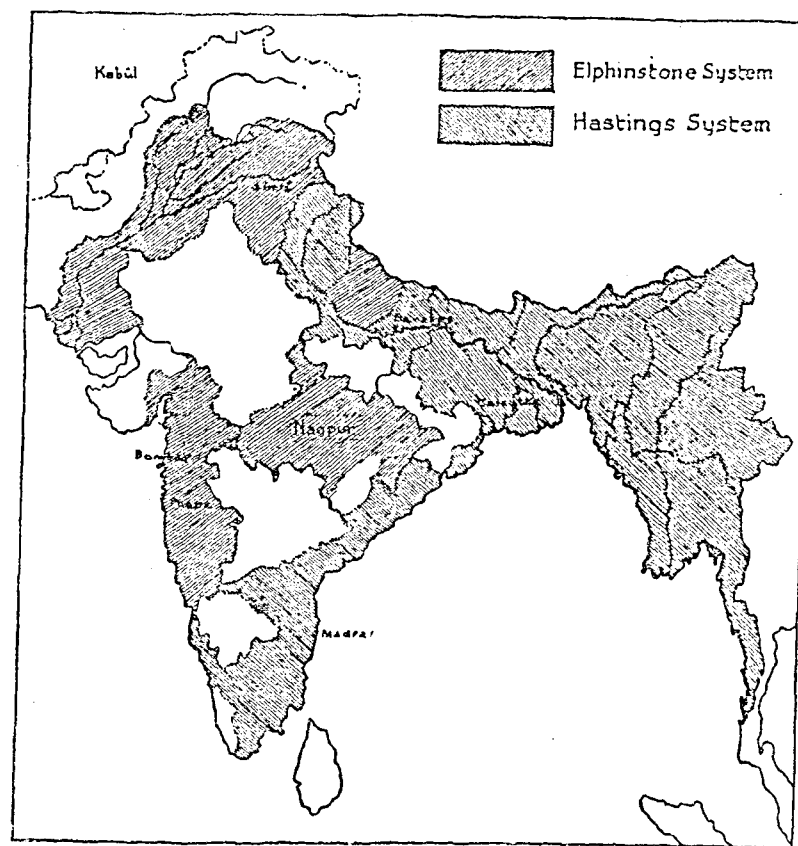
BAS-RELIEFS REPRESENTING THE FOUR LEADING PRODUCTS OF THE
NETHERLANDS INDIES AT THE KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT.

By courtesy of Messrs. J. H. de Bussy, Amsterdam.

the Karakoram (1808-1809). Coming to India very young (at the age of seventeen), without any academic training, he taught himself Latin and Greek, studied history (including Oriental history), collected legends and linguistic data; thus his eyes were opened to things Oriental, and he conceived love and appreciation for them. After a short stay in the Holy City on the Ganges, Benares, he next joined the British Resident (*i.e.*, the representative of the East India Company) at the court of the Peshvâ of Poona, the famous Maratha chieftain. Then he served for five years in what is now called the Central Provinces, at the court of the Râjâ of Nâgpur, the Bhonsla; then, for one year, he was Minister to Afghânistân; next Resident at Poona, where he remained for seven years; afterwards Commissioner for the affairs of the Dakhan, Central and South India; and finally, from 1819 till 1827—*i.e.*, from the age of forty to forty-eight—he was Governor of Bombay Presidency. All of them were spheres of activity far from the centres of British rule at that period, in the midst of real Indian life.

Work in these regions convinced Elphinstone of two things. First that the Occidental cannot be too careful to avoid forcing his own views upon existing conditions, which he cannot easily grasp and which he may not appreciate at their full value; next, that indigenous education was much needed, but education on indigenous lines: Eastern knowledge fructified not supplanted by Western knowledge—Eastern culture not destroyed but enriched by Western culture. Hasty and rough dealings, such as Clive and Warren Hastings had been forced to, filled him with anxiety; he disliked the system of land revenue, established in Bengal by Lord Cornwallis—the noble general who had been defeated in the American War of Independence—Hastings' successor; he was offended by the ruthless annexation policy of the Governors-General Lord Auckland (1836-1842) and Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856); he was shocked by Lord Dalhousie's land expropriations;

a zealous defender of decentralization to the benefit of indigenous communities, he was mortally afraid of a system of indigenous education that aimed at converting the Indians to Christianity or at anglicizing them. His opinions were definite, and established on a broad basis, and never reckless. There was certainly good reason for the people of India to express their warm feeling for him,



when he left that country in 1827; and there was good reason for the erection from indigenous funds of an Elphinstone College (Elphinstone Institution) on one of the squares of Bombay.

What significance had this experience and these opinions of Elphinstone for the development of customary law in India?

Towards the collection of facts he contributed less than

Marsden, Raffles, and Crawford did for the customary law of the Malay Archipelago. His book of 1815 on Afghânistân contained some material concerning native law in this predominantly Muhammadan country; his book of 1841 about India acknowledged (II., p. 233) that, during the period of Muhammadan domination, the law of Islam had never wholly prevailed, but that the country's law had been "a sort of common law . . . derived . . . from the custom of the country and the discretion of the kings." When in 1819 he presented a report to the Governor-General on the former territories of the Peşvâ of Poona, he stated that "the knowledge of the common people in the customary law of this country . . . is far beyond what could be expected"; that it was of "incalculable value" to have judges from the people themselves, who "could act on no principles that were not generally understood"; that the native judges consulted no books, and only sought enlightenment from a Hindû adviser in rare cases connected with the law of marriage or inheritance; that therefore the Government, while rooting out abuses—since law and judicial practice must accommodate themselves to the needs of society—ought "to cherish whatever is good in the existing system, and to attempt no innovation that can injure the principles now in force, since it is so uncertain whether we can introduce better in their room"; that the Government ought not to introduce a Governmental Judicature like that of Bengal (the *adalats*, etc.), nor rules "founded on European notions"; and that it should take care above all "(to) escape the evil of having a code unsuitable to the circumstances of the people, and beyond the reach of their understanding" (Forrest, "Selection from the Minutes . . . of Mountstuart Elphinstone . . .," 1884, pp. 341, 347, 349, 355-359, 370).

When shortly afterwards Elphinstone was Governor of the Province of Bombay, he exerted himself to promote not only good government, education, and the welfare of the people, but customary law also.

His provincial administration at once envisaged two objects—namely, to investigate and record the contents of judicial usages in his Presidency, and, after that, to lay down a rule for its application. For this double task Elphinstone as early as 1820 appointed an advisory commission with which he actively co-operated.

The second half of its task succeeded, and produced what might have been expected. In an education report the author had earnestly recommended that "the fountains of native talent" should not be dried up, nor "the actual learning of the nation" be neglected, but that what already existed should be rejuvenated and inspirited: "The future attainments of the natives will be increased in extent as well as in variety by being, as it were, engrafted on their own previous knowledge, and imbued with their own original and peculiar character" (Forrest, 1884, pp. 102, 110-111). In accordance with the wish of Elphinstone the fundamental principle of administering justice ran that, where regulations were lacking, "the usage of the country" should prevail, supplemented, where necessary, by "justice, equity, and good conscience alone"; and this principle became part of that collection of twenty-six regulations, established by him in 1827, which dealt with judicial administration and procedure in his Presidency and is generally called the "Elphinstone Code." After having been in force for forty years, the greater part of that legislation of 1827, as can be easily understood, has been replaced by later enactments, "but Section XXVI. of Bombay Regulation No. IV. of 1827, from which the above quotations are taken, still holds good, and similar provisions are to be found in the Punjab Laws Act (1872), the Central Provinces Laws Act (1875), and the Oudh Laws Act (1876) which are still in force. In several parts of India, therefore, customary law occupies a prominent place in the decision of disputes, and the personal law of parties is only brought in to supplement it."

This second part of Elphinstone's plan for customary law met with a success that has lasted for nearly a hundred

years. The first part, however, the recording of the legal usages themselves, failed. They failed for a strange reason. When, in 1815, Elphinstone wrote accurately about indigenous law in Afghânistân, he suddenly inserted an untenable remark on the relation of dowry and Islam (*ibidem*, p. 179); when, in 1819, he wrote an accurate report upon the judicial system in the former territory of the Peşvâ, he added to his account of the law of the people the unintelligible remark, "founded, no doubt, on the Hindu law, and modified by the custom of the country" (Forrest, 1884, p. 341); in his "History of India" (1841) he constantly derived the modern condition of law among the Hindûs from the laws of Manu (I., pp. 20, 21, 156-160, 315, 351). The theory of the problem of the relation of indigenous law to religious law he had evidently not clearly grasped. Now, Elphinstone's Commission of 1820—with his knowledge and co-operation—when recording the customary law of Bombay, took the wrong path in deciding that first of all Hindû law should be determined, and only then attention be given to the divergencies from Hindû law in the Bombay Presidency. On this entirely superfluous task of determining Hindû law the work was miserably wrecked. Not till forty years later did the collection of the customary laws of Bombay, based upon Elphinstone's proposal, appear in the form of a book (Steele, 1868), supplemented since by land-revenue investigations into the actual law of the people. Though Elphinstone evidently failed in working out the first part of his plan, it is to him that we are indebted for the legal principle that the judge must put indigenous, not religious, law into application, and it is again to him that we are indebted for the wise idea of maintaining, with gradual emendations, that which has always existed among the Indian population.

Besides Elphinstone there appears the name of Sir Thomas Munro (1761-1827), who was eighteen years his senior. His field of activity lay in the interior of South India and in Madras. There is also Sir John Malcolm

(1769-1833), his senior by ten years, son of a farmer, a soldier, civil servant, and author. Munro and Malcolm have more than one point in common with Elphinstone in their love of study and their careers; the three men form an illustrious triumvirate in the tradition of the Civil Service of India. But in the controversy on customary law we only meet Munro and Malcolm by chance.

After his departure from Bombay, Elphinstone lived on for thirty-two years—the last thirty years in England. He was destined to see an entirely different policy in regard to customary law shoot up like a rocket.

II

Indeed, even before Elphinstone landed in India, an entirely different policy in regard to customary law had prevailed in the older English territory, Bengal and the adjacent country: not after a struggle, nor after reflection and careful choice, but by overlooking the difficulty in the question. We must not, however, judge the author, Warren Hastings (1732-1818; Governor first, afterwards Governor-General, from 1772 to 1785), severely. The interest in the Oriental life of India, which in his day grew up and rapidly developed, was the work of scholars; it concerned itself with Sanskr̥t as a language, Sanskr̥t literature and Hindû religion, as well as Persian, Arabic, and Muslim learning. To establish order in the administration of justice for Hindû and Muslim subjects, Hastings laid down the well-known rule, that, in principle, Hindû law shall be applied to Hindûs, Muslim law to Muslims (August 15, 1772), and he ordered books on these two bodies of religious law to be compiled or translated into English. The indigenous law of the people did not come in at all.

This principle of Hastings was accepted, and is still operative for the greater part of India—namely, for the pro-

vinces of Bengal and Assam, for Agra in the North-Western Provinces (for these three it is laid down in an Act of 1887), for Madras, and Burma. In Burma Buddhist law is used instead of Hindû law; the religious law in these territories is, when necessary, supplemented—no more than that—by the indigenous law of the people and equity, or by the rules of equity alone.

In the India of to-day we find, therefore, two types of policy on customary law: the Elphinstone type (the younger, found in the smaller part of the country) and the Hastings type (the older, found in the greater part of the country). Writers on the Indian Empire as a whole generally give all their attention to the system of Hastings; which, in the opinion of an unprejudiced observer of a later generation, has broken down (Ilbert, "Government of India," third edition, 1915, pp. 368-369). In connection with the system of Elphinstone, collections of extant customary law of the people of Bombay and the Panjâb have been compiled (Steele, Tupper); in the majority of the remaining provinces such a procedure was never undertaken.

III

It is hardly possible to imagine a stronger contrast than between the work of Elphinstone on the one hand, and, on the other hand, that Indian reform which was to attract so much attention ever since 1833: the projects and the work of Macaulay (1800-1859). Love of study, especially of history, and a genuine desire to treat India well, these two men both possessed. But in other respects they were quite different. Elphinstone, who was a warm advocate of the admission of Indians to official posts (a hundred years ago) and who was on intimate terms with Indians (a hundred years ago), loved the land and the people, and had high hopes of them: "He is evidently attached to, and thinks well of the country and its inhabitants" (Heber, "Narrative," III., 1828, p. 134). Macaulay, on the contrary, felt

himself an exile during his four years in India: "I have no words to tell you how I pine for England, or how intensely bitter exile has been to me" (Trevelyan, "The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay," I., 1876, p. 423). Elphinstone for thirty years closely observed the habits and customs, the aspirations, the motives, and the lot of the Indian population; Macaulay knew nothing of all this, was not prepared for his Indian work and did not prepare himself for it, had an intimate knowledge of the extension of British rule in India and its administration, would think India habitable only when it had all been anglicized. Elphinstone was deeply interested in the culture of Ancient India; to Macaulay it is a "history abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter"; imagine that England had been content with "chronicles in Anglo-Saxon and romances in Norman-French" (Trevelyan, I., p. 402). Elphinstone would give Sanskrit books as school prizes, Macaulay English books, and when he saw the "Merchant of Venice" acted by Indian students it vexed him that their skin was not fair (Trevelyan, I., p. 409). The educational reforms planned and promoted by Macaulay—English subject-matter, English methods, English as the medium of instruction—have broken down still more badly than Hastings' policy in regard to customary law.

Macaulay's legal reforms fit in with this manner of thinking. He rightly saw that judicial procedure and law ought not to be curiosities, but are meant to satisfy social needs. But just as, in his opinion, Indian literature and art and education must give way before the English, so, for the same end, Indian law should give way before Western law adapted for the purpose. This project of "enlightenment" found its application in section 53 of the Company's charter of 1833, and was defended in the House of Commons by Macaulay himself, who afterwards had to administer it in India. In his famous speech of Wednesday, July 10, 1833, he fabricated this witty but meaningless variation on an

alleged saying by St. Augustine, which is not by St. Augustine: "Uniformity where you can have it, diversity where you must have it, but in all cases certainty." In the opinion of Macaulay, unification of the law for India on a British basis would prove to be a trifle: "I believe that no country ever stood so much in need of a code of laws as India; and I believe also that there never was a country in which the want might so easily be supplied" ("Works," VIII., p. 137: compare p. 139).

By an accidental coincidence we know fairly well what Elphinstone thought of all this. The Governor-General, Lord Bentinck, resigned in 1834, and Elphinstone in London was sounded as to whether he might perhaps be willing to become Governor-General. Reasons of health compelled him to decline; his age was then fifty-five. But in his diary he put down, among other things, for his own consolation, that the recently voted policy of customary law of 1833 would suit him very little: "With respect to the Code, I fear I should be more against sudden changes than would suit the Commissioners, and I should, therefore, probably have the talents of Macaulay, backed by public opinion at home, to contend with" (T. E. Colebrooke, "Elphinstone," II., 1884, p. 334).

Elphinstone and Macaulay both lived to see the Mutiny of 1857; Elphinstone died at the age of eighty in 1859, only one month before Macaulay, who was not yet sixty. The Mutiny changed Macaulay's disdain of the people of India into dislike; in Elphinstone, on the contrary, it confirmed the opinion that the policy of Lord Auckland and Lord Dalhousie had revenged itself now that it was too late.

IV

At the commencement of the new period (November 1, 1858), after the end of the Company, a twofold contrast was to be found in the controversy on customary law in India:

that between Hastings and Elphinstone, and that between Elphinstone and Macaulay—the contrast between religious law as the normal or indigenous law, and the contrast between Oriental law as a basis for jurisdiction over Indians and a unified law on Western lines. Which solution of these antitheses do we find after seventy years of British authority over India?

The first man we now meet with is Sir Henry Sumner Maine, the well-known professor—Cambridge and London, Oxford, London—and author (1822-1888). His career had more than one marked feature in common with the career of Macaulay. He too, like Macaulay, had been Judicial Member of the Viceroy's Council in Calcutta (the former 1834-1838, the latter 1863-1869); he worked at Macaulay's legal reforms and promoted simple, uniform laws after good European models; he too had a fluent style and was an excellent writer. But in contrast to Macaulay he had the advantage of appreciating what was Oriental; like Elphinstone he thoroughly enjoyed his life in India and his contact with Indian ideas. His readership in London (since 1852), where for the first time in England he treated Roman law as history, and compared it to Greek and Hindû law; his famous book of 1861, with that well-chosen title "Ancient Law," which appeared shortly after the deaths of Elphinstone and Macaulay; his grief when in 1861 the doctor forbade his visit to India (in 1862 he went nevertheless)—all this was promising for his work in India.

The view he took of the Mutiny was nearer to that of Elphinstone than of Macaulay; his interest in Indian law was not diminished after his return; in a speech of 1875 at Cambridge he gave it as his opinion that the first thing necessary to approach and understand a strange world is to consider it as equal to, not less than, the world we know ("Village Communities," fourth edition, 1881, p. 224; compare pp. 13, 22, 24); he even thought that the study of Indian law could bear the same relation to the

comparative history of law as the study of Sanskrit about 1800 had borne to the comparative study of languages ("Village Communities," 1881, p. 224, as compared with p. 22). But just as his historical juridical work had occasionally been based on loose information, and on the whole more on imagination and flair than on sober facts, so his legal work for India neglected to seek out the right starting-point. To Sir Henry, Indian law was synonymous with Hindû law (he too had only taken notice of the system of Hastings, not of Elphinstone); when back in England with twofold material and tenfold interest, Hindû law was all he cared for when he spoke about legal conditions in India. The purpose was excellent; the achievement fell short.

Nevertheless, Sir Henry Maine gave a considerable impulse to the study of Indian customary law. It was he who discovered the truth and inculcated others with his views, that we have to consider an Eastern system of law from a different point of view to a Western one, a mediæval system from a different point of view to a modern one. Every study of customary law, also in the Malay Archipelago, entails three stages: the stage of contempt and neglect, the stage in which facts were collected, the stage of the study of these collected facts from an Eastern point of view. Sir Henry Maine represents this third and highest stage, though he applied it to the wrong facts; though he put on the same level the Hindû law of the schools and the practice of ancient Greek law, of Roman law, of Irish and ancient German law. To him and by him it was revealed—and here is his great virtue—that there a different world of ideas lies open before us, which we can only understand by means of patience and devotion; even Elphinstone had not realized this truth. All his life Sir Henry fought against the "insularity" of the English attitude towards jurisprudence. Whoever reads the four most important works by Sir Henry in order to gather therefrom the best available theoretical knowledge—

late in the evening, in his study—runs a risk; but whoever reads them to gain inspiration, a widened view—on a lawn, or in a forest, or lying on his back in a boat—to him the reading of them is an enjoyment and a gain for his whole life.

Shortly after Maine's return to England, Macaulay's legal reforms were brought to a standstill (1882). Yet another student of the comparative history of law, the Celtic scholar Whitley Stokes (1830-1909), was to work at the unified code in India, 1877-1882. After him the project of 1833 proceeded no further.

The problem of customary law therefore still remains a problem in the policy of India. And here new names demand our attention.

In the years 1877, 1881, 1887, in India itself, a new voice was raised by a Civil Servant from the Madras Presidency, James Henry Nelson (died in 1898). The idea that such a unified code like that of Macaulay or Maine or Stokes could be put together in a few years—or decades—a code which would satisfy all, made him laugh. But he exploded with wrath at the idea that the customary law of the Madras population was Hindû law. The Madras Presidency has been conquered by the system of Hastings, which lays down religious law as the basis. After projecting an official manual on native conditions, the Madura Manual, and acting as an administrator and a judge in the lower courts, Nelson reached an altogether different view. His "View of the Hindû Law" of 1877, his "Prospectus of the Scientific Study of the Hindû Law" of 1881, his "Indian Usage and Judge-Made Law in Madras" of 1887, often went too far in their denial; but the system of Hastings after a life of a hundred years really needed a strong denial. It is a noteworthy fact that Nelson, who followed the fresh suggestion of that Sanskrit student, Arthur Coke Burnell (1840-1882), never appealed on behalf of his thesis to the views of Mountstuart Elphinstone, probably because Madras lies too far away from Bombay.

The next name in this controversy on customary law is that of John Dawson Mayne (1828-1917); he, too, was not from Bengal, but from Madras, where for fifteen years he practised as a lawyer and was a member of the judicial service and Attorney-General. In 1878, six years after his return home, his book on "*Hindû Law and Usage*" (ninth edition, 1922) appeared. Its contents did justice to native usage, but the title and design gave precedence to Hindû law. It can easily be understood that when Nelson, in his book of 1881, went for this fresh and unbiassed work, Mayne, in the preface of his third edition (1883) smiled a little over the "volcanic" attack. To Mayne also this codification, "satisfying all," of which Macaulay and Maine and Stokes had dreamed, was a chimera: "the age of miracles has passed."

Baden Henry Baden-Powell (1841-1901), for almost thirty years a Civil Servant in the Panjâb, as well as a judge in the chief court of that province, also deserves mention. The experience of this son of a professor and descendant of a well-known military family brought him into constant collision with the Hindû law of Sir Henry Maine; his works of 1892, especially that in three volumes on agrarian law (besides village organization and land revenue), contained valuable material upon indigenous law. A coherent system of native customary law, however, was no more given by Baden-Powell than by any of his predecessors.

After British students, Indian students began to assert themselves; witness the study of Malabar law by P. R. Sundara Aiyar (1862-1913), which appeared in 1922, or the books by Rādhākumud Mookerji (born in 1881), on "*Local Government in Ancient India*," 1919, and by Benoy Kumar Sarkar on "*The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindûs*," 1922, which drew extensively on living material for the ancient law of India. However, they so far have not succeeded in laying new foundations.

Finally, a Government conference on the policy of customary law in the Panjâb, held at Simla, in August

and September 1915, though it arrived at no positive result, proved in a negative manner that the days of Hastings' error and Macaulay's work of demolition were numbered.

Nevertheless, the controversy on customary law has not yet been decided: it remains unsettled.

V

What is narrated here could only be nicely rounded off if it were possible to conclude with the name of a statesman or writer in whose work the virtues of Elphinstone, Maine, Nelson, and those coming after them, were united: reverence for the indigenous element in customary law, a vigilant eye for the legal needs of the Indians, understanding of an altogether different system of law, and all this applied to living Indian law. Such a name is wanting; the story, therefore, has no ending.

But, in a more general sense, India, especially that of a hundred years ago, can give a lesson to other colonial powers of the present day. In the triumvirate Munro-Malcolm-Elphinstone, esteem for customary law was only one of the expressions of their esteem for the Oriental; they could not imagine anyone to be a good civil servant without that esteem. This same Sir Thomas Munro, who had written in a note of 1822: "It is not necessary to go to Arabia, or even to Hindostan, to discover the usage of the Carnatic; we ought to search for it on the spot" (Gleig, "*The Life of Sir Thomas Munro*," 1830, II., pp. 339-340); who, in a report of 1824, dared to mock at "our anxiety to make everything as English as possible in a country which resembles England in nothing," which was preceded by: "What we do wrong is not noticed, or but seldom and slightly; what they (the Indians) do wrong meets with no indulgence" (Gleig, III., pp. 358-359, 381); and from whom Nelson, in 1887, borrowed a telling motto against code law and religious law—this same civil servant wrote,

on December 31, 1824 (Gleig, III., p. 389): "The higher the opinion we have of the natives the more likely we shall be to govern them well. . . . I therefore consider it as a point of the utmost importance to our national character and the future good government of the country, that all our young servants who are destined to have a share in it should be early impressed with favourable sentiments of the natives."

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 II

It was in 1506 that Tristão da Cunha and Alboquerque set out from Lisbon as chief captains of a fleet of sixteen ships bound for further discovery and conquest in the East. At the island of Sokotra—where a fort was constructed for the safety of a Portuguese squadron about to be employed in blockading the Red Sea—Alboquerque took leave of da Cunha with five ships to make war upon Hormuz, carrying secret instructions that, on the expiry of the then Viceroy's* term of office, he was to succeed as Governor of India. On his way he reduced several towns on the Arabian coast, including Muscat, which he wantonly burnt. Arrived at Ras Musandam, Alboquerque had news that "the King of Hormuz was already aware of his approach and had a large fleet to fight with him, and in the city many soldiers and many munitions of war."† Shortening sail with a view to a cautious approach, the fleet hove in sight of Hormuz, the islands of Larak and Qishm being also within view. Terms of peace offered by Alboquerque being too severe for the king's acceptance, mutual preparations for hostilities commenced. The Portuguese ships formed a semicircle outside the crowded assemblage of native shipping in the harbour, to prevent the enemy from breaking away and getting to sea. The defence force was completely destroyed by an engagement which lasted for eight hours, during

* Almeida.

† "The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India." Translated from the Portuguese edition of 1774. 4 vols. Hakluyt Society, 1875-84.

which "there was not a single shot that did not send a ship to the bottom and put many men to death." The victorious Alboquerque then landed and set fire to the suburbs of Hormuz city, whereat peace was sought, and, after some discussion, the amount of indemnity and of annual tribute was settled, and a site for building a fortress was demanded by the Portuguese. At this stage, dissensions and treachery among Alboquerque's own sea-captains weakened his authority and emboldened the enemy; he was forced to relinquish the construction of the fortress, by which the subjection of the natives would have been completed. To crown all, three of his commanders, finding a suitable opportunity, deserted, and sailed away with their ships to India. Left with but three ships, Alboquerque was forced to abandon his position, and sailed back to Sokotra, where he wintered and repaired his vessels. The following year, with an augmented fleet of ships newly arrived from Portugal, he shaped again for Hormuz and blockaded the coast; but, for the second time, adverse events compelled him to abandon his intention of completing the conquest of Hormuz, and he steered for India (1508), of which he became Governor. It was not until 1515 that he found opportunity to return with a strong force which enabled him to bring the kingdom of Hormuz into entire subjection, thereby gaining what he himself considered as one of the two key positions necessary to the security of the Portuguese Empire in the East.

The historian of these exploits was Alboquerque's son, Braz, who, it must be noted, assumed the name of Afonso after the death of his father by the desire of King Dom Manuel, "for this Prince desired as well to perpetuate in the person of the son the memory of his illustrious progenitor, as to continue in him the remuneration due to such eminent merits." He was born near Alhandra on the banks of the Tagus in the year 1500. He compiled his famous Commentaries, which are divided into four parts according to the periods of his labours, from the

dispatches forwarded by his illustrious father to Dom Manuel. They were first edited at Lisbon in 1557.* The Commentaries cover the whole range of the Great Alboquerque's activities and exploits; the record of the conquest of Hormuz and other islands of the Persian Gulf are to be found in the first and third parts.

The acquisition of Hormuz proved a not unmixed blessing to the Portuguese and soon became a source of friction between them and the Persians, by whom they were regarded, not unnaturally, as interlopers. About the year 1520, Duarte de Menezes, then Portuguese Governor of India, found it expedient to send an Embassy to the Persian Court in regard to Hormuz, where the Portuguese were meeting with hostility from the native ruler. The ambassador chosen was Balthazar de Pessoa, and he was accompanied by one Antonio Tenrreyro, a Portuguese, who wrote the narrative of the mission. They sailed from Goa to Gombrun (afterwards Bandar Abbas), "a town of thatched huts," and thence proceeded by way of Lar, Shiraz, Isfahan, Kashan, Qum, and Sultaniya to Tabriz (Tauris), then the principal seat of the Empire. Shah Isma'il held his camp in a wide plain considerably to the north, and thither the ambassador and his companion travelled by slow stages. Arrived at the camp, they were handsomely entertained and assured of the most friendly disposition on the part of the monarch. After several days passed in festivities, the Court proceeded northward to the shores of the Caspian and established itself at Ardebil. Tenrreyro does not state the nature of the negotiations which passed between the

* Under the title "*Commentarios de Affonso Albuquerque Capitão Geral, e Governador da India, colligidos por seu filho Affonso Dalbuquerque das proprias Cartas, que elle escrevia ao muito poderoso Rey Dom Manuel o primeiro deste nome, em cujo tempo governou a India.*" Lisboa, 1557.

I.e., "*Commentaries of Affonso Dalbuquerque, Captain-General and Governor of India, collected by his son Affonso Dalbuquerque from the original letters which he wrote to the all-powerful King Dom Manuel, the first of this name, in whose time he governed India.*"

ambassador and the Shah, but merely mentions that, one day, a mysterious messenger arrived who warned them to lose no time in packing up and departing—the Shah's death was hourly expected, and they had much reason to fear maltreatment or even murder in the temporary anarchy which, in Persia, is usually consequent on such an event.

Our travellers, therefore, set out for Tabriz, where, in fact, the Sophi's death was soon announced (1523). The ambassador thereupon returned to the camp of the new ruler, and we lose sight of him; but Tenrreyro joined a body of Armenian Christians proceeding to the Holy Land. When at Diarbekr, our traveller fell under the suspicion of the Turkish authorities, who suspected that the Portuguese Government was sending cannon-founders and artillery to aid the Persians, and found himself a prisoner; a Turkish chief being about to set out for Cairo, Tenrreyro was placed in his charge to be conveyed to that city. The route followed was Urfa, Aleppo, Hama, Damascus, Ramleh (Palestine), and Gaza. Arrived in Cairo, he was at first in danger of losing his head, but eventually got off with his pockets emptied. His object on attaining his freedom was to return to Hormuz. At Alexandria he embarked for Cyprus and Aleppo and, after many months of slow travelling, taking the line of the Euphrates, he reached Basra, where he found an easy passage to Hormuz.

Tenrreyro remained at Hormuz for five or six years, at the end of which time the Portuguese Governor sent him on a mission to Portugal. Fortified with a letter to the King of Basra, after much difficulty, and in company with a guide, he set out by the shortest line for Aleppo. He travelled twenty-two days without finding water more than four times, and without meeting man or woman; at the end of this time he reached a place which he calls Cocana, where he joined a small caravan on the point of starting for Aleppo. He took ship at Tripoli, and proceeded by way of Italy to Portugal. Tenrreyro may be regarded as one of the earliest of a long line of Spanish and Portuguese who

travelled in Persia on diplomatic missions. Of his account* of his travels there is, I believe, no English version.

Our next subject, Pedro Teixeira, historian and traveller, was born about 1570; but neither the place of his birth nor the year and place of his death is known. He belonged to one of those Portuguese-Jewish families who dared not openly avow their religion. Although born of Jewish parents, who in all probability resided in Lisbon, he was not educated in the Jewish faith.† He himself tells us nothing of his early life except that of having been "addicted in his youth to the reading of History"; and all that can be learnt of him by reading the one work‡ which he wrote is that, tormented by the passion for travel and a desire to become acquainted with the history of Persia, he departed, early in life, for Asia, where so many of his compatriots were in positions of influence. He resided for several years in Persia, particularly on the island of Hormuz, where, in his day, the Portuguese were still absolute masters, though they retained the semblance of a king in Saif ad Din. Here he assiduously studied Persian, in order to be able to translate Mirkhond's great history of the Kings of Persia; he then went on to India, visiting several provinces, and arrived at Malacca in 1600.

In May of the same year, "wishing to go to Portugal, my own country," he went thither by way of Sumatra, Borneo, the Philippines, the sea of Japan, and the coast of California. Landing at the port of Acapulco, he went across Mexico (1601) and, taking ship again at Vera Cruz, he crossed the Atlantic. "We anchored," he says, "at San Lucar on September 6 (1601), and on the eighth I came to Seville. Thence I went to Portugal, but by a roundabout way, to keep promise with a friend. At last, on the 8th of October I came to Lisbon, a year and a half

* "Itinerario de Antonio Tenrreyro, que da India veyo per terra a este Reyno de Portugal . . . ho anno de mil & D & vinte nove." Coimbra, 1565.

† Introduction to Benjamin's "Eight Years in Asia and Africa." 1863.

‡ "Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira."

out of Malacca." His relation of this his first long voyage is very brief.

The reason of his second voyage, which he describes in much fuller detail, may be given in his own words. "When I sailed from Malacca I had left some money with friends for dispatch to Portugal in the usual way by the homeward ships from India, trusting them as on former occasions. But now this business failed outright, and I made up my mind to return to India, the very last thing I had thought of. I went aboard on March 28th (1602), and will make no mention of what happened on the voyage; to start the sooner with that whereof I propose to treat. We arrived at Goa on October 14th."

Having terminated his business, he left Goa in February, 1604 and, sailing in fair weather, visited the coast of Arabia, anchored in the little port of Sifa, then made for Muscat, where they took in water, and reached Hormuz, one month out of Goa. After a month's stay he took a vessel shaping for Basra. His experiences in going up the Persian Gulf between the mainland and the island of Qishm are best described by himself. "Along this coast," he says, "we sailed for thirty-five days, with much toil and trouble. Our provisions began to fail; nor could we renew it there, for all that shore is disturbed by the wanton ravages of the Portuguese *fustas* (foists or pinnaces), which commonly cruise there. When we got to Chilao* near Verdostam (Bardistan) . . . the head wind increased and continued. So perforce, having lost an anchor and cable, and very nearly run on the shore, which was close aboard, the captain gave orders to bear away for Hormuz, and in four days we ran eighty leagues; that we had gained, with much toil, in thirty-five. In our return we had sight of several pirates' *terradas*,† never absent from those seas;

* Probably Shilu, four miles to the westward of Tahiri, according to the Persian Gulf pilot.

† Ibn Batuta used the word *tarrāda* or *tarrīda* in the sense of a "great ship," or *dromond*; but Barros and other European writers apply the term to shore boats and even rowing boats.

wherefore merchant ships sailing from Hormuz use commonly the convoy of Portuguese *fustas*. We got back to Hormuz on Friday evening, May the 21st, and anchored in the western port, thirty-nine days out, weary enough and sore at heart."

Nothing daunted, our traveller set out from Hormuz again in June of the same year and, after a sail of a month and a half, reached the mouth of the Shatt al Arab and Basra, of which city he gives a most interesting description. Joining a caravan taking the desert way of Meshed Ali (Najaf), he arrived at Baghdad at a time when the Turks were at war with the Persians. He traversed Mesopotamia by way of Ana, arrived at Aleppo in February, 1605 and, taking a Venetian ship at Alexandretta, passed by way of Cyprus and Zante to Venice. He visited Italy, crossed the Alps into France, and came to Antwerp, then a Spanish city. "Here," he says, "I settled at last, whence I offer to thee, O Reader, this short story of my journey,* which might have been longer, had I not been careful to abridge it."

The book which we owe to Teixeira consists of three distinct parts: (a) An abridged history of Persia from the most ancient times to the reign of Abbas the Great. It is evident that for this purpose the writer consulted Mir-khond, but largely from memory, so inaccurate are the dates, facts, and names. (b) A history of the Kings of Hormuz, also in all probability only an abridgment of their history by Turan Shah. (c) The account of his last voyage, undoubtedly the most estimable part of his work, for here he shows real insight and knowledge, equally in history, politics, and geography.

* The full title of the work is "Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira del origen, descendencia y succion de los reyes de Persia y de Hormuz, y de un viage hecho por el mismo autor desde la India Oriental, hasta Italia por tierra." Anvers, 1610.

The Hakluyt Society published a version in 1902 under the title of "The Travels of Pedro Teixeira; with his 'Kings of Harmuz,' and Extracts from his 'Kings of Persia.'"

The travels and work of another Portuguese,* Antonio de Gouvea, who was for a time a missionary (and also envoy) in Persia, merit brief mention. Born at Beja, c. 1575, he took up a religious life in the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine and, having completed his studies, was sent in 1597 to Goa, where for some time he was professor of theology. At the instigation of Philip III., who, like his father, greatly desired to promote the spread of the Catholic faith in the East, the Viceroy of India, Saldanha, sent a mission, composed of fathers of the Order of Hermits—to wit, Jerome de la Croix, Christophe du Saint-Esprit, and Gouvea—from Goa to the court of Shah Abbas. The mission, which appears to have had a commercial and political as well as a religious purpose,† apparently went overland to Meshed, where the Shah was then encamped on his return march from Balkh to Isfahan, after his campaign against Khurasan. The Shah welcomed the envoys by sending a body of his principal officers (at the head of whom was Robert Shirley‡) to meet them. They were almost immediately received in audience, and Jerome de la Croix presented the letter from the Spanish king, together with presents from the Viceroy, and a gift from the Primate of India of a beautifully bound volume of the “Life of Jesus Christ.”

The Shah showed great regard for the mission, even going so far as to permit the erection of a convent and church at Isfahan, and himself defrayed the cost of the decoration of the walls in blue and gold arabesque. To a request for permission to form commercial establishments in Persia he also assented, but on condition that Spain aided him to

* This traveller, like Teixeira and his successor Figueroa, travelled during the years when Spain and Portugal formed a single kingdom.

† The main object of the mission, in Gouvea's own words: was “to instruct the Gentiles and idolaters in the knowledge of the True God; and incidentally to extend the frontiers of their Sovereign's empire.”

‡ Gouvea writes: “In advance of the numerous cavalcade which the Shah sent to meet the Portuguese envoy was a young Englishman, named Cyrle, who had been residing for four years at the Court.”

reduce the power of the Ottoman Turks in Asia. With this object in view, Abbas shortly after sent an envoy in the person of Allah Verdi Beg, in company with Gouvea, to King Philip III., and they travelled to Spain by way of Hormuz. No steps were neglected by the Shah's envoy to persuade Philip to take the view of Abbas, but the forces of Spain had been used up in over twenty years' endeavour to regain the lost provinces of the Netherlands, so nothing came of the negotiations.

In 1612, Gouvea received orders to return to Persia, there to renew the negotiations which had been in abeyance for some years. As soon as he arrived in Persia he solicited an audience, but Shah Abbas was unwilling to accept any of the excuses which he brought on the part of the King of Spain, and he was thrown into prison. After some months he succeeded in escaping and left Persia by following almost impracticable roads. After much hardship, he reached Alexandretta and returned for the second time to Europe. Contrary winds drove the vessel on to the coast of Sardinia, where he was taken by pirates and conducted to Algiers; here he remained captive till he was ransomed in 1620, and returned to Madrid. He was made Bishop of Cyrene and, after discharging an important mission to Oran, he retired to monastic life and died, in 1628, at the age of 57.

Gouvea's writings comprise some six works in all, mostly written while he was at Goa. In one of these* he gives very valuable descriptions of the various missions to the Persian Court to which he was for a time attached, and in another† he deals at considerable length with the wars of Abbas the Great with the Ottoman Turks. In one of his

* “Relação da Persia e do Oriente.” Lisboa, 1609.

† “Relacam en que se tratam as guerras e grandes victorias que alcancon o grande Rey da Persia Xa Abbas do grão Turco Mahometto e seu filho Amethe: as quais resultarão das Embaixadas q por mandado da Catholica e real Magestade de rey D. Felipe segundo de Portugal fizerão alguns religiosos da ordem dos Eremitas de S. Augustinho a Persia.” Composto pello Padre F. Antonio de Gouvea. Lisboa, 1611.

later works* Gouvea gives an interesting account of the adventures—and misadventures—of a Portuguese Augustinian Friar named Nicolas Melo,† who reached Isfahan in June, 1599, when on his way from Manila to Rome.

A Venetian named Iacomo Faba introduced Friar Nicolas to Shah Abbas, who received him well and “asked him many questions as to his manner of living and some as to our Faith.” The Friar could doubtless have remained some time at the Court of Shah Abbas had he so wished, but, being anxious to reach Rome as quickly as possible, he was eagerly seeking an opportunity to proceed on his way.

Just at this time Sir Anthony Shirley was preparing to start on a mission from Shah Abbas to the Emperor Rudolph, the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Republic of Venice. Friar Nicolas, deeming it “to be safer to go in company with men who were Christians than to travel alone through the land of the Turks,” sought for and obtained permission from the Shah to accompany Shirley and his party. As Friar Nicolas expressed his intention of going on in advance, once Russia was reached, the Shah gave him letters to the Pope and the King of Spain, “as he wished them to be prepared so that they should receive his ambassadors in better spirit.” Shirley, however, thought that the Friar would, by preceding him, “take all the benefit which he alone wished to obtain by means of the good tidings which he bore” and, though he outwardly welcomed him, determined, in the words of Gouvea, “to take his letters and even his life” in the course of the journey. Gouvea states that Shirley, while the mission was ascending the Volga, took Friar Nicolas for a walk along the river bank and, when out of sight of the others, endeavoured to carry out his sinister intentions by pushing

* “Glorioso Triunfo de tres Martires Españoles, dos Portugueses, y frailes de la Orden de S. Augustin, y uno Castellano, hijo de Madrid.” Madrid, 1623.

† Don Juan of Persia, in his “Relaciones” (Valladolid, 1604), gives his name as Nicolao de Melo, and says that he was a Dominican.

the unfortunate Nicolas in and holding him under water. Fortunately for the Friar, another member of the party came up and rescued him in the nick of time. The mission then continued on its way, Friar Nicolas, as might be expected, proceeding “with more caution and care for his person.”

Soon after the party arrived at Moscow the resourceful Shirley, according to Gouvea, denounced Friar Nicolas to the Ruthenian priests for practising Catholic rites, with the result that he was imprisoned for ten years, finally meeting with a martyr's death at the stake.

Don Juan of Persia,* who was one of the Persian members of the mission, gives rather a different version of the affair. He states that Shirley tried unsuccessfully to murder the Friar on board the galley in which they were going up the Volga, not for the reason given by Gouvea, but because Shirley, to whom the Friar had lent “a thousand *escudos* and ninety small diamonds,” was annoyed on being asked to return the money and the stones. Don Juan adds that, some months later, when the mission was about to leave Moscow, the Friar could not be found, and concludes by saying, “We suspect that Don Antonio caused him to disappear.”†

* Although he was neither Spanish nor Portuguese, but Persian, Don Juan's account (which incidentally was written in Spanish) of his journey from Persia to Europe as a member of Shirley's mission is of considerable interest.

After reaching Spain, Don Juan, together with two of his Persian companions, abandoned Islam and embraced Christianity. So far as we know, he spent the rest of his days in Europe; it would have been highly dangerous for him to return to Persia, where in all probability he would have been put to death for apostasy, a fate which attended one of his companions who was rash enough to go back.

† At Seville, in the year 1626, a broadsheet entitled “Copiosa Relacion, que se dió a Nuestro muy Santo Padre Urbano VIII. y a la Católica Magestad del Rey don Philipe IV. . . . 1626” was printed, describing the sufferings of Christians in Persia and Armenia. It was written by Father Prospero de Espiritu Santo, Prior of the Convent at Isfahan, and was dedicated to the Pope and to King Philip IV. of Spain.

According to this account, Shah Abbas had abandoned his former tolerant attitude towards Christians and, in 1621, ordered the severest

Figueroa—Don Garcias de Silva, to give him his full name—was the last of the long line of ambassadors sent by Spain in the endeavour to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with Persia. For some time Abbas the Great had hankered after an arrangement with some particular European nation in regard to the disposal of a monopoly of the important silk trade of his dominions. In a letter to Philip III. of Spain, he expressed a wish that there should be sent to him "some Spanish Gentlemen of Note" instead of simple ecclesiastics as hitherto, for "he was weary of receiving Friars as Ambassadors, and should know better how to treat with such a one, and God and His Majesty would be better served." It was in response to this general suggestion that Philip determined to send an Embassy to Abbas, though in reality the mission had a much wider purpose.

Its object was two-fold, corresponding to the several interests of the two separate crowns of Spain and Portugal which, since 1580, had been united in the person of the King of Spain. The first and mainly Spanish interest was to encourage the continuance of Persian hostilities against Turkey, in order to keep the Sultan occupied and divert his attention from Europe. The other, purely Portuguese, concerned the welfare of the Portuguese settlements on the Persian Gulf, about the fate of which apprehensions had been aroused.*

Leaving Spain at the beginning of 1614, Figueroa arrived at Goa in October of the same year. Portuguese

measures to be taken against them. At the Shah's command the church and convent at Isfahan were closed, many of Father Prospero's Persian converts were stoned to death, and he and his fellow missionaries were imprisoned and in daily expectation of sharing the same fate.

Some time after Shah Abbas had departed on his campaign to reconquer Qandahar from the Mogul Emperor Jahangir, the Prior and his companions managed to escape from captivity by bribing their guards, and were able to reopen their church.

* Wratislaw, A. C., "The Diary of an Embassy," *Blackie's Magazine*, 1924, October.

affairs in the Persian Gulf were by this time in a critical condition. Shah Abbas had just wrested from the King of Hormuz the islands of Qishm and Bahrain, and had seized the fort of Gombrun, under the protection of which assembled the caravans which carried the rich merchandize of India into the interior of Persia. Notwithstanding the urgency of the case, the Portuguese at Goa, jealous at seeing a Spaniard invested with the functions of an ambassador, placed a thousand difficulties in the way of Figueroa's departure from that place, withholding, under one pretext and another, the vessel to carry him and the money necessary for his expenses. It was not until March, 1617, that the ambassador, tired of waiting, chartered a small trading ship, and, after a voyage of five weeks, arrived at Muscat and then at Hormuz. Here he found the same difficulties placed in his way as at Goa; it was not until the end of the summer that he proceeded, and, travelling in considerable state, passed through Lar and reached Shiraz.

At Shiraz he was obliged to wait four months for the orders of the Shah, who showed little anxiety to receive him, and would not allow him to come to Farahabad in Mazanderan, where he then was. Eventually Figueroa received authorization to proceed to Isfahan, where he remained until May, 1618, when he was permitted to proceed to Kazvin, where the Shah then held court. Two days after his arrival he had audiences, which led to little or no result, and the Shah soon proceeding on another campaign against the Turks, Figueroa returned to Isfahan to await the termination of hostilities until 1619, when the Shah returned to his capital.

Negotiations now began in real earnest. The Shah received in solemn audience, besides the envoy of Philip III., the ambassadors of the Great Mogul, of the Khan of Bukhara, of the Grand Duke of Muscovy, and others. Figueroa presented a letter which he bore from his august master, in which was expressed the desire to renew negotia-

tions. In the final interview he showed his real intentions and demanded, somewhat tactlessly, the cession to the King of Spain of the islands and places in the Persian Gulf littoral dependent on Hormuz, which the Shah had taken; and further, he pressed Abbas to engage no longer to permit the English, or the subjects of any other power, to trade in Persia—in other words, that the monopoly of Persian commerce should be reserved to the subjects of His Catholic Majesty! On both matters Figueroa received a reply so categorical that he rightly deemed his mission at an end and asked for his *audience de congé*, which was accorded him in the following August. Besides the outcome of his mission, the ambassador appears to have been greatly disappointed with the personal appearance of the famous Shah, and complains that “he had none of the majestic exterior to be expected of so great a potentate; he was under the middle height, thin but wiry, with an aquiline nose and very keen eyes of a greenish colour, and his face was much sunburnt by exposure to the weather and in the chase.”

Figueroa returned to Hormuz and, in April of the following year (1620) embarked in a vessel returning to Goa, reaching India in three weeks. He finally returned to Spain in 1624. It may be remarked that, in the meantime, the Persians, with the aid of the English, took Hormuz from the Portuguese, and the political supremacy of the latter in Persia began to wane.

Figueroa started the journal* of his adventures on his way out to Goa and, while the Commentaries make a most valuable addition to our knowledge of Persia at that period, it must be confessed that he was a trifle long-winded, and that he could have set forth the history of the mission in a quarter of the thousand odd printed pages presented to the reader. He was of a Donnish turn of mind, in the Univer-

* “Comentarios de D. Garcia de Silva y Figueroa de la Embajada que de parte del Rey de España Don Felipe III. hizo al Rey Xa Abbas de Persia.”

sity as well as the Spanish sense of the word, with a passion for imparting information on every imaginable subject that might crop up, and of an insatiable curiosity.* His work, nevertheless, abounds in interesting details of the geography of Persia, the customs of its people, and descriptions of Isfahan, Kazvin, Shiraz, and many other places.

Mention must be made of still another, but less well known, Spanish traveller, Don Pedro Sebastiano Cubero, a priest, born 1645. He started to travel as soon as he was ordained, assumed the high-sounding title of “Apostolic Preacher of Asia,” and claimed to be the first of his countrymen to visit those regions. Cubero set out from Moscow in company with a Russian ambassador, who was on a mission to the court of Persia. They travelled by way of Saratov, Astrakhan, Derbent and Armenia, and arrived, in 1674, at Kazvin, where Shah Sulaiman then resided. When they came into the Shah’s presence, Cubero tells us that two Persian lords took each of them under the arm and laid them flat on their faces, making their foreheads touch the ground, to which operation, though quite unexpected, they made no opposition. Ten or twelve paces farther on there was a second reverence, after which they were allowed to approach the Sophi and delivered their letters, which craved, among other things, the continuance of the protection accorded by his predecessors to the Apostolic missionaries. Subsequently a splendid feast was served, the dishes, of pure gold, all being placed upon the floor. As they sat, says Cubero, various animals, particularly horses and camels of the finest race, were led along in state, covered with silk cloth bordered with gold and jewels. He then saw them parade with peculiar pride a jackass, caparisoned in the most superb manner, as if it had been the pride of Andalusian steeds. This proved too much for the gravity of the

* Wratislaw, A. C., “The Diary of an Embassy,” *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 1924, October.

Spaniard, who burst out into an ungovernable fit of laughter. Asked the reason of this uncourtly mirth, he could only reply that the animal in question, however deserving of esteem, was in Europe so extremely common as seldom to be treated with so much honour! On leaving Kazvin, our traveller did not return to Europe by the same route, but proceeded by the way of Isfahan and Shiraz to Hormuz, and from thence sailed by Surat to Goa. He went on to Malacca, then one of the principal Dutch settlements, whence, after a short period of imprisonment "for having violated the regulations of Government," he took ship for Manila, crossed the Pacific in a galleon to Mexico, and reached Spain after nine years' absence, having thus made the circuit of the globe. His work* was first published in 1680.

Before concluding, it is pleasant to record that, though there has been a long break in the succession, the line of distinguished Spanish travellers has by no means become extinct. In recent days, a very valuable contribution has been made to the literature of travel in Persia by D. Adolfo Rivadeneyra who, while acting as Spanish Consul at Tehran in the years 1874-5, journeyed over the greater part of the interior of Persia, and has given his experiences to the world in a most entertaining work of three volumes.† Rivadeneyra had previously described a voyage which he made, in 1869, from Ceylon to Damascus, by way of Bombay, Basra, and Baghdad.‡

* "Breve Relacion de la Peregrinacion que ha hecho de la mayor parte del mundo . . . P. C. S. . . . con el viage por tierra desde España hasta las Indias Orientales. Escrito por el mismo . . ." P. C. S., Madrid, 1680.

There is no English version.

† Rivadeneyra, D. Adolfo, "Viaje al interior de Persia." 3 vols. Madrid, 1880.

‡ Rivadeneyra, D. Adolfo, "Viaje de Ceylan á Damasco." Madrid, 1871.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE RYOT

BY STANLEY RICE

EVERYONE loves the Indian ryot. No matter whether he comes from the hardy North, or the sun-scorched Deccan, from the sweltering regions of the Ganges Valley, or the fertile deltas of Madras, where it is never cold, no matter what opinions may be held of the politician, the vakil, or the zemindar, to all who have lived with him the ryot has something of the lovable. And just because, if there is one person who possesses an even warmer corner in the Englishman's heart it is the aboriginal, one gets the suspicion that there is something of the paternal in this affection, something that calls out the protective instinct, something in fact of the "ma-bap," which was formerly the accustomed title of the district officer. In detail the ryot may be unpleasant; at times he is exasperating, he is none too clean—to outward appearance at least. He turns out sometimes in bands to give and take blows over some water dispute, and his village is torn by factions. He is indeed very like that same village which, viewed from afar, looks like some idyllic Paradise, but close at hand discovers the (sometimes literal) snake. But the ryot is hardworking; he is for the most part contented, and he bears the strokes of Fortune with a cheerfulness which many of us cannot but envy.

And so there is no one but wishes to see his lot improved. It is, of course, a commonplace that agriculture is the great industry of India, and we have been reminded times without number that upon its prosperity depends the whole prosperity of the country. To some it all seems so easy. Everyone is ready with a nostrum according to his or her particular temperament. We have been told that the whole question of the ryot's poverty revolves round the single question of manure. We have been told again that self-government will cure all the ills that the ryot's flesh is heir to, and we have further been assured that the ryot's

condition is due to his own ignorance, his own extravagance, and his own thriftlessness. There is a tendency in each case to make the Government the convenient scapegoat.

There is no science which reacts more sensitively to the combined forces of Nature and of social conditions than agriculture, and this is shown by the variety of the remedies proposed. But the mistake which most writers make is to suppose that the particular remedy suggested by a particular preoccupation covers the whole ground, when, in reality, it only attacks the problem from a special angle. Economists, like Mr. Arnold Lupton, imagine that the question is simply economic. Tracing the poverty of the ryot to the exhaustion of the soil, they argue, not always with the painstaking industry of Mr. Lupton, that it must be restored to fertility; that to set free manure now lost to the soil afforestation is necessary, combined in a somewhat subordinate sense with other improvements, such as irrigation and light railways. Others, like Mrs. Besant, obsessed with the idea of self-government, seem to think that all will be well when the people of India are permitted to return to their ancient ways, unimpeded by the interference of the foreigner. Others, who view the matter from the social angle, advise the abolition of child marriage, of the preservation of useless cattle, and of the extravagance of wedding feasts. There is doubtless truth in these contentions, but it is not the whole truth; and in no case is sufficient importance given to that one incalculable factor, human nature. That is what makes the task so peculiarly difficult. "*On ne change point d'âme comme de chemise.*"

These pioneers, though often of a somewhat doctrinaire type, are honestly enough trying to clear a path through the jungle of misery that surrounds the ryot, and their remedies deserve a little examination. And first let me warn those who revel in statistics that there will be none. The agricultural statistics of the Government of India are compiled with care, and are as complete as possible; they are issued with all the authority of office, and can be checked and counter-checked to any extent. And it is just because they are so plausible that they are so deceptive. Everyone who knows how they are compiled knows that a slight error in the unit may result in enormous error in the aggregate, and though they may serve a useful purpose other than that of keeping a great many clerks employed, they are extremely unreliable as a basis for concrete argument.

Manure, then, is the one requisite. The land does not yield enough, and so, if the ryot were not forced to use cowdung for fuel, all that waste would be available for the fields. But they are forced to do so because they cannot get firewood. Obviously, then, the solution is to bring firewood nearer to their homes, either by light railways and motor-lorries from the more distant jungles, or preferably by making plantations in the villages. Now, apart from the question of money, it is certain that the manure is wasted in other ways. The cattle are so stalled that much valuable manure is thereby lost; in some parts of India they are driven to the jungles for pasture owing to the lack of fodder in the village; and in many cases they are such poor beasts and so poorly fed that their dung is of no great value. But let that pass. If you grow plantations in the villages they must be looked after, and experience has shown that even when the forest is preserved it is cut down or ravaged by cattle and goats wherever possible. It was just because these plantations required so much supervision, taking up a disproportionate part of the time of subordinates, that they were abandoned in Madras. You cannot legislate in this airy fashion for all India, either in the way of light railways or of plantations; for apart from the habits of the people, much of the country does not permit of it. But, says the politician, it is the fault of the English Government that the ryot now commits these depredations; if you had fostered the communal spirit instead of destroying it, if you had maintained the village council system under which such communal rights were safe, you would not now be faced with this difficulty. Granted for the moment that this is entirely true, it is not easy to see how it provides any solution. For we must take the world as we find it, and it is vain to speculate on what it would be like if such and such a thing had not happened. If Commander Perry had never sailed to Japan, would the Japanese now stand where they do? It is impossible to say, for the course of the world's history does not depend on any single event, nor does it matter. And so it cannot logically be said that the English have destroyed the communal system, if system it can be called. A number of forces were at work which would in all probability have led to the same result had the British never become the ruling power in India. And it is for this very reason that the revival of the village council has become so difficult. Those who blame the Government for apathy do not seem to be aware that all their particular remedies

have been anxiously considered time after time for many years, and that, if the solution has not yet been found, it is because it is so much easier to say a thing than to do it; that what to the doctrinaire appears so simple is in reality extraordinarily difficult, as the doctrinaire, "if he were king," would very soon discover. What guarantee can they give, who put all their faith in self-government, that what the British have attempted so far with such moderate success would be brilliantly accomplished by a Government composed of Indians? The growth of departments, the specialization of subjects, the complexities of administration, are not directly the results of the British occupation; they are the outcome of world forces, in India as everywhere else, which have brought the nations into closer contact, which have introduced by exchange new ideas and new discoveries, new combinations and new adjustments, to which the civilized world must accommodate itself, whatever may be the value of its civilization. It is not often that a Government can venture of its own accord upon innovations; it follows, it does not lead. And lest this should be misunderstood, let it be said more explicitly that it must interpret the general wish, and not impose its decrees from above. If you will compare the abolition of Sati with the passing of the Rowlatt Act this will be clear. After long hesitation the Government plucked up courage to lay its hands upon Sati, because public opinion, though possibly hostile, was neither so powerful nor so well organized as to-day it is. The Rowlatt Act was passed in the teeth of a far more powerful public opinion; it was repealed, and it has been said that whatever justification it had as a piece of legislation, as a piece of statesmanship it was deplorable. It is hardly consistent in those who hold that all Governments are bad, and that that is the best Government which governs least, to require the Indian Government to govern more.

The Government that enters rashly into the enterprises which are so confidently recommended would not deserve the name of Government; it would end in complete failure, and only succeed in making itself ridiculous. There was once a Sanitary Commissioner who, being asked what should be done to fight malaria over about one thousand square miles of rice cultivation, replied that you should spread kerosene oil over the rice-fields. Or, again, it was solemnly recommended to the ryot, whose only garment is a loin cloth, that they should tuck their trousers into their boots. And when perfectly honest men recommend that malaria should be fought in India as it was fought in

Panama, they only betray the little learning that is a dangerous thing; it is evident that they have never been inside an Indian forest, or have any conception of what they are talking about. If you could establish a real co-operation of the villagers, if you could convince them of the malignancy of stagnant pools, of the importance of forest conservation, of the danger of fouling water supplies, much could no doubt be done. But to imagine that the ryot, who has always been in the habit of leaving the water lying about, to take wood as and how he can, and even at times to wash a cholera-infected corpse in the tank the water of which he drinks, will abandon these practices without long years of preparation, and simply at the call of an interfering Government, is to live in a fantastic Utopia of your own creation.

Nevertheless, if it is extravagant to lay all the blame for the present condition of the Indian ryot upon the British Government, it would be equally absurd to pretend that certain of its doings have not contributed towards it, not, as it has been suggested by the more extreme writers, with the malicious intention of keeping the country enslaved, but from a certain lack of foresight, sometimes excusable, sometimes not. Professor R. Mukerjee, in a sober and well-reasoned book,* considers that something at least is due to the importation of Western ideas. The fragmentation of holdings which to some minds is the source of all evils, and to which, in spite of the critics, the Governments have repeatedly drawn attention, though hitherto without the attainment of any satisfactory solution, is in Professor Mukerjee's view largely owing to the individualism of Western thought. The joint family, the conception round which Hindu ideas revolved, was the outcome of that broader idea which made and still to some extent makes the family the unit. But Europe with its individualism broke in upon this notion and combined perhaps with the Mussulman Koranic scheme of fractional sharing has made partition the rule where before it was the exception. This change of thought has been further fostered by the doctrine of self-acquired property which leaves to the individual the exclusive enjoyment of what is earned by himself alone, and the natural propensity of man is to grudge to the idle and the incompetent what has been gained by the industrious and the able. This defect was always inherent in a system which was chiefly devised for property in land, so that while the British cannot escape all responsibility for the

* "Rural Economy in India," by R. Mukerjee. Longmans. 6s. 6d.

introduction of ideas which in this respect have had disastrous results, it is only fair to recognize that other forces have been at work and that in the inevitable contact of nations it is more than likely that the same consequences would have followed had the British never obtained the mastery. Serious, almost radical, as this evil is, it has been already treated by so many writers that no more than a passing reference is necessary, even at the risk of seeming to treat it too lightly. A more weighty charge against British methods would seem to be the introduction of a highly complicated legal system which has operated to the injury of the ryot in two ways. It has created a class who have made it their business for the sake of their own livelihood to divert the settlement of disputes from the easy and cheap village tribunals to the more costly, dilatory, and often less satisfactory regular courts, and also to induce the thoughtless and unthrifty to go to court even in trivial matters which could easily be adjusted. It has, moreover—possibly owing to competition with the European lawyer—created a scale of fees which more nearly approximate to the Western standard than those of any other walk of life, except medicine, where again the influence of the West may be detected. The prizes of the legal profession are comparable with those of Europe, even if the most competent lawyer never makes the colossal fortunes with which the leaders of the English bar are credited; and the humble practitioner in the various district courts is often much better paid than a responsible and high-grade Government officer. A large proportion of this money would have been saved to the ryot if he had consented to continue in the ways of his forefathers, but this he has been prevented from doing by the depression of the village courts, the loss of prestige in the village magistrate, and the establishment of the regular courts, all of which interested people have been able to use adroitly for their own ends.

Nor can the British be entirely acquitted of spoliation of the forests. Even now, though every engineer, every forest officer, and every agriculturist, recognizes the enormous part that forests play in the preservation of the soil, in the retention of moisture, and it would seem in climatic conditions, the primary and direct usefulness of forests as the suppliers of timber tends to become over-emphasized. We can therefore hardly blame our predecessors for being no wiser than their contemporaries, but we are justified in attributing at least a measure of blame to them for ignoring what should have been patent, that a tree cut down can

only be slowly replaced. There is in the Nilgiri district a forest which requires a century of rest because of the ruthless spoliation of it for the building of Ootacamund. Forest fires, whether accidental or intentional, cannot be entirely prevented, and the ravages which are due to these, to ruthless spoliation, and also to the clearance of vegetation on hill slopes due to increasing pressure upon the land, cannot be quickly repaired. On the other hand, it takes one's breath away to hear from certain partisan writers that the British Government has neglected irrigation. Says a recent writer, quoting a Government report: "The ancient rulers resorted from time immemorial to the expedient of storing water in the monsoon for utilization during the subsequent dry weather," and the characteristic comment is added: "Quite so. Then why have not the British rulers followed the immemorial custom?" What this is supposed to mean it is difficult to understand. If it means that Government does not maintain the tanks, it is simply contrary to fact; if it means that Government is not utilizing the water in famine-threatened parts, we are led to the consideration of irrigational problems as a whole. Professor Mukerjee is of far too scientific a mind to suggest superficially that questions of irrigation stop short with catchment areas and drainage systems. There are parts where Nature is at her most luxuriant, where man by all logical reasoning could grow immense and very valuable crops, but where, for all that, the ruins of derelict villages show where the fever mosquito has been at work. There are parts where the parched and cracked soil seems to be crying out for water, but where it is dangerous to take it lest by so doing you ruin the land by releasing the injurious salts. These questions of tree and water, intricate and sometimes obscure though they are, are nevertheless capable of solution by the patient industry of man in research and by the patient inquiry of Government in application. The slow moving official machine may exasperate by its delays, but the rash execution of schemes not thoroughly tested will cause far more injury in the long run. We may be sure that the scheme referred to by the writer already quoted, which was successfully steered through a debate by an Indian, was the outcome of long, anxious and patient work by Indians and Englishmen, in co-operation probably before the reforms themselves came into being.

Mistakes were made; they have been recognized, and it will take time to repair them, longer perhaps than our doctrinaires care to admit. It is more difficult to deal with

the rooted traditions and prejudices of the people. The ryot is a conservative; so for that matter, if we care to confess it, are we all. There is not much that the ryot does not know about his own by no means unsuccessful efforts, and he naturally thinks that you have nothing to teach him. Theories and experiments come, break down, and vanish, and the old time-honoured way remains. Mr. Rege is right when he says in a recent article, "The farmer . . . is naturally wary of trying any new experiment on his land until he is convinced of its advantages." He is quick enough to follow a lead given by those of his own class because he knows that they think as he does, their ways are his, and their means are no greater than his; in a word, he is starting on the sure ground of familiarity. But he is suspicious of the ways of Government, and not a little incredulous. He distrusts the new-fangled ways of the scientifically instructed enthusiasts, and he distrusts his own powers of understanding them. He feels that behind the Government are to him illimitable resources, and that the risk of failure is negligible. He has even been disastrously persuaded or compelled to adopt these unfamiliar methods by enthusiastic but ignorant officials, and he becomes more distrustful than ever. When the experiment has been thoroughly tested he will perhaps adventure, hesitatingly and not without trepidation, which only ultimate success can allay. It is strange therefore that Mr. Rege should regard with such optimism the "supply" of good breeds of cattle, of plenty of fodder, and of veterinary and other facilities. He must know that such things are counsels of perfection; that, for example, the supply of stud bulls must be matched by the supply of good cows and the control of breeding. Experience has shown that the ryot has not yet fully grasped the importance of selection, and does not realize that it is a continuous and not a single process. The realization may come in time, but impatience longs to see the golden age return to-morrow, and enthusiasm expects it.

But the most serious, as it is the most insidious, menace to the Indian ryot is the growth of the industrial spirit, or, in the terminology of those who have seen the danger, of the antagonism of town and country. Professor Mukerjee is too acute an observer to attribute the decline of cottage industries to the cruel exploitation of the country by the greedy West. He points out that many of the smaller artisan trades have in fact been able to hold their own against the competition of mass-production, and seeing that industrial-

ism is an ever-growing force, which in a country so rich in raw materials must markedly react upon agriculture, he devotes himself more particularly to the reconciliation of interests. The suggestion of guilds or, in modern phrase, of co-operative societies, by which the provision of capital and the finding of markets can be secured, is well worth consideration. It is, in fact, a kind of extension of the Government plan for weavers in a famine, when the yarn is supplied to the weaver, and the Government buys the product, itself placing it upon the market. But in the larger aspect the uncontrolled forces of the city tend to overwhelm the less organized and ill-instructed forces of the country. Mines and forests and agriculture can all be made to subserve mutual ends, but the preponderance of one aim upsets the equilibrium to the detriment of the others.

What is the remedy? That is the question which will naturally be asked, but it is a question which it would be futile to attempt to answer. The Royal Commission has begun its sittings in India, and upon its findings the Government of India will base its decisions. The task of the individual writer should be to present the problem as it appears to him, not to suggest a detailed scheme of amendment, which the Commission, with the best material in India at their command, is far more fitted to formulate. If but a few points have been here considered, it is because the subject is so intricate and the various reactive forces are so complicated that adequate treatment of the whole is impossible. It is a subject that affects millions in India, but there is no royal road to improvement, and the sanest thinkers are those who possess their souls in patience.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

EUROPEAN NON-OFFICIALS IN THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE (1921-25).

By Edwin Haward. (Allahabad: *Pioneer Press*.)

(Reviewed by Sir PATRICK FAGAN.)

Mr. Haward's treatment of the part played by European non-officials in the Central Indian Legislature since the introduction of the reformed Constitution in 1921 is both interesting and instructive: interesting, because it deals with an important aspect of one of the strangest political experiments known in history; and instructive, because it throws, unwittingly and unintentionally it may be, a suggestive light on the mental attitude and political capacity of the Indian colleagues of the small body of Europeans with which it is more directly concerned. For the most part Mr. Haward wisely allows the utterances of the latter to speak for themselves. He is generally reticent in comments, but when he indulges in them they are pertinent, judicious, and impartial.

The prolonged and often tedious labour spent in committees, which are screened from the fierce light of publicity, could, of course, find no place in Mr. Haward's pages, but it must obviously be taken into account for the purpose of arriving at a true estimate of the public-spirited work which non-official Europeans have contributed during the initial stage of constitutional development in India.

In spite of such rhetorical extravagances as those of Mr. Eardley Norton in the first session of the Legislative Assembly, and notwithstanding some rather too confidently—not to say indiscreetly—favourable anticipations of the political judgment and capacity of their Indian colleagues which the European members entertained amid the early glamour of novel constitutional conditions, and in their meritorious desire to play a worthy part in helping the initial steps of the young Legislature, Mr. Haward's record shows that, during the period of five years with which it deals, non-official Europeans constituted an element of weight and importance in the Assembly effective out of all proportion to their scanty numbers. Their contributions to debate were generally those of practical men imbued with a sense of responsibility, and the importance of the subjects submitted for their consideration, while studiously cautious in their treatment of racial issues. Their speeches compared favourably, to say the least, with utterances which frequently combined faint recognition of the distinction between the practicable and the impracticable with an extravagant estimate of the intrinsic virtue of opposition. Indeed, a perusal of the work under review suggests that the presence of European non-officials did much to save the Indian Legislative Assembly from taking rank as a respectable debating society according academic treatment, touched with a tinge of burlesque, to grave matters of state.

Such a tendency, with all respect be it said, must inevitably beset

elective bodies purporting to represent masses in which a formed public opinion has as yet little or no existence, and constituting a democratic machinery which is the artificial product of alien legislation rather than the ultimate outcome of the prolonged political self-education of a people under the stress of common effort and struggle. Fortunate is it for India that her Legislature includes an elective element imbued with traditions and instincts engendered by a larger and richer political experience than has been her portion in the past.

Mr. Haward has done his work well. His book may be cordially recommended to all who are interested in India and her political education.

VIE RURALE DANS LE SIND. Gopal Advani. (Montpellier: *Librairie Nouvelle*.) 1926. Second edition.

L'EDUCATION CIVIQUE AUX INDES. Vishnu Shivdasani. (Montpellier: *Librairie Nouvelle*.) 1926.

(Reviewed by Dr. GILBERT SLATER.)

These two books are theses by Indians, both natives of Sind, who, having taken the degree of Bachelor of Commerce in Bombay University, and there having come under the influence of Professor Patrick Geddes, have followed him to Montpellier and its Collège des Ecossais, and have been awarded doctorates by Montpellier University. The first thesis has also attained the honour of already passing into a second edition. Each book has its merits, each has serious defects.

"Vie Rurale dans le Sind" pleases the reader at the start, but proves something of a Barmecide feast. The style is easy and pleasant; the book begins with a lucid account of the general geography of Sind. There is also an equally lucid, but less accurate, summary of its history. The *hors d'œuvres* are there to whet our appetite, but how about the joint? The account of rural life is meagre and superficial in the extreme. There is some account of the various agricultural classes, but no examination of the relations between them; some agricultural statistics, but not the most important of those available, and no analysis of their significance; there is a sketch of the manner in which a ryot spends his day, and a plan of his house, but nothing in the way of an attempt at a village survey, nor even a single family budget. The second course, "Conclusions and Suggestions" for amelioration, is even more unsatisfactory. It mentions some of the measures already initiated for Sind by the Bombay Agricultural Department, and Sir Rabindranath's programme for rural reconstruction worked out at Santiniketan, with a brief reference to the agitation for *khaddar*, and the unwarranted statement that that movement is prohibited by Government. But there is no attempt to enquire into the success or otherwise of the efforts of the Agricultural Department, no criticism, and no fresh suggestion from the author. If this thesis had been submitted to an English University, the examiners would probably have told the author that he had made a good start, and must now go to Sind and begin work in earnest.

And yet it is, perhaps, fortunate that the University of Montpellier acted

differently, and so caused immediate publication to be possible. For the book has a tail-piece, an Appendix entitled "Comparaison entre le Languedoc Méditerranéen et le Sind." In this the author declares that, in spite of the differences in the physical aspect of the surface, the different range of temperatures, and the much more adequate rainfall, the aspect of Languedoc resembles that of Sind, because of the desert character of the vegetation, the stunted growth of trees, the thorny foliage. But, whereas Sind is on the up-grade—order, security, and extension of irrigation having during the last half-century attracted agricultural immigrants from many parts, and converted wandering pastoralists into growers of wheat, rice, millets, and cotton, and now the great Sukkur Barrage Scheme is adding another 3,500,000 acres to the irrigated area—it is otherwise in Languedoc.

There the old cisterns and reservoirs for storing water for agricultural use are all choked up and abandoned, terrace cultivation is on the road to disappearance, there are but few cows and oxen, pasturages have been destroyed, the land being given over to rabbits and hares; only viticulture spreads; in the department of Hérault alone nearly 100,000 hectares have been "deprived of all cultivation," the rural areas are being rapidly depopulated.

If these things be true it is well that the people of Languedoc should be helped to realize them. Meanwhile there is room for another monograph on the rural life of Sind.

Mr. Shivdasani's book is of a different type. He starts off by telling us that, in India, "foreign competition has annihilated the local industries"; and that "the abandoned villages offer the spectacle of a complete desolation, the population of the towns is plunged in misery and is without work," and he presents us also with other statements drawn from the writings or that school of propagandist writers on Indian economics who hold that any stick is good enough to beat a dog with. But these are only a few unnecessary excrescences in a book which, on the whole, has a very different character. It exposes, without more exaggeration than is permissible, the unreal, unsatisfactory, and too bookish character of Indian education right through, from the elementary schools in the villages to the Universities.

It then propounds a series of proposals for reform, aiming at a complete system, which should at each stage aim at fostering the spontaneous development of human faculties, exciting the imagination, exercising the judgment and will, and suitable for creating active and useful citizens. The principles and methods advocated are partly borrowed from America and Europe, the Decroly method being particularly commended; but very largely they are evidently the direct teaching of Professor Geddes, and hence this book may be regarded as, in effect, his farewell gift to India.

It is extremely desirable that it should be republished in India, both in English and in one or more of the chief vernaculars—*e.g.*, Hindi and Bengali; and, in the hope that such republication may be possible, the present reviewer would like to draw the author's attention to three respects in which it might be greatly improved. In the first place, those excrescences above referred to should be pruned away. Next, the book would gain greatly in interest and effectiveness if a much fuller account were

given of the efforts that have been and are now being made, both by people working within the trammels of the official system and by others, to make education in India more real and effective, and to develop it in the direction which the author himself advocates. He does well to give an account of the work carried on under Sir Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan; but this is only one out of many such efforts; merely as examples the work of Chadwick in Madras and of Harold Mann in Bombay in agricultural education, of J. T. Gwynn in popularizing knowledge of hygiene, the library movement in Guntur, and the work at Adyar may be mentioned. Thirdly, and this perhaps is natural in a man who comes from Sind, where Muhammadanism is dominant, and even Hindu women are secluded, Mr. Shivdasani writes as though all children were boys, and all possible teachers and educators men. He should consider what it would mean for North India if the women were allowed to come forward and do their part, even to the extent they already do in the South.

THE CHANGING EAST. By J. A. Spender. The New Turkey, Egypt, India. (*Cassell*.) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK.)

This book is admirably written, full of interest and clear reasoning, as might be expected from the pen of so experienced a journalist and observer as Mr. J. A. Spender. It is written in a spirit of impartiality, and whenever the author has permitted himself to state one side of a case with due emphasis, he is most conscientious in following up his discussion by an equally fair statement of the other side. In the case of one like the present reviewer, who has no personal knowledge of Turkey and the most slender acquaintance with Egypt, but as long an experience of India as Mr. Spender has of journalism, the author's description of the political conditions of the two former countries affords an interesting armchair study without much material for criticism; while, on the other hand, his survey of India's troubled political problems naturally arouses a more critical attitude.

The New Turkey, under the Dictatorship of that most remarkable man Ghazi Kamal Pasha, is a source of extreme wonderment. Has the hero-worship of the East triumphed over the genuine religious sentiments of several millions of men? Or has the masterful break with the past by a man of commanding personality merely put into execution a policy of secularization which millions of his compatriots have long been approving in their hearts, even if they have never fully realized it themselves? On the correct answer to these questions largely depends the future of the Turkish nation. If it was the former, then there must be an inevitable reaction when the mesmeric influence, from whatever cause, loses its power. If the latter, then the change may have come to stay; though, even then, it seems doubtful whether the men will be available to carry on this new-found efficiency when the dynamic authority of the Dictator is no longer there to convert inertia into energy. There are some curious resemblances, as well as marked differences, between the move from Constantinople to Angora

and the move from Calcutta to Delhi. Both were movements of a central Government from a great commercial port to a somewhat remote interior, both were calculated to set free that Government from the predominating influences of a locality which did not represent the real Turkey in the one case, or the real India in the other; but, while the move from Calcutta to Delhi may be described as a move from the head to the heart, the transfer from Constantinople to Angora was designed at all events as a move from the heart to the head. But there is one greater difference, for while the departure of the Government of India from Calcutta left scarcely a ripple on the surface of Calcutta's serenity, the abandonment of Constantinople by Kamal Pasha, as Mr. Spender shows, is an abandonment leading to decay, which in the case of an ancient seat of Empire, coveted by many nations, may mean much trouble hereafter to the Turkish race secluded in Anatolia.

Next comes the case of Egypt, and here, from his membership of the Milner Commission, Mr. Spender can rightly claim authority for his views greater than that of a merely experienced observer. He tells us of the blunder made in dealing with Egypt. If we were giving three-quarters of a loaf, it would have been better to cut off the reserved portion and give the balance, instead of giving the whole, subject to the return of a portion hereafter to be determined. The choice in the first case was between three-quarters of a loaf or no bread. In the second case, the donee was bound to strive to keep the whole. *Primâ facie*, at all events, Mr. Spender seems to make good his case. His judgment of Zaghlul Pasha as "unable to effect the difficult transition from agitator to statesman," and "therefore running the risk of becoming the prisoner of the public opinion which he himself has created," is apt and just; for, whether you are Cook in England, Zaghlul in Egypt, or a Swarajist leader in India, you cannot build up a reputation in the guise of a violent extremist and retain it if you wish to turn moderate. You will always be a traitor to those you left and for a long time a suspect to those you join—only the young can succeed. But one leaves Mr. Spender's chapters on Egypt with a feeling of optimism that the possibilities of a happy ending to the Egyptian controversy are greater than the risks of disaster.

Then last of all we come to India. Again Mr. Spender is scrupulously fair, yet sometimes when he seems to have grasped the realities of a problem they appear to elude him again just as he comes to the crucial point of forming a conclusion. What can be more illuminating than the passage in the introduction to his book: "To travel over a great continent, to pass from state to state, through a maze of nationalities, with all their differences of race, language, and religion, to find their separate governments all at peace under one over-ruling government, is an extraordinary refreshment to a European coming straight from the smouldering battlefield of his own continent. *Tua si bona noris* is the tag which is oftenest in his mind when he comes to talk to Indian politicians"? And again he writes: "We have unfortunately ourselves taught the Indian to think in terms of the British House of Commons, and he is apt to imagine that responsible government as practised at Westminster is the key to all his problems,

provincial and central. Yet nothing is more certain than that responsible government thus impartially distributed would make confusion in India and produce conflicts that would be most dangerous to her unity." He is also of the opinion that dyarchy, though not a very workable scheme, was probably the best that Mr. Montagu could secure from a "queer" Coalition Government, but we get from him the rather paradoxical opinion that it attained a fair success when it was least closely applied, as, for example, in Madras. But I doubt whether Mr. Spender has realized the exact manner in which it was worked in Madras, where great emphasis was laid, not on the Members and Ministers of the scheme, but on a single Cabinet. In actual practice, this allowed Ministers to trespass on the reserved field, but excluded the Members entirely from the transferred field. It may, or may not, have been a tactful arrangement, calculated to increase the prestige of the Ministers, but it was not the scheme which the Government of India Act contemplated. It is true that the Parliamentary Committee on that Act advocated frequent joint consultation between both sides of the Government, but joint consultation is one thing, and joint decision another.

Mr. Spender refers to the way in which Ministers were handicapped by want of funds in consequence of the financial stringency then prevailing, whereby the proceeds of taxes that they had succeeded in inducing the councils to pass, on the clear understanding that the transferred departments would be developed, were diverted to expenditure on the reserved side. This is the kind of generalization which a visitor would hear from ardent Indian politicians, but one may doubt whether a critical examination of the various provincial budgets would support the statement. That Ministers did not have all the funds that they asked for may easily be true. They do not always receive these in England. But the Ministers in the Indian Provinces had certainly more funds allotted to them than their bureaucratic predecessors had enjoyed, and certainly a great deal more than their predecessors would have been allotted in like circumstances.

The author has also put his finger correctly on the difficulty the Governments in India are under in respect to elections to the Councils. Imagine a Conservative Government in power in England, when the only candidates at the election are Liberals or Socialists, when there could be no canvassing on behalf of Government, and its supporters have no candidates of their way of thinking for whom to vote. That is the position of the Government in India. To all these difficulties the author has given expression in some or other passage of his book. "The Swarajist slogan," he says, "is *absolute provincial autonomy*, yet it is manifest that no autonomy can be absolute for the Indian Provinces without being ruinous to the Central Government."

But with all his anxiety to elicit the truth, to appreciate the difficulties of every party to the controversy, and with all his scrupulous efforts to be fair to all sides, there are certain points which he has missed, even when he appears nearest to grasping them. He compares race consciousness in India to class consciousness in England. The parallel is up to a point quite good, but he omits mention of one cardinal difference. Class consciousness in England is allayed by the continual passage of men from

one class to another, as well as by intermarriage. If there are social castes in England, a man can rise from a lower to a higher one. But in India both the caste barrier and the race barrier are insurmountable. British politicians and writers always seem to forget, though they know it when they are not discussing Indian politics, that what makes government in England "responsible" is not merely the character or ability of the men in Parliament, but the character and ability of the men who sent them there. In England the electors comprise at all events a sufficient majority who have clear-cut views on certain broad issues, a sense of proportion, and a realization of their obligations to the nation at large as distinct from purely class interests. Thus in England the mutual responsibility of electors and elected is created and sustained.

In India it is not so, and cannot be so for generations to come. On perusal of Mr. Spender's introduction, his chapter on "Problems in the Background," and his chapter on "Some General Conclusions," one feels that, with all his care, he has missed a full realization of the fact that, in order to justify the commitment of power to a small oligarchy of lawyers and journalists and a few representatives of landlords and capitalists, it was necessary to pretend that the councils represented the people at large. This they do not. They represent the opinions of the political section of the educated class and a crowd of callow students.

To take for example "Indianization of the Services." It is a policy which the Swarajist wishes to press to the furthest extremes; but this is not the wish of more than a limited number, perhaps a million or two out of 320 millions of India's population.

The results of all Mr. Spender's investigations and friendly conversations with politicians and Swarajists is that he cannot arrive at any clear-cut conclusion; he thinks that some sort of federation of states is the most likely solution. But there is one point on which he really does make up his mind, and that is, that a Statutory Commission at a fixed date, which is expected to give lollipops to children if they have behaved well, but nothing if they have not, has been a serious error. A Constitution, he thinks, should be amended as and when it is found defective. Here Mr. Spender has misread the situation. Lords Morley and Minto expected their reforms, introduced in 1910, to last for at least twenty years. Had there been no war, the question of revising the Morley-Minto reforms would probably have been a subject of discussion about now. The war and all its accompaniments and consequences precipitated political changes of an entirely novel character. The Government of India Act of 1919 was a very elaborate and difficult piece of legislation, and all the regulations under it—the framing of the franchise, the determination of the electorates, the preparation of lists, and the holding of elections—were difficult processes carried out at top speed in the middle of fierce agitation. The extremists boycotted the elections, and either intimidated electors from voting at all or secured the election of uneducated candidates of humble status in token of derision. The first Councils under the reforms, therefore, consisted mostly of so-called moderate men, but even they in the first year made demands for immediate complete home rule. In the second Councils Swarajists entered in order

to make the Government under the new constitution impossible, and from time to time they adopted a "walking out" policy. The third Councils are at the time of writing in process of election.

Can the author find any sound British precedents for having constitutions perpetually in the melting-pot, or, indeed, for revision at such short periods as ten years? The ten years' Commissions provided in the Act were designed not to curtail, but to accelerate, the progress of India towards self-government, and these periodical revisions were to disclose whether the particular lines of advance followed had been right or not, continue on them if they were found to be good, but find another path of progress if they proved to be wrong. There is no insult to the people of India in such a provision. Mr. Spender pleads for an invitation to Indians to prepare constitutional schemes themselves. They have always been free to do so, and they have indeed actually prepared some schemes, but though we may perfectly agree with Mr. Spender that it is a mistake to ignore Indian politicians, yet the masses of the people must surely deserve consideration, and should not be looked upon as pawns in the political game of Swarajists.

The writer of this review was a strong opponent of dyarchy, but he has always held that once it was introduced, it should have at least its ten years' trial before it would be fair either to call it a success or to condemn it as a failure.

Mr. Spender has been told that the people regard British officers with suspicion, but he had no chance of learning the opinion of the people who do not speak English, or he would know that they regard their own countrymen with far greater suspicion. That, indeed, is the secret of our hold on India—namely, that we are trusted more than they.

People are apt to think that because some races in India have produced poets, scientists, and orators of high repute, therefore the destinies of a sixth of the human race can safely be entrusted to a select group of Indian politicians, in theory supposed to be controlled by electors to whom they are responsible, but in reality at present compelled to toe a line laid down by a small political caucus. Neither India nor Europe could hold together as a single unit, unless there was above all the component races a paramount power. Europe has no such power, and therefore it will continue to consist of numerous separate states each governing itself. India might similarly be split up to-morrow into a large number of states each governing itself, but neither in Europe nor in India can they jointly govern the whole. It is difficult enough for peace to be maintained between all these States in Europe. It would be impossible in India. If it ever became possible, then British supremacy would be no longer required. In the meantime it is no slur on Indian intellectuals that the task is too heavy for them. Mr. Spender recognizes this in one of his passages. But in the end he takes us no further towards a solution. When the next Statutory Commission has functioned, there may be more light from the experience of the last ten years. There is no need to be pessimistic. The world is governed by facts and swayed by sentiments; on the surface there is a

compromise between them, but beneath the surface the facts in the end prevail, and the fact in this case is that India cannot do without Britain. There are some Indians—not very many—who wish us to abdicate in favour of themselves. There are next to none who would like us to abdicate in favour of another paramount power. On this basis we can always hope for a *modus vivendi*.

Space does not permit any detailed notice of those chapters in which Mr. Spender makes pleasing digressions from the perpetual political theme. They add greatly to the charm of the story he tells, for they bring into view some of the marvellous contradictions of the real India—the “pathetic” content of the subjects of a paternal Indian ruler, the pathetic discontent of the Bengali visitor to the Taj spouting a flood of statistics which to him prove India’s ruin, but to others her growing prosperity; the venerable poet, Tagore, in his school of peace for young idealists, the contrasts of gruesomeness and reverence in the holy city of Benares; Gandhi, the political saint of the spinning wheel, fasting for the sins of the people, and dreaming how to restore an Arcadia that has never been; the fierce anti-British Swarajist in the rôle of a kindly Anglophil host. Is the “changing East” changing so much after all? No wonder Mr. Spender finds difficulty in making up his mind.

THE EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE TO INDIA. Edited by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. Illustrated; new and revised edition. (*Humphrey Milford*.) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS.)

The historical value of the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe cannot be over-estimated. In 1899 the first edition of the book was published by the Hakluyt Society, and for students of Indian history it has proved a valuable book of reference, relating, as it does, to events of the early history of the Company, and especially to a short period of Jehangir’s reign. Now Sir William Foster has brought out a new and revised edition of the book—an edition not likely to be superseded, for it is marked by that editorial thoroughness which is so characteristic of Sir William’s work. He has incorporated a number of new letters, and without detracting from the value of the work, has deleted some material contained in the first edition concerning the Ambassador’s voyage. One of the special features of the volume is the map copied from the collection in the British Museum, which is described by the editor as “the earliest English attempt to delineate the territories of the Moghul Emperors. . . .” A few new illustrations have also been added to the volume. Sir William Foster has set forth in an exhaustive Introduction the circumstances under which Sir Thomas Roe was sent to the Court of the Great Moghul by King James I., and has given a succinct summary of the contents of Roe’s journals and letters, together with other facts concerning the East India Company. No pains have been spared in tracing the Ambassador’s MSS. and letters from various archives, and the relative value of each document has been accurately described, and a short account of the illustrations given. The

historical student will find a mine of information in the notes added to the text, which give evidence both of research and of scholarly exactitude.

Continental critics sometimes seem to find it difficult to explain how England outstripped her rivals in the race for empire. Its inhabitants, they argue, were not pre-eminent for intelligence, nor had they a monopoly of the adventurous spirit. But a story like Roe’s goes far to supply the explanation. The rivalry with Portugal is a case in point. The Portuguese were anxious to secure the monopoly of the trade proceeding between Europe and the East Indies, and spared no effort in their endeavour to persuade the Great Moghul to prevent the English from obtaining any foothold in India. In order to thwart this opposition on the part of the Portuguese, it was absolutely necessary for the English traders to secure the protection of the Moghul Emperor and to establish factories for trading purposes. In these factories merchants would reside, and it was therefore important for them to obtain certain rights—*i.e.*, to be able to protect themselves by administering justice among their own people, and to pay only such customs duties as were reasonable. In order to secure these rights, and as other means had been tried and failed, it was considered that if an Ambassador could be sent direct from the King of England, armed with the necessary authority, that would be the best means of establishing a permanent commercial treaty between India and England. Accordingly, therefore, Sir Thomas Roe was chosen to represent the interests of King James at the Court of the Great Moghul.

Probably Roe was correct in his claim that he had asserted the prestige of England at the Moghul Court as none of his predecessors had done. The supreme merit of his journal is its veracity, and its realism is surprising. No one who has read the book can forget the irresponsible Moghul, the arrogant Khurram, the shifty Asaf, the wily, miracle-mongering Jesuit. Behind them we see the kaleidoscope of Indian life, the punctilios of the Court, the splendour of the camp, the mullah with his claim to Arabic lore, the fakir whose asceticism makes him the equal of princes. Roe himself stands out more clearly than all, very sure of his own merits.

What, then, did he achieve? Roe began his negotiation with great alacrity, and he made a favourable impression upon the Emperor and his son, to whom he gave valuable presents. The prospects of the embassy at first appeared very bright, seeing that the prince granted two *farmans*, extending some immediate privileges to the English. Roe was not, however, satisfied with these; but he desired some substantial concessions direct from the Emperor, and with this object in view he lost no opportunity of importuning the Vizier for the confirmation of the privileges solicited. Matters became more and more complicated, however, and the whole proceeding seemed hopeless; but the Ambassador refused to be discouraged, and still persevered. During the period of waiting Roe was a keen observer of all the State functions of the Court, such as the Emperor’s birthday festivities; Roe’s descriptions of these, as Sir William Foster tells us, is “one of the best-known passages in his journal.” After protracted negotiations with the Moghul’s minister, Roe was able to get his support by selling a pearl of great value to Asaf Khan at a sum very much less

than its original value. He also bestowed presents on the Empress, which greatly helped towards the consummation of his wishes. It was not till September, 1618, however, that, Jehangir having granted Roe's demands, he was able to leave the Court. The Emperor wrote a letter to King James containing compliments, and assuring the latter that the English would receive justice and a *farman* to allow them to trade "for our reception and continuation in his domynnyons." Roe also received a number of presents for his sovereign. Although all his demands were not conceded by the Moghul, the result of his efforts was at least satisfactory considering the position of other European traders in India.

Thus we see that Sir Thomas Roe's embassy went far to establish the English prestige which has been the keystone of the subsequent British Raj. India after its own fashion subscribed to the verdict of the Company, that Roe was a "very worthy gentleman." He could have no better epitaph.

FRENCH BOOKS

PARTIR. Par Roland Dorgelès. (*Albin Michel.*) 12 frs.

(Reviewed by MISS VERONIQUE RICE.)

M. Roland Dorgelès' new novel, "Partir," might be called a fantasia on a familiar theme, though the effect of fantasy is not easily accounted for. He takes as his subject a voyage on one of the big liners of the Messageries Maritimes from Marseilles to Indo-China. As a passenger he eats and sleeps, makes the sudden fragile friendships of boardship; amuses himself, talks, dreams, and kills time; goes on shore at the ports of call and sees the usual sights, with eyes not vastly different from, though keener than, the usual tourist's. He finds Port Said squalid, the view from the canal desolate, Djibouti arid, Colombo gracious and luxuriant, as many have done before. Where, then, lies the fantasy? Chiefly in the fact that M. Dorgelès' perceptions, though they react in the common way, are peculiarly sensitive; what he describes, therefore, is fantastic, as all familiar things are fantastic when presented with more than familiar vividness. There is a curious pleasure in finding the sightseer's almost unconscious reflections so faithfully recorded.

The author does not make it clear how much his plot is supposed to be the imagination of a passenger with nothing better to do than observe and ponder the behaviour of his companions, and how much is supposed to be living reality. Certainly the drama, which includes a murder, a fugitive from justice—for whom our sympathy is claimed—and two suicides, bears little stamp of truth. The tears and indecision of a man with his life in his hands, and the inordinate selfishness and stupidity of his beautiful fiancée, are frankly incredible. As the thread on which M. Dorgelès' reveries and reflections, observations and discoveries, are hung, however, it serves as well as another. There is always excitement in reading how his first taste of the mysterious East strikes the mind of a poet.

YUKI SAN (Roman). Par Ellen Forest. (*Librairie Plon.*) 9 frs.

(Reviewed by MISS VERONIQUE RICE.)

The problem of the westernized Oriental is a very real one. Presumably, as he leaves his racial traditions and conceptions in order to explore the fascinations of a new culture, superficially at least more vital and more effective, he enjoys a sense of high intellectual and spiritual adventure; but can such excitement compensate for the loss and even the tragedy it inevitably entails? For from such a voyage, apparently, there is no return; the adventurer becomes an outcast from his own people, a freebooter doomed to sail for ever, accepted permanently at no port, and serving under no flag.

The Westerner can only be the spectator of the exultation and the tragedy of such an adventure; he can never experience them. Our interest in Oriental culture is too academic for it to exercise any profound influence upon our mode of life; it is too remote to affect us radically. Our part can only be sympathy.

The theme of Miss Forrest's romance is this disturbing influence and fascination of Western civilization as it comes into contact with the orthodox Japanese. We see its effect upon Ichiro, a Japanese boy, whose three years in Paris leave him a spiritual and intellectual outcast, and in a lesser degree its effect upon his little sister, Yuki San, who feels it through her brother, and through her friendship with a Dutch girl, Gabrielle Van Nuyen. Yuki San, since she is not so profoundly affected as her brother, is able to achieve happiness at last with her Japanese husband, but Ichiro finds himself irresistibly drawn back to Paris, where he can never be anything but a stranger, and to Gabrielle, whom he loves, but whom every instinct forbids him to marry.

The author displays a most delicate sympathy with the Japanese tradition and outlook, and a wonderfully intimate knowledge of the details of Japanese home-life, with its cold and exquisite ceremonial. This is a novel which all who are interested in modern Japan will be ashamed to have missed.

L'ETENDARD VERT. Par Pierre Redan et M. Triare. (*Les Editions du Monde Moderne.*) 10 frs.

(Reviewed by MISS VERONIQUE RICE.)

The scene of this new novel is laid in Morocco, and it tells of the rising of a pretender against the Sultan, of the progress and ultimate failure of his revolt and of the intrigues incident to it—of a young girl married to an old man to seal an alliance, of how her power over him was used by herself and others, of her love for one of her husband's young warriors; of an old hag's lies in the hope of gold; of jealousy between rival women, and of the calculating plots of a leader using his followers as pawns. The writers manage their by no means original machinery with skill and, while never allowing the current of the story to stand still, keep well within the bounds of credibility.

This slight story, however, is introduced by two imposing prefaces, one by M. Regismanset and the other by M. de Pourville, which regard the

book in the light of a valuable addition to the Colonial literature of France—a literature which is scarcely twenty years old, but already distinct and established. Judged from this standpoint the book is, naturally enough, disappointing.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA JUDAICA.

A cordial welcome should be given to the new Jewish Encyclopædia which is being projected by a board of eminent scholars in Berlin. It is nearly a quarter of a century since the publication of the Jewish Encyclopædia in New York, and in the meantime there have been considerable developments, not only in Jewish life, but also in Jewish thought and scholarship. It is the purpose of the new compendium of Jewish lore to present a comprehensive and scholarly account of all phases of the history, literature, religion, and philosophy of the Jewish people from the earliest times to the present day, whilst special note will be taken of the economic conditions in different ages and of modern problems. The work is to be published simultaneously in German and Hebrew, and, should adequate funds be forthcoming, also in English. As at present planned, the Encyclopædia will consist of ten volumes of 800 pages each, and the publication will be spread over seven years.

The "Encyclopædia Judaica" will be distinguished from previous works of the kind by two main features. It will rigidly refrain from taking sides on any controversial question, contenting itself with a presentation of the different views, and leaving it to the reader to form his own judgment. And, in the second place, the principal epochs of Jewish history and the principal manifestations of Jewish thought will be treated in systematic monographs, whilst sectional or subsidiary aspects will be merely summarized. The editor-in-chief of the "Encyclopædia Judaica" is Dr. Jacob Klatzkin, who is a prolific writer on Jewish philosophy, and among the members of the editorial board are Professor I. Elbogen, Professor M. Guttmann, Dr. M. Ehrenpreis, and Dr. M. Wischnitzer. The publishers are the Verlag Eschkol of Berlin and Jerusalem.

The specimen sections of the German and the Hebrew editions that have been published afford every indication that the work will be maintained on a high standard both of scholarship and production. They comprise articles on such varied themes as "Alchemy," "Alexandria," "Aramaic," "Autonomy," "Artisans (Handwerk)," "Art," and "Einstein," all of which are written by authorities on their particular subject. The article on "Artisans" traces the history of the Jewish manual worker from the days of Tacitus to the present time, surveying his activity and struggles in various countries, and is a particularly able piece of work extending to fifty columns. The article on "Jewish Art," covering the period from the Middle Ages to the present day, is likewise a notable contribution, with striking illustrations.

ORIENTALIA

ESSAI SUR L'HISTOIRE ANTIQUE D'ABYSSINIE. Par A. Kammerer, Ministre Plénipotentiaire. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner*.) 1926.

Abyssinia, like other countries of the Ancient East, has had a remarkable history, but it has been relatively little investigated as compared with Egypt and Mesopotamia. Excavations and historical research have been limited in extent, although often admirable in quality, but what has already been done in this direction indicates great promise for future intensive exploration.

Until Dr. Kammerer took the subject in hand, no comprehensive history of the country had been produced. We have had hitherto to rely for our materials upon the accounts of travellers, and the scientific reports of archaeologists on specific expeditions, usually very technical in nature and scattered in the publications of learned societies, difficult of access to the general reader. The main purpose of the present work is to collect the scattered data into a continuous narrative, and is concerned chiefly with the rise and fall of the kingdom of Axum, or Aksum, and covers a period of about eight hundred years, beginning in the first century B.C. Interesting information is given in the introductory chapters and in the appendices concerning the prehistoric civilization of the country, together with special points bearing upon the Axumite history, such as the evidence of Strabo and of numismatics. The work is well planned, well executed, pleasantly written, and admirably documented. Specially worthy of praise are the illustrations. These consist of four maps and a series of forty-four plates, mostly collotypes, and for the most part depicting subjects hitherto unpublished.

Abyssinia formed part of that vague and mysterious region known to the ancients as Ethiopia. To-day Ethiopia is still the official name of Abyssinia, but to the ancient historians it comprised all they knew of the African Continent south of the First Cataract. The geographical position of the country has rendered it subject to extensive contact with Arabia on the east and with Nubia on the west, and evidence of the mutual reactions of these regions abounds in its history.

The original inhabitants were a mixture of negroes, Nubians, and various other peoples of the Hamitic family, and very early a strong Semitic element from Arabia entered into the complex. The sources of history are comprised in such references as exist in classical literature, in a series of local inscriptions in various languages, in the indications provided by the ancient coinage, and in the King-lists of more modern times which preserve the traditions of the country's past.

In an interesting series of chapters, Dr. Kammerer has traced the rise and fall of the Axumite kingdom, which came into being in the middle of the first century B.C., and which lasted until the end of the seventh century A.D. At the height of its career, the kingdom spread its bounds over a relatively large territory. The kings undertook extensive campaigns in Arabia on the one hand, and in Nubia on the other, which terminated in the subjugation of the kingdom of Meroë. The Axumite kingdom came into contact with Hellenistic civilization, but was in its language

and customs mainly Semitic, and became Christian in the middle of the fourth century. The adoption of Christianity was signalized by a fierce and intolerant iconoclasm, to which we owe the loss of so many vestiges of the previous pagan culture. Such monumental remains as have survived, however, display advanced achievements in architecture. Of the civilization of the Axumite kingdom, an admirable summary will be found in chapter xiv.

Long before the relatively late times of the kingdom of Axum, a megalithic culture existed in the country. Although of wide extent, it is chiefly in evidence in those regions of the land to which Semitic influence had not penetrated. This ancient civilization was evidently inspired by Egypt, and came by way of Nubia. It is known that the Egyptian kings of the earliest dynasties sent expeditions to Nubia, and these exerted a wide influence on the native civilization, which the excavations of recent years have made apparent. The rude but massive dolmens and other megalithic monuments of Abyssinia, as elsewhere, were crude imitations, made by peoples at a lower cultural level, of the great stone monuments of the Pyramid Age in Egypt. These works provided evidence of one of the many ramifications of the cultural waves which spread from Egypt in all directions, and of which the writings of Elliot Smith and Perry have given so suggestive an account. Even in the historic period of Axum colossal stelæ were set up for funerary purposes, and these, being provided with "false doors" and altars, are the most palpable imitations of the similarly conceived Egyptian stelæ, although their decoration was of Arabic origin. In the southern parts of Abyssinia there exist (although hitherto unpublished) in great numbers huge phallic monoliths of basalt or granite, and these are set up in positions often far removed from quarries. It is a curious feature of megalithic monuments in all parts of the world that they are so often erected at great distances from their ultimate places of origin, as indeed were many of the great monuments of Egypt. The transport of these monsters was a feat of ceremonial nature in Egypt, and it is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions and recorded on the monuments. In borrowing from Egypt the idea of erecting massive monuments, it would appear that the idea of their transport was simultaneously adopted as an essential complement of the process. These phallic monuments may have been suggested by the obelisks of Egypt, and, indeed, the rude symbols with which many of them are inscribed show beyond question that they were connected with the sun-cult: in any case, monoliths of exactly this type occur nowhere else in the world except in the forests of Yucatan.

In this brief notice it is impossible to enumerate more than a small fraction of the many interesting topics dealt with in Dr. Kammerer's book. It forms a worthy and welcome addition to the literature, not only of Abyssinia, but of early civilization in general.

W. R. D.

ARCHÆOLOGY

LA CIVILISATION PHÉNICIENNE. By Dr. G. Contenau. With 137 illustrations. (Paris: Payot.) 25 francs.

This interesting volume, which belongs to the same series as M. Jequier's History of "La Civilisation Egyptienne," reviewed not long ago in these columns, give us some remarkable new information about the Phœnicians, that mysterious people of great navigators. We know that Renan already in the sixties was entrusted by the French Government with making researches and excavations near Beyrout, which resulted in his getting access to important Phœnician inscriptions, subsequently published under the title of "Corpus Inscriptorum." This great Oriental savant considered this work of his—found after his death on stray leaves with notes and remarks—as the best work he had ever done. Indeed, it is this expedition which formed the basis of Phœnician archæology, now so well represented in the Louvre, together with other discoveries of Gaillardot, Vogné, Laborde, and others.

It was in 1887 that near Saïda (the ancient Sidon) various sarcophagi were discovered, one of them showing Egyptian influence, and with a Phœnician inscription, giving the name of one of the Phœnician kings, "Tabnit," and others in white marble, displaying Greek influence. These latter are known under the name of sarcophagi of "Alexander the Syrian," the "Satrape," and the "Pleureuses." They all found their way to Constantinople, where Hamdi Bey, the director of the Imperial Museum, constructed a special wing for them. Later on in 1901, again in the environs of Saïda, Macridy Bey, the curator of the same museum, undertook excavations with some German archæologists, which resulted in the discovery of a Phœnician sanctuary in the form of a temple consecrated to Eshmun, the Phœnician Adonis. It was in 1914 that the French Government entrusted the author of this remarkable book with the task of again undertaking excavations in Saïda in collaboration with Macridy Bey. Interrupted by the Great War, they were resumed in 1920. M. Contenau gives us a description of the Saïda of to-day, a town of about 12,000 inhabitants, with a port which had been rendered impracticable already in olden times. The site of the old Sidon is now covered with orange and lemon trees and multifarious flowers. A castle situated near the sea, erected by the Crusaders, attracts at once the traveller as he approaches from the direction of Beyrout. But it is under the more ancient building opposite, called the castle of St. John, that M. Contenau undertook his excavations. They brought to light various objects of the Bronze Age, corresponding to about 1,000 years before our era, such as ancient furniture, and a statuette of Venus of the Roman period, very well preserved, still wearing golden rings and earrings. In another place M. Contenau discovered a sarcophagus, with the drawing of a Phœnician merchant ship, similar to that called in the Bible the "ship of Tarsus," of which he gives us an excellent illustration. These excavations are being continued at Saïda and have been extended also to Tyre by the archæologist, Madame de Latteur, who found together with M. Pupil a sanctuary with old Greco-

Roman paintings. We must not fail also to mention M. Montet, who in 1919, when visiting Djebel, the old Biblos, excavated an ancient temple, where he discovered numerous offerings to the dead, inscriptions with *cartouches* of Egyptian Pharaohs, one of them giving the name of Mycerenius of the IVth Dynasty, the builder of a great pyramid; also seals in the shape of scarabs and jewels about 1,800 years before our era. These discoveries are, as the author points out, of great historical value, and they show us that already from ancient times, as Plutarch also asserts, the Phœnician town of Byblos was closely associated with the religious customs of Egypt, and prove the continuous intercourse that existed for centuries between Phœnicia and Egypt. M. Contenau finally mentions also tombs of Phœnician kings found by Montet, one of them a contemporary of Ramses II. of the XIXth Dynasty; in this sarcophagus figured representations of the Phœnician art of that period are represented, and an engraved inscription. This, he says, is yet another important discovery; for it was until now thought that the Phœnician alphabet was invented about 1250 years before our era, whereas this inscription dating from the thirteenth century obliges us to revise our opinion on this point. In this connection an interesting discovery has been recently made by Dr. Morel at Glozel, near Vichy, where implements of the Stone Age have been unearthed bearing inscriptions. He argues "that the Phœnicians really derived their alphabet from Neolithic tribes, as may be seen in striking resemblances in the forms of the letters"; the distinguished French academician, Solomon Reinach, has been able to confirm these statements. Also at Carthage, which, as we know, like Cyprus and Marseilles, had been founded by the Phœnicians, great discoveries have been made by M. Debattre. Most of these important finds have been placed hitherto in two museums: the Louvre and Constantinople. Some private collectors also acquired Phœnician antiquities, as, for instance, the French Consul Peretie and Dr. Toid, the Director of the American Mission at Saïda.

Besides these descriptions of the various excavations leading to such important results, M. Contenau gives us in his book a lucid survey of the origin, the history, the religion, the art, and literature of the Phœnicians, and the various influences which have contributed to build up in the course of centuries this interesting people. Not only the Semitic nation, as Dr. Movers hitherto asserted, but also, as M. Contenau has now proved, the Egyptians, the Cananeans, the Hittites, and above all the Ægeans, have amalgamated and mixed with them. Indeed, the Ægean influence was paramount. Helbig, another well-known archæologist, has even concluded that the numerous so-called Mycænic monuments found in Phœnicia were really Phœnician, and that their prodigious dispersion in the world proved the colonial expansion of the Phœnicians. He, moreover, interpreted the representations of the Ægeans (the Keftins—that is to say, the Cretans) bringing presents as shown on the paintings on Egyptian tombs as a phase of Phœnician rather than of Mycænic art. It is certain that the Phœnicians had a great influence on the cultural evolution of the human race. Their propensity for commerce and navigation formed a

link between East and West from early times. They were the first propagators of comfort and well-being, of everything which contributes to make life more interesting. Whether or no they were, as has been conjectured, the inventors of the alphabet is uncertain, but in any case they helped to generalize its use.

This methodically arranged and well-conceived book, with its fine illustrations, makes easy reading, thanks to its elegant style, and should be highly recommended not only to specialists, but also to the general public.

L. M. R.

FOUILLES DU CORPS D'OCCUPATION FRANÇAIS DE CONSTANTINOPLE.

Par R. Demangel. Le Tumulus dit de Protésilas. 1926. Pp. 79.
Price 100 frs.

This most important site was excavated during 1920-1923 by troops detailed for the task by the French Headquarters. The excavation was carried out mainly by Lieutenant Boff with a detachment of the Gallipoli garrison. The results are now published by M. Demangel, whose name is well known to archæologists.

The site, at first thought to be a tomb, was proved "après les premiers travaux" to be a habitation site of the same periods as Troy I. and Troy II. It thus constitutes the Trojan stronghold across the straits to control the Dardanelles, though its life was not so long as that of Troy, for some reason which we do not know. Substantially the same pottery and artefacts were found as appear at Troy. Four principal strata were established, the last being of the historic period and associated with architectural remains. The lowest stratum revealed traces of a rectangular house with a circular hearth attached to it.

The publication is important and very clearly set forth. But the excavation does not seem to have been carried out in such a way as to produce from the site as much as a site of this kind should produce. The method of excavation was unsuited to a carefully stratified site such as this, and the central core of the mound seems to have been largely removed and its contents scattered before the excavators, who were under no sort of expert supervision, had realized the sort of site which they were digging. The plan on p. 3 reveals a method of digging which could under no circumstances uncover layer by layer the various strata. They are, in consequence, determined largely by guesswork from the lateral observation of the sides of trenches, a system always deceptive. "On abandonna ensuite le système des puits," says the author, after the excavators had realized that it was a prehistoric site; but the "puits" had already largely ruined the site. If a preliminary surface observation of the mound had been carried out in the first instance by an expert it could not possibly have escaped his notice that the site was prehistoric settlement, even if he was ignorant of the fact that Schliemann had wished to excavate the site as prehistoric (p. 5). But the excavators had no such expert advice, it seems, because "toutefois (*i.e.*, despite Schliemann's belief) l'opinion semblait généralement admise, que ce tumulus renfermait le tombeau de Protésilas." "Généralement" applies not to archæologists,

because the veriest tyro could have spotted it as a prehistoric site, but to the French officers who knew their classics. Actually, to judge by the classical remains on the site, it was held in veneration in antiquity as the Tomb of Protesilaos, just as the Tomb of Batieia in the Troad was really a prehistoric mound.

The results here published are interesting and important, but as an example of military archæology it has all the defects of that pursuit, and should serve as a warning to those who think that excavations mean merely the shifting of earth.

S. C.

THE NEAR EAST.

THE ORIGIN OF ISLAM IN ITS CHRISTIAN ENVIRONMENT. The Gunning Lectures, Edinburgh University, 1925. By Richard Bell, M.A., B.D. (Macmillan.) 1926. 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

The earliest Christian theologians who concerned themselves with Islam regarded it as a schism, being evidently more ready to recognize common features in the theological dogmas of the rival creeds than the controversialists of later generations have been. Many circumstances contributed to the more ignorant judgment which became widespread in Western Christendom and regarded Islam as a form of heathenism. The extraordinarily distorted conception of Muslim beliefs which the Crusaders brought back with them was responsible for many errors that took deep root in Europe, and the controversies of the sixteenth century, when it was easy to excite a prejudice against a Protestant theologian by declaring that he had derived his special doctrines from Muhammadan sources, made the author of any impartial judgment of Islam at once suspect. This hostile spirit still informs much of the literature upon the rival faith published in the English language, and Mr. Bell's book is especially welcome as breaking with such an evil tradition. It is made up of lectures delivered to Scottish ministers in the Divinity Hall of Edinburgh University, and the shade of the late Professor Robertson Smith may well marvel at the change that has come over the University which in 1881 expelled him for heresy.

German scholars have for some decades been publishing a number of studies on the Christian influences discoverable in the beginnings and early development of Islam, but hitherto English writers have paid little attention to such a fruitful department of Islamic studies, and Mr. Bell's book will be a valuable addition to the library of the student who has not had access to the writings of Continental scholars. The author sets out by giving an account of the rise of Christianity in Arabia and its condition at the period of the birth of Muhammad; then follows a careful and detailed study of those passages in the Quran which appear to suggest Christian influences, and a summary of Muhammad's attitude towards Christianity. The last two chapters deal briefly with the points of contact between Christianity and the early Muslims up to about the second century

of the Muhammadan era. The author deals in a clear and attractive manner with his materials—not always an easy task when they are scanty and hidden away in diverse sources—and his work will be welcomed by a much larger audience than that for which it was first compiled.

But it is clearly not by any means an exhaustive treatise on the subject, and the author himself would probably not wish to make such a claim for his book. The student who cares to follow up the investigation will find in other sources further information about the state of the Christian churches in and near Arabia just before the birth of Muhammad, and the writings of St. Ephrem of Edessa, one of the greatest fathers of the Syrian Church, provide many more parallels to the characteristic teachings of Muhammad than are given in Mr. Bell's book.

THE MOSUL QUESTION. By V. F. M. *Reference Service on International Affairs of the American Library in Paris, Inc.* With two Maps. \$1. April 15, 1926.

This is a painstaking and scrupulously documented summary of published documents relating to a question which has now, fortunately for the peace of the Middle East, been definitely settled, in accordance with the best traditions of European diplomacy, by a tripartite agreement between Turkey, Iraq, and Great Britain. It has the defects of its qualities. The writer, like most of his countrymen who write or speak on diplomatic problems, emphasizes, in his efforts to be impartial, the legalistic aspects of the problem; the views of individual and irresponsible private members of the House of Commons are set forth at some length in large print, whilst facts and diplomatic documents of great importance are merely cited in footnotes. The political advantages accruing to Great Britain through the award of Mosul to Iraq are strongly emphasized; it is claimed that "by removing the frontier far to the north of the Mesopotamian plains, Great Britain obtains more security for the imperial communications which may eventually be developed between the shores of the Mediterranean . . . and India." In support of this statement an article by Père Poidebard, a learned Jesuit priest, is cited in a footnote; the views of the late Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson on the subject are not mentioned!

"The Mosul settlement," says the author, "completes the encirclement of Persia by zones of British influence," a statement which carries its own refutation, and would cause amusement in Persia.

Rawanduz, it seems, is important to Iraq "only on account of its situation at the head of several tracks leading into Azarbaijan," and which before 1917 was "the stronghold of Russian influence." If such were the case, strategical prudence would surely demand that Rawanduz be awarded to Turkey, so as to prevent Russian penetration into Iraq, if and when Azarbaijan once more becomes the stronghold of Russian influence. As a matter of fact, the Rawanduz—Sauj Bulaq—track is, as the Russians found to their cost during the war, exceedingly difficult; the Wazneh pass, fifty miles to the south, is far more promising.

The pamphlet is a masterpiece of *précis*-writing, but read in conjunction with the terms of settlement, it will serve to emphasize to the student of affairs that the solution of complicated international problems is to be reached less by the painstaking study of public documents than by the friendly personal interchange of views between accredited diplomatists. In fact, the diplomatist has come into his own again, and the efficacy of old-fashioned diplomatic methods has been signally vindicated in the statesmanlike settlement of this thorny question.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE HISTORY OF ATLANTIS. By Lewis Spence. (*Rider*.) 10s. 6d. net.
(Reviewed by Miss F. R. SCATCHERD.)

Readers of "The Problem of Atlantis," already in its fourth thousand, will eagerly welcome "The History of Atlantis," by the same author. Others, less informed, will be prejudiced by the term "history" as applied to the Atlantean tradition recorded by Plato, of which Archer-Hind declares that it is impossible to determine whether Plato invented the whole story, or whether it really embodies some Egyptian legend brought to Athens by Solon. Most commentaries of Plato have regarded it as a mere fable—"a noble lie" invented by the great philosopher. Plato himself stresses the historicity of the account over and over again. "Strange, yet perfectly true," is one comment in the "Timæus," in which also Socrates is quoted as saying: "The fact that it is no fictitious tale, but a true history, is surely a great point."

The author is well aware of the gravity of applying the term "history" to such a subject. The very title, "The History of Atlantis," might well, he says, be regarded as an insult to the intelligence of most readers. His views on the subject of historical science are interesting. He points out the function of inspiration in the elucidation of archaeological problems. By its aid, as much as by learning, Egyptian hieroglyphics and Babylonian cuneiform script were deciphered. Schliemann inspirationally divined the site of Troy before excavation. Inspirational methods, he holds, will guide the archaeology of the future. Even now, he maintains, archaeology and folklore are mainly dependent upon analogy, an instrument of inspiration, and if wielded truly it is capable of extraordinary results.

Tradition, maintains Mr. Lewis Spence, if used with prudence, is as capable of furnishing historical evidence as the best attested documents. He remembers the time when Menes, the first King of the First Dynasty, was regarded as a mythical personage. Russian Cyrillic versions of Josephus have been found to contain a pen-picture of the great Founder of Christianity, which disposes of the arguments of those seeking to prove Him a mythical character.

We all recall the manner in which we laughed at Sir Harry Johnston's "mythical" *okapi*, before it was found, killed, and stuffed for exhibition, and how we sneered at Mr. Hesketh Prichard's giant sloth until that notable traveller discovered its stable and a large piece of its skin in Patagonia. All these were "traditions" to some, truths to others.

The purpose of Mr. Spence's book is to try to prove that we do find vestiges of a civilization such as Plato indicates in countries contiguous to the lost continent of Atlantis. He contends that it is possible to equate the very brief statements made by Plato concerning the geography, religion, and customs of Atlantis with those of neighbouring peoples, and brings forward a wealth of historical and archaeological data in such a manner as to carry a certain amount of conviction to all but the most cursory and indifferent readers. But even the latter will nevertheless read the work with delight on account of its graphic interest and fascinating lucidity.

SHORTER NOTICES

THE ROAD TO LAMALAND. By "Ganpet." (*Hodder and Stoughton*.) 20s. net.

This is a very readable addition to our literature on Tibet, for the author combines a thorough knowledge of his subject with an attractive style. He commenced his journey at Shrinagar, and proceeded to Leh, of which he describes the monasteries in a special chapter. The illustrations are very useful, but a supply of maps would have been an additional help. Particular attention must be drawn to what the author has to say about the Indus Valley.

HIMALAYAN TIBET. By Dr. A. Reeve Heber and Kathleen Heber. (*Seeley Service*.) 21s. net.

Dr. A. H. Franke has given us a history of Tibet, an excellent book which is now difficult to obtain. This more popular representation is therefore very welcome. The reader obtains a thorough insight into the life, both domestic and out-door, of Little Tibet, its religion, sports and pastimes, its rites and ceremonies.

PASSENGER TO TEHERAN. By V. Sackville-West. (*Hogarth Press*.) 12s. 6d. net.

The author of this volume describes a journey via Egypt and Mesopotamia to Persia. The major portion is devoted to the latter country, upon which it brings our travel knowledge up to date, especially as the narrator spared no pains to get into touch with the people. Particular mention should be made of the excellent photographs throughout, one of which represents the coronation of Riza Khan, to a description of which a whole chapter is devoted.

POETRY

THE GARDEN OF A THOUSAND
WATERFALLS

BY JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON

THE song of birds, the water-lilies' spell,
 The peonies athwart the runlets bent,
 The tolling of the temple's olden bell,
 The sunset sheen on hill and battlement—
 Back, back and back the Chinese garden calls,
 My Garden of a Thousand Waterfalls.

The silks and satins rustle as they go
 With soft sedateness through the wilderness
 Of tintured sweets, and fans wave to and fro,
 This wave a sigh, this folding a caress—
 Slow, courteous speech, light laughter, ancient walls,
 My Garden of a Thousand Waterfalls.

Water has music that is nigh to speech,
 And peonies are like a colour-chord,
 And paths that wind by almond and by peach
 Are like to jars of perfumes freshly poured,
 Whose each outpouring some new sense enthrals—
 My Garden of a Thousand Waterfalls!

But, O, when moon has risen, and her light
 Spills like a veil on peony and rose,
 And all the marble terraces are white,
 And white the spray of each dark fountain shows—
 That is the hour when my heart best recalls
 My Garden of a Thousand Waterfalls.

For scented, scented, tinkle little feet,
 And through the jasmine peeps a flower-face.
 Even to-day, to-day my heart doth beat,
 That hath been dust these many myriad days.
 Ah, Love! Moon sleeps. Night droops in ebon palls.
 Ah, Garden of a Thousand Waterfalls!

THE
ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1927

THE INDIAN QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA
AND THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

BY SIR DARCY LINDSAY, C.B.E.

[The author has been a Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly since 1921, and served on the Indian Delegation to South Africa.]

THE Round Table Conference held at Cape Town in December and January last to consider what is commonly termed the Indian question in South Africa, with a view to arriving, if possible, at a satisfactory settlement of a difficult problem that for years past has been a constant source of irritation, was an epoch-making event in the history of India. For the first time India without the intervention of the Secretary of State entered into direct negotiations with a Dominion. She sent an important and representative Delegation to South Africa at the invitation of the Union Government to attend a Round Table Conference on a matter of high Imperial policy, and she has thereby taken her place in inter-Imperial relations as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The outcome of the Conference is likely to be a cementing of the bonds of Empire, for complete agreement was reached on many issues, and a sure foundation laid for a more sympathetic understanding between the two countries than has, unfortunately, hitherto been the case. The principle

of direct communication between the two Governments has met with approval, and it will now be possible for Ministers in charge of portfolios to deal directly with each other, thus allowing the human element more play than was possible under the old roundabout system of getting into touch with the official concerned.

Before I deal with the decisions arrived at, it is advisable to explain how the Round Table Conference came into being. To the Right Honourable the Marquis of Reading, the late Viceroy of India, all honour is due for the wonderful patience and tact with which he handled a most delicate situation at a time of sore distress when feelings were running high. Full credit must also be accorded to the political parties in both countries for exercising that wise restraint at a critical juncture that made the success of the negotiations possible. By taking the leaders of political parties of the Legislature into his confidence, and laying his cards on the table, Lord Reading showed true statesmanship.

The problem of dealing with an Indian population, which increases not through immigration but by its own birth-rate, has for many years been a disturbing factor in South Africa, and largely on economic grounds the white community has come to regard it as a menace. Matters came to a head in 1914, after the passive resistance campaign organized by Mr. Gandhi in 1906, and a settlement was arrived at between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi whereby in return for certain assurances given by General Smuts it was agreed that further immigration into the Union should cease except in the case of the wives and children of domiciled Indians. This has been generally referred to as the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, and was described by Mr. Gandhi as the "Magna Charta of Indian Liberty in South Africa." It was accepted by the Indians in South Africa in the hope that once the white population

was rid of the fear of unrestricted immigration from India, existing disabilities would slowly disappear. Speaking in the Imperial War Conference in 1917, General Smuts said :

"There is still a difference of opinion on administrative matters of detail, some of which are referred to in the memorandum which is before us; but I feel sure, and I have always felt sure, that once the white community in South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, all the other questions would be subsidiary, and would become easily and perfectly soluble. That is the position in which we are now that the fear which formerly obsessed the settlers there has been removed; the great principle of restricting immigration for which they have contended is on our Statute book with the consent of the Indian population in South Africa and the Indian authorities in India, and, that being so, I think that the door is now open for a peaceful and statesmanlike solution of all minor administrative troubles which occurred and will occur from time to time."

In 1918 General Smuts's Finance Minister, Mr. Burton, practically repeated the assurance, and his words will bear reproduction :

"As far as we are concerned, it is only fair to say—and it is the truth—that we have found the Indians in our midst in South Africa, who form in some parts a very substantial portion of the population, are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens, and it is our duty to see, as he (Lord Sinha) himself expressed it, that they are treated as human beings, with feelings like our own, and in a proper manner."

During the period of the war agitation against the community may be said to have been temporarily stilled because of India's response to the call of the Empire and the absorption of all component parts in the effort to achieve complete victory. With the return of peace the old animosity once again appeared.

In 1919 the Asiatic Enquiry Commission was appointed by the Union Government, and the Government of India deputed Sir B. Robertson, with Mr. G. L. Corbett, I.C.S., to attend its meetings and render assistance when asked. The report was issued in March, 1921, and contained specific recommendations, which have not yet been given effect to. This caused the League to renew their efforts, and in response to clamour certain repressive measures, such as the Durban and Natal Land Alienation Ordinances, Natal Rural Dealers' Licensing Ordinance, and the Natal Boroughs and Township Ordinance, were enacted; and in January, 1924, the Smuts Government published a Bill "to make provision for the reservation of residential and trading areas in urban areas for persons other than natives having racial characteristics in common." This is known as the Class Areas Bill. The Government of India made strong representations against the measure, especially with regard to the segregation clauses, but happily the Bill lapsed when the Government resigned. There was, however, not much respite, for in July, 1925, a new Bill, termed the Area Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill, was introduced by the Minister of the Interior. This provided for the segregation of the Indian community, both commercial and residential, and imposed the most rigid restrictions on their rights to acquire fixed property and to trade. It also proposed a more stringent application of the Immigration Law, and in particular prohibited, after 1930, further entry of the wives and children of Indians domiciled in the Union. These drastic proposals roused deep indignation and alarm in India among all sections of the people, Indians and Europeans alike, and in South Africa itself the Indian community were reduced to a state of hopeless despair. By enforcing segregation and ultimate deprivation of property and vested interests, the measure avowed its frank ob-

jective—which was to make the position so difficult as to compel Indians to leave the Union.

The Government of India had earlier in 1925 urged upon the Union Government that in order to secure a permanent solution of the Indian problem satisfactory to all concerned a conference should be arranged in which representatives of both Governments should participate. This suggestion was for certain reasons not accepted, but when the new Bill was introduced a deputation was sent to South Africa with the consent of the Union Government and with instructions to collect first-hand information regarding the position generally pending the further progress of the measure. The deputation consisted of Mr. (now Sir George) Paddison, I.C.S., Mr. Raza Ali and Sir Devaprasad Savadhikari, Members of the Council of State, with Mr. G. S. Bagpai, I.C.S., as Secretary. They arrived in South Africa in December, 1925, and their able representations to Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior, secured a decision to refer the Bill to a Select Committee before the second reading. The members of the deputation and other witnesses were examined, and as a result of the evidence obtained, the Government decided to hold a Round Table Conference of representatives of the Union Government and the Government of India in order to explore all possible methods of settling the Asiatic question in South Africa. A provision was made that the settlement arrived at must hold out a reasonable prospect of safeguarding the maintenance of Western standards of life in the Union by just and legitimate means, but in the meantime the further consideration of the Bill was postponed. To the Paddison deputation must be accorded the highest praise for the successful outcome of their devoted efforts in the cause of both India and South Africa when hope had almost been abandoned. Their path was paved with difficulties, but they won through, and in the end gained the genuine goodwill of

the Union Government as well as of many of the people of South Africa. The informal conversations with members of the Union Government undoubtedly resulted in a better understanding and appreciation of respective points of view and difficulties.

About the time the Paddison deputation reached South Africa an Indian deputation, with Dr. Abdur Rahman as leader, arrived in India to present a petition to His Excellency the Viceroy. The deputation also addressed meetings in Delhi and other places in India, and they put forward their cases against the Bill with considerable ability and moderation.

At the invitation of the Government of India a deputation of members of the Union Government, with the Hon. Mr. F. W. Beyers, K.C., M.L.A. (Minister of Mines and Industries), as leader, paid a visit to India during September and October, and were given the opportunity, in a fairly extensive tour, of gaining an insight into Indian life and conditions. The visit was full of interest to the members of the deputation, and India accorded a hearty welcome to her distinguished guests.

This brings us to the appointment and departure of the Government of India Delegation to South Africa to attend the Round Table Conference which, it had been arranged, should open at Cape Town on December 17. The members chosen to assist at the momentous Conference were :

The Hon. Sir Muhammad Habibullah, K.C.I.E., Member of Governor-General's Executive Council (*Leader*).

The Hon. Mr. G. L. Corbett, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department (*Deputy-Leader*).

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C.

The Hon. Sir Phiroze C. Sethna, Kt., C.B.E., Member of Council of State.

Sir George Paddison, K.B.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., Commissioner of Labour, Madras.

Sir Darcy Lindsay, Kt., C.B.E., Member of Legislative Assembly.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Deputy-Secretary to Government of India (*Secretary*).

The selection of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council as leader of the delegation was most happy, and in Sir Muhammad Habibullah, whose portfolio includes Immigration, we had an ideal leader.

With an old-world courtesy, he and his deputy-leader handled difficult problems with great tact, and with an ability which won the admiration—and one might almost say affection—of the members of the Conference. It was also apparent that the Union Government were pleased that to an Indian member had fallen the honour of leadership in a matter that so closely concerned India and Indians.

The delegation sailed from Bombay on November 24, and arrived at Cape Town on December 16, by special train from Delagoa Bay, where they were met by Mr. C. F. Schmidt, Secretary to the Department of the Interior, and Mr. Pring, of the same Department. Colonel the Hon. F. H. P. Cresswell, Union Minister of Defence, joined the train at Komati Poort, on the frontier, and these three gentlemen accompanied the delegation on the journey. A halt was made at Pretoria, where the delegation were entertained to luncheon by the Governor-General and Princess Alice, and they were also welcomed by deputations of Indians from different parts of the Union. Through the courtesy of the Union authorities, who had made suitable arrangements, representatives of the Indian community were able to meet the delegation at other important stations *en route*.

Mr. Bajpai, who had travelled out from London with General Hertzog, joined us at Cape Town, and the

delegation had also the pleasure of meeting Mr. C. F. Andrews, who had come to South Africa from India two months previously in order to study the situation and render all assistance. We had the further advantage of the presence of a committee of Indian representatives from each of the provinces of the Union, who remained for most of the time, and furnished information on certain issues as they arose.

The Conference was opened on December 17 by the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, who in his opening address sounded the right note to ensure a friendly atmosphere. It was agreed that the proceedings should be confidential, and it is not possible to divulge the proceedings, except to say that the Hon. Dr. Malan occupied the Chair with great ability, and that the discussions throughout were most harmonious and conducted in an atmosphere of goodwill, the prevailing desire being, by free interchange of views, to assist each other in trying to evolve a solution of the problem the Conference had met to discuss.

The representatives of the Government of the Union of South Africa were :

The Hon. Dr. D. F. Malan, M.L.A., Minister of the Interior.

Colonel the Hon. F. H. P. Cresswell, D.S.O., M.L.A., Minister of Defence.

The Hon. Mr. F. W. Beyers, K.C., M.L.A., Minister of Mines and Industries.

The Hon. Mr. T. Boydell, M.L.A., Minister of Labour.

General the Hon. J. C. G. Kemp, M.L.A., Minister of Agriculture.

Mr. C. F. Schmidt, Secretary for the Interior (*Secretary*).

Mr. H. N. Venn, Assistant Secretary, and Mr. H. Pring, Chief Clerk to the Department of the Interior, also attended the meetings.

The deliberations of the Conference lasted until January 12, and a settlement of all matters directly concerning the reference was reached. It was decided that the agreement so happily concluded should be published in the form of a communiqué after the two Governments had ratified it.

The delegation, after a short visit to Durban and Johannesburg, left Delagoa Bay on January 19 for Bombay. Throughout their stay they were the honoured guests of the Union Government, and were treated with the most generous hospitality and consideration. The heartiness of the welcome they received from all parties was also a feature of the visit.

It had been arranged that the announcement of the settlement arrived at should be made simultaneously in India and South Africa after the two Governments had considered and ratified the agreement, and a communiqué was issued on February 21, in the following terms :

The communiqué states :

" It was announced in April, 1926, that the Government of the Union of South Africa had agreed to hold a Round Table Conference to explore all possible methods of settling the Indian question in the Union in a manner which would safeguard the maintenance of Western standards of life in South Africa by just and legitimate means. The Conference assembled at Cape Town on December 17, and its session finished on January 12. There was in these meetings a full and frank exchange of views which has resulted in a truer appreciation of mutual difficulties and a united understanding to co-operate in the solution of a common problem in a spirit of friendliness and goodwill.

" Both Governments reaffirm their recognition of the right of South Africa to use all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standards of life.

" The Union Government recognizes that Indians domiciled in the Union who are prepared to conform with Western standards of life should be enabled to do so.

" For those Indians in the Union who may desire to avail themselves of it, the Union Government will organize a

scheme of assisted emigration to India or other countries where Western standards are not required. Union domicile will be lost after three years' continuous absence from the Union in agreement with a proposed revision of the law relating to domicile which will be of general application. Emigrants under the assisted emigration scheme who desire to return to the Union within three years will only be allowed to do so on refund to the Union Government of the cost of assistance received by them.

"The Government of India recognize their obligation to look after such emigrants on their arrival in India.

"Admission into the Union of the wives and the minor children of Indians permanently domiciled in the Union will be regulated by paragraph 3 of the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1918.

"In the expectation that the difficulties with which the Union has been confronted will be materially lessened by the agreement so happily reached by the two Governments, and in order that the agreement may come into operation under the most favourable auspices and have a fair trial, the Government of the Union of South Africa have decided not to proceed further with the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill.

"The two Governments have agreed to watch the working of the agreements now reached and to exchange views from time to time as to any changes that experience may suggest.

"The Government of the Union of South Africa have requested the Government of India to appoint an agent in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments."

The outstanding decisions resulting from the work of the Conference are :

Decision not to proceed further with the Areas Reservation Bill, consideration of which had been postponed.

Scheme of assisted emigration to replace the existing repatriation scheme.

Promised assistance to encourage an upliftment of the Indian community.

Request of the Union Government for the appointment of an Agent of the Government of India.

The existing voluntary repatriation scheme had not been particularly popular for several reasons, one of which was the condition that whoever accepted the assistance had to resign Union domicile on behalf of his family as well as himself, a condition that was naturally considered as hurtful to national self-respect and resented by the community. This is to be replaced by a scheme of assisted emigration which is to be voluntary, and the emigrant accepting a free passage to his destination, including a bonus, is at liberty to return to the Union within a period of three years on refund of passage money and bonus. After the expiry of the three years Union domicile will be lost in the case of non-return by continuous absence, and this will be in conformity with the intended revision of the law relating to domicile which will be of general application. An increase in the rate of bonus has also been arranged in order that a family may be provided with sufficient funds to be able to settle in India in such occupation as the breadwinners may be best suited to. Special provision for pensions was promised to meet the case of decrepit adults unable to earn a living by reason of physical disability.

The Government of India on their part recognize their obligation to look after emigrants on arrival in India, and it is arranged that on arrival they will be advised and, so far as possible, protected against squandering their cash or losing it to adventurers, and also helped, as far as possible, to settle in occupations for which they are best suited by their aptitude or their resources. Any emigrant wishing to participate in emigration schemes authorized by the Government of India will be given the same facilities in India as Indian nationals.

In regard to the entry into the Union of wives and minor children of Indians resident in the Union the principle underlying the Reciprocity Resolution of 1918, which intended that an Indian should be enabled to live a happy

family life in the country in which he is domiciled, shall be maintained. To this end the Government of India will assist in seeing that each individual for whom a right of entry is claimed is the lawful wife or child, as the case may be, of the person who makes the claim.

Towards the upliftment of the Indian community much can be done by way of facilities for education and better housing and sanitary conditions, especially in and around Durban. The Union Government have stated that "they firmly believe in, and adhere to, the principle that it is the duty of every civilized Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the upliftment of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that in the provision of educational facilities the considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people," and that while "it is difficult to take action which is considerably in advance of public opinion, or to ignore difficulties arising out of the constitutional system of the Union under which the functions of Government are distributed between the Central Executive and the provincial and minor local authorities, they are willing, in view of the grave situation in respect of Indian education in Natal, to advise the provincial administration to appoint a provincial commission of inquiry and to obtain the assistance of an educational expert from the Government of India for the purpose of such inquiry; to consider sympathetically the question of improving facilities for higher education; and take special steps under the Public Health Act for an investigation into sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban, which will include the appointment of advisory committees of representative Indians and the limitation of the sale of municipal land subject to restrictive conditions." The principle underlying the Industrial Conciliation Act (No. 11 of 1924) and the Wages Act (No. 27 of 1925), which enables all em-

ployees, including Indians, to take their place on the basis of equal pay for equal work, will be adhered to. And when the time for the revision of the existing trade licensing laws arrives, all due consideration will be given to the suggestion made by the Government of India Delegation that the discretionary powers of local authorities might reasonably be limited, and that there should be a right of appeal in cases of first applications and transfers as well as cases of renewals to the courts or to some other impartial tribunal.

The further point is the request of the Union Government that the Government of India do appoint their Agent in the Union in order to ensure effective and continuous co-operation between the two Governments. Direct relations will thereby be continued, and the appointment is likely to have a considerable influence in cementing the friendly relations now so happily created. The Agent will also be in a position to assist in carrying out the true intentions of the members of the Round Table Conference in their endeavour to lay the foundations as they hoped of the ultimate and lasting solution of a most difficult problem.

Repeated reference has been made to safeguarding the Western standards of life by just and legitimate means, and in effect the European community are not prepared to recognize three distinct civilizations, European, Indian, and native. It is this which has been the crux of the Indian problem owing to the presence of a large class of Indians, many being Tamil labourers from Madras and their families, who have no desire to adopt Western standards of living, and no capacity to take their places with European workers on the basis of equal pay for equal work. Their housing and sanitary conditions are poor, and there is increasing unemployment. They cannot be incorporated in the body politic of the Union on terms of equality with Europeans within any calculable time, and meantime they are a drag on the rest of the community, who earnestly desire fuller

recognition, and are in a position to conform in some degree to what has been termed Western standards. The remedy that suggests itself to those who have studied the problem is that all who desire to leave should be assisted to re-emigrate to India, where life might be more congenial than in South Africa, where living is more expensive and many find it difficult to exist. This was the basis of the repatriation scheme agreed to by Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts in 1914.

Thus happily ends the chapter of a Conference that is likely to make history within the British Empire. Goodwill and co-operation in carrying out the conditions of the settlement will alone prove whether a lasting solution of the Indian problem has been reached.

OBITUARY

WE announce with the deepest regret the death on March 12 of Miss Felicia Rudolphina Scatcherd, who was the sole editor of this *Review* from 1916 to 1919. She gave her time and work in an entirely honorary capacity, and assumed the full responsibility during that very difficult period, when, owing to the very high cost of printing, and the limited opportunities for extending the sales, her task was an extremely arduous one. She displayed great skill and fortitude in surmounting these obstacles, which at the time surrounded so many literary journals. We record our very great indebtedness to her for all she has done. In spite of increasing ill-health, Miss Scatcherd continued to the end as honorary co-editor, and contributed regularly her own trenchant, though ever kindly, articles and book reviews. Her criticisms of books on religion and philosophy were often quoted, particularly in the Indian Press.

Her family had already been connected with India. Her father was educated at Addiscombe College with Lord Roberts, whence he went out to the East, but retired early, upon his marriage. Her mother was a member of the Crofton family, with a long record of service for the State. After the death of her parents, to whom she devoted her early life, she travelled widely, visiting the Balkans, Turkey, and Egypt. It was then that she became intimately associated with the work of Dr. and Mrs. Drakoules in promoting the principles of the Humanitarian League. She was herself a descendant of Richard Martin, M.P., the author of the first Act of Parliament for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. It will be recalled that Dr. Drakoules, a leader of progress in his own country, was among those who most actively supported the early entry of Greece into the war on the Allied side, and was accorded a memorable interview by the late King Constantine at the time. Miss Scatcherd represented his views at several international conferences, and exerted her influence in the Allied cause, particularly in preventing the plan of a parley at Stockholm in the middle of the war. She was international in her comprehension of the psychology of other peoples, and regarded the British Empire as the greatest living force for world peace. But she was little interested in politics except when she saw in them the promotion of great principles and ideals. She helped causes when they were in their infancy or were threatened with extinction, but once their success was assured, she retired into the background and turned her energies elsewhere.

As she almost invariably declined to give her aid in anything but an unofficial capacity, her work rarely received public notice or recognition. Perhaps for that reason her good influence was greater than was generally supposed.

She served for some years on the Council (of which she was the first lady member) of the East India Association, and also of the Sociological Society. Some book reviews dictated by her a few weeks ago appear on p. 342 of this issue.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has kindly agreed to write for the ASIATIC REVIEW a few lines regarding her interests in another field:

I was not in touch with the many humanitarian and political activities of Felicia Scatcherd, though I am sure that her great heart coupled with her acute mind would never allow her to become a crank, or to back any cause which had not a sound logical basis. It was only in the psychic world that I actually came in contact with her. There she has left a gap which can hardly be replaced. Her gracious and original personality, combined with her mastery of colloquial French, enabled her to get into touch with foreign thought and to give her views that breadth which is so essential in our world-wide movement. It was this International connection which brought her into contact with Dr. Boraouc at the time of his experiments with thought forms, and afterwards with Madame Bisson and also with Professor Richet. The anecdotes of her experiences with these celebrities were exceedingly racy and instructive. She possessed marked mediumistic qualities of her own, and was able occasionally to carry great conviction to the inquirer. When I was in Australia a well-known Australian, Mr. Ryan, told me that his whole view in psychic matters had been changed by an experience which he had with Miss Scatcherd. I tell the story in my "Wanderings of a Spiritualist." Her most valuable psychic work was her consistent help given to Mr. Hope in the development of that wonderful gift of psychic photography which has made the Crewe Circle a household word in the psychic world. Her friendship with the late Archdeacon Colley inspired her to carry on this work which he had inaugurated. In my "Land of Mist" I ventured to draw a pen-and-ink portrait under the name of Delicia Freeman—a fact which amused her so much that she always signed her letter to me "Delicia" after reading it. I saw her a few days before her death when the frail body was almost gone, but the soul was flashing out with extraordinary brilliancy and strength. She will remain an example and an inspiration in the lives of all of us who are devoted to the same work.

A. C. D.

At the funeral service at Golders Green Cemetery, on March 17, the Rev. F. Fielding-Ould, Vicar of Christ Church, Albany Street, in an eloquent tribute said: "We cannot help feeling that we are doing ourselves honour by being here to-day, as flowers are honoured when they are laid on the altar. She was a great and good spirit, and she has passed on with her arms filled with roses—the love and appreciation of many. Great was her courage, great was her energy, and she expended it almost all to help and bless others. . . . She was not one of those who would sit down and deplore the depravity of the world: she went to work to try and make things better."

A full account of the funeral, together with an article on Miss Scatcherd's work, appear in *Light*, of March 26 (published at 34, Paternoster Row E.C. 4). We are indebted to that journal for the above quotation.

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 includes:

Sir George Boughey, Bart., O.B.E.
 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 SITUATION IN CHINA

BY SIR RICHARD DANE, K.C.I.E.

[The author was from 1913 to 1918 Foreign Chief Inspector of Salt Revenue in China, and is holder of the Chinese Orders of the Striped Tiger of the First Class and of the Excellent Crop of the First Class.]

FOR five and a half years—from June, 1913, to November, 1918—I worked in China as Foreign Chief Inspector of the Salt Revenue Administration in close personal association with a succession of Chinese colleagues, who, in addition to holding the appointment of Chief Inspector, were at the same time Vice-Ministers of Finance. Every paper in the office was translated from Chinese into

English or from English into Chinese; and every official act was done by my Chinese colleague and myself conjointly. I had, therefore, unusual opportunities for seeing Chinese official life from within and for studying the workings of the Chinese mind. Many of the problems now requiring solution came under my consideration when I was in China; and in the circumstances my personal opinion on the present situation, and the causes which have produced it, may not be without value.

When I left China in November, 1918, Great Britain was regarded as a friendly Power, the late Sir John Jordan, who was then British Minister, was much liked and trusted by the Chinese, and British influence was strong at Peking. Yuan Shih-kai was pro-British. His ill-advised attempt to make himself Emperor in 1916 failed signally; but Yuan was a strong man, and for some time after his death the politicians at Peking were content to work upon the lines which he had laid. The Chinese were grateful for the assistance which Great Britain had rendered in the Anti-Opium Campaign, notwithstanding the heavy sacrifice of Indian revenue which was involved; and the reorganization of the Salt Revenue Administration had been accepted by them as a friendly act. The Maritime Customs Department has made money for the Chinese, and has maintained China's credit by providing money for the payment of the interest on foreign loans and of the instalments of the Boxer Indemnity. In the reorganized Salt Department the Chinese were assisted to make money for themselves. It is sometimes said that the Salt Revenue is under foreign control, but the statement is only partly correct. Foreigners have certainly assisted in the collection of revenue; but it was open to the Chinese Government, under the terms of the Reorganization Loan Agreement, to adopt any system of administration it might think proper, and the system, which enabled the District Inspectorates, in which foreigners were employed, to collect the bulk of the revenue, was adopted by the Chinese Government of its own free-will in accordance with advice given. In many of the District Inspectorates the best work was done by

the Chinese District Inspector; and the success of the reorganization was the result of friendly co-operation. To suggest that the administration was controlled by the foreigners employed (about forty in number) is unfair to the Chinese, and is unjust to the foreigners, as it makes them responsible for abuses which they were unable to prevent.

The satisfaction of the Chinese with the manner in which the Salt Revenue Administration was reorganized was not confined to the Northern Party. Members of the Kuo-Min-Tang, or Nationalist Party, saw in it a hopeful forecast of what Chinese educated upon modern lines might do for themselves. Mr. Eugene Chen, as editor of the *Peking Gazette*, in an article upon this subject, wrote as follows: "Only the Chinese whose mind has been trained in the schools of the authentic West, and alive with the driving power that comes of Western mastery, can lead China to safety and next to greatness. . . . When Sir R. Dane began that reorganization of the Salt Gabelle which has saved the Central Government from literal bankruptcy during recent months, did he know China? Nay, was it not his profound ignorance—*i.e.*, freedom from the curse of Chinese ways of maladministration, daubed by the disingenuous wisdom and experience—that enabled him to vanquish the legions of phantom difficulties raised up by the Mandarin and the Old China Hand dogmatist?"

Dr. C. T. Wang, as Chairman of the Senate in 1913, had entered the Hongkong-Shanghai Bank at Peking when the Reorganization Loan Agreement was being signed, and had formally protested against its execution. In 1919, on his return from the Peace Conference at Paris, which he had attended as one of the Chinese delegates, he specially called upon me in London to thank me, as he said, for what I had done for China.

In 1915 the Chinese were so much impressed with what was being done in the Salt Department that they spontaneously asked me to assist them to reorganize their Land Revenue Administration. In Canton, and even in far-off Yunnan, revenue papers were produced and explained for my information; and in Canton, where the governor was an

able man, the local authorities displayed much cordiality. But the Russian Minister objected on the preposterous ground that the utilization in this manner by the Chinese Government of the services of one of their foreign employees would be a contravention of one of their treaties. The Foreign Office frowned on the project, and the matter was dropped. For me it was a deliverance. The reorganization of the Salt Revenue was a stupendous undertaking. The reorganization of the Land Revenue would have been a labour of Sisyphus. But I might have accomplished something; and the incident affords a good illustration of the manner in which Chinese interests were too often regarded as a purely secondary consideration in the course of the manœuvres of the Diplomatic Body at Peking.

A serious blow to British prestige and to the Chinese belief in British good faith was struck in April, 1916, when the Hongkong-Shanghai Bank was ordered by the British Minister to follow the lead of Japan, and in direct contravention of the provisions of the Reorganization Loan Agreement to withhold payment of surplus Salt Revenue which was due to the Chinese Government. Similar action was taken by the French and the Russians. The Japanese wanted to break Yuan Shih-kai; and to secure the goodwill of Japan Chinese rights were sacrificed. The binding character of the Reorganization Loan Agreement was formally recognized by H.M.'s Government in the prospectus of the loan. It was a most unsatisfactory episode; but Yuan Shih-kai died shortly afterwards, the payments to the Chinese Government were at once resumed, and Chinese goodwill was not hopelessly alienated.

In the spring of 1919 former Chinese colleagues of mine were in charge of the Ministry of Finance at Peking; and I was informed by a Chinese official in their confidence that my appointment as Associate Minister of Finance would be agreed to if it would enable them to obtain a foreign loan. Up, therefore, to the time of the Peace Conference at Paris the Government at Peking was looking to Great Britain for friendly counsel and assistance.

At the present time Great Britain is apparently regarded by all Southern Chinese as their principal enemy; and

even in North China some Chinese, notably the so-called Christian General Feng Yu-hsiang, have assumed a most hostile attitude. This change of sentiment is in the main the result of propaganda, which, unfortunately, has not been confined to our Bolshevik enemies. From the days of Wells Williams and the "Middle Kingdom" some Americans in China, by false history and malicious suggestion, have done their best to disparage and vilify Great Britain.

In China, as in India, Western education has produced a ferment of ideas. A class of educated young men has grown up who, like the rest of their countrymen, are full of race pride, and are, moreover, intensely vain, and who are only too ready to believe that all the troubles from which their country is suffering are caused by the foreigners. The continuous fighting which has occurred in recent years has caused much hardship and misery, and the nerves of the people are on edge. In all the large centres of population, also, there are swarms of people living on the edge of starvation, who are ready to join in any movement that may offer to them the hope of improvement in their conditions of life. Hostile propagandists, therefore, have had willing listeners.

China, by her resolute refusal to treat with foreign nations upon a footing of equality, was eventually compelled to agree to a position of inferiority, and the punishment exacted by the Powers for the attack on the Legations at the time of the Boxer outbreak left her in a position of financial subservience. The wars which first humbled China's pride were waged by Great Britain and by Great Britain and France. America and other nations have secured the benefit of the favoured position which Great Britain acquired by force of arms; and some of these nations have abused the favourable position thus secured. But it was Great Britain which compelled China to open her ports to trade and to admit foreigners into the country, and it is therefore not surprising that dissatisfied Chinese should have listened to malicious suggestions to the effect that Great Britain is the author of their misfortunes.

It must, however, be admitted that the failure of Great Britain to meet with sufficient promptitude legitimate Chinese aspirations is in part responsible for the change of sentiment. The Government was preoccupied with important questions nearer home, and with the situation in India; and the people to whom the British public naturally looked for guidance in regard to Chinese affairs were slow to realize that in the altered conditions of the world, which had been created by the war, the good old days in China were gone for ever. The hostile propaganda would not have been so successful if there had not been material to work on.

Kwangtung and Kwangsi declared independence in 1917, and since then Canton has had a separate political history. But the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, has been strong even in North China since the Revolution of 1911, and the Nationalist spirit has been steadily growing. The first ebullition of this Nationalist spirit was directed against Japan. The presentation by the Japanese during the war of the famous twenty-one demands and the conclusion, under the threat of an ultimatum, of the treaties of May 15, 1915, regarding Shantung and Manchuria, created great indignation in China. In 1918, when the Anfu Government in Peking contracted a number of loans on ruinous terms from Japanese financiers, and was prepared to enter into agreements which would have consolidated the Japanese position in Shantung, the students at Peking made a violent protest. The house of the Minister who was supposed to be specially responsible was set on fire; the students in other places joined in the agitation; and a boycott of Japanese goods was organized. The agitation and the boycott were in progress when the Peace Conference was held at Paris.

China had entered the war on the side of the Allies without enthusiasm, in the hope of obtaining for herself some resulting advantages. The abrogation of the obnoxious Shantung Treaty of May, 1915, was the particular object of her desire; but tariff autonomy, the renunciation by the Powers of spheres of influence, the relinquishment of the leased territories, the restoration of the Foreign

Settlements and Concessions, the withdrawal of foreign troops and foreign post-offices from Chinese territory, and the abolition of extraterritoriality were also demanded. China's contribution to the Allied cause was small, but she had been accepted as an ally, and Chinese coolies had done good work in France. She had therefore a right to expect favourable consideration of her claims.

The situation was difficult. In 1917, before China entered the war, the Powers appear to have promised to support the policy of Japan, and in return for this promise, Japanese destroyers had done good service in the Mediterranean. The result was that in the Treaty of Versailles German rights and privileges in Kiaochow and in the Province of Shantung and in the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, and the German submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and Chefoo, were transferred to Japan, and China was left to console herself with the return of the German Concessions at Hankow and Tientsin, the forfeiture of the German share of the Boxer Indemnity, and the extinction of the German rights of extraterritoriality. The requests made by China for tariff autonomy, etc., were ignored.

The indignation of the Chinese was great, and the Chinese delegates refused to sign the treaty. The seizure of Kiaochow was an act of violence, but the Germans in the years before the war had adopted a conciliatory policy. The railway from Tsingtao was constructed by a German-Chinese company and was under German management, and the mines in which rights had been acquired were worked by the same company, but "Face" was saved and the line was guarded by Chinese police, and there were no German troops outside of the leased territory. The Japanese, on the other hand, were at this time pursuing actively the policy of the twenty-one demands, and it was well known that the position in which they had established themselves in Shantung differed widely from that held by the Germans. The railway from Tsingtao to Tsinanfu was guarded by Japanese troops, some of whom were actually stationed in Tsinanfu itself, and the railway zone was treated as Japanese territory. If similar conditions had

been established on the additional railway lines which Germany had secured an option to construct, hardly a shadow of Chinese sovereignty would have remained in Shantung. When the Shantung Treaty of 1915 was executed, Japan promised in writing to restore the Kiaochow territory to China after the termination of the war upon certain conditions. In the Treaty of Versailles no reference was made to this promise of restoration, and the transfer of German rights to Japan was unconditional.

In a speech at Middlesbrough on February 5, Mr. Lloyd George is reported in *The Times* to have said: "So much of our trade depends on the goodwill of the 400,000,000 of people in China that we cannot afford to quarrel with them." It is a pity that he did not hold these views when he was responsible for meting out justice to China in 1919. The beginning of the change of feeling in China in regard to Great Britain may, I think, be traced to the unfairness with which China was treated at the Peace Conference.

There is much force in the German contention that when the Allies induced China to make war upon Germany and to cancel, as a result of the war, the leases of the German Concessions at Hankow and Tientsin, and to withdraw all German rights and privileges, including those of extra-territoriality, they were sapping the foundations of their own privileged position in China. The war shook the prestige of the white races in the East. A long view would have dictated the expediency of keeping China out of the struggle, but in the stress of the conflict remote possibilities were, not unnaturally, ignored. When Germany had been compelled to surrender her privileged position, and the Russians, for reasons of their own, had voluntarily surrendered theirs, only the most liberal attitude towards China's Nationalist aspirations could have prevented an attack upon the privileges enjoyed by Great Britain and other nations. It appears to be now generally recognized that China has some genuine grievances; but unfortunately this fact was not recognized in time, and for two years after the Treaty of Versailles nothing was done.

China's tariff grievance is a very real one; and, as the restriction of her right to levy import and export duties in excess of 5 per cent. ad valorem is the result of wars waged in the past by Great Britain, it was specially incumbent upon Great Britain to see that the grievance was redressed. The question, however, is complicated. A large number of Powers, by their right to most-favoured-nation treatment, have secured the benefits resulting from the low rate of duty, and are quite content to continue to enjoy these benefits, while the odium of the arrangement is cast upon Great Britain.

As the Maritime Customs duties in China are collected by a Department which is under a British Inspector-General, it is easy to make it appear to the Chinese that Great Britain is the country responsible for the existing unfair arrangement. Owing to objections made by interested Powers to revision of the tariff schedules of imports and values, it has been calculated that at the time of the Washington Conference the import duties collected did not exceed $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem, even upon luxuries such as wines and tobacco.

In 1902 a treaty was negotiated between Great Britain and China in which H.M.'s Government undertook to agree to an increase of the import duties to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and of the export duties on Chinese produce to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. if the Chinese would abolish likin and other Inland Customs taxation, and if all the other Powers entitled to most-favoured-nation treatment would enter into similar engagements. Treaties of a similar character were concluded by China with the U.S.A. and Japan in 1903.

The treaties have, however, been inoperative. It is doubtful if the inland provinces in the West of China have even now any appreciable interest in foreign trade, and the Provincial Governments in China have always enjoyed a large measure of fiscal autonomy. It was really hopeless to expect that the Imperial Government in Peking would be able to abolish Inland Customs taxation, which was one of the principal sources of the provincial revenues. Whatever may be the case in the West, indirect taxation is much less obnoxious in the East than direct taxation; and the

substitution for likin and other transit duties of a consumption tax on articles of Chinese origin not intended for export, as was contemplated in the Mackay Treaty of 1902, would have been far more burdensome to the Chinese than the likin and transit duties. It is sometimes said that likin is a comparatively novel import. The name may be new, as the Chinese are fond of giving new names to old things. But Inland Customs taxation has probably been one of the principal sources of revenue in China from time immemorial, in the same way as it was in India, and it appears to me to have been unreasonable to make the question of an increase of the Customs duty dependent upon the abolition of Inland Customs taxation.

Another grievance of the Chinese is the manner in which the Maritime Customs Department is recruited. The department has been ably administered by Sir R. Hart and Sir F. Aglen, and by providing funds for the payment of interest on foreign loans and of the instalments of the Boxer Indemnity, it has maintained the foreign credit of China and has thereby rendered great service to the country. But in the Department, as organized by Sir R. Hart, all the higher administrative posts were reserved for Europeans and Americans, and Chinese were employed in subordinate capacities only. Trustworthy and efficient Chinese officials for the higher posts could not, it was thought, be obtained. This probably was the case when the Department was organized in 1863; and Chinese unacquainted with English or with any foreign language were certainly ill-fitted to deal with foreigners at the newly-opened treaty ports. Some of the work done by the department also, such as the maintenance of lighthouses and buoys and other aids to navigation, is not likely to be performed efficiently by Chinese. The principle adopted has, however, been maintained too long. Customs duties are now collected by the Department at many places in the interior of the country where the officials have to deal with Chinese only, and a number of foreign-educated young men are now available for employment. When I was in China, not one of the higher administrative appointments (posts of Commissioner and Deputy-Commissioner) was held by a

Chinese; and there has not since then been any announcement of a change in the principle of recruitment.

So long as the Department was merely a foreign debt-collecting agency, a case could be made out for maintaining it in a state of the utmost possible efficiency. But as soon as the collections began to exceed the amount required for the service of foreign loans and the Boxer Indemnity, the necessity for modifying the organization so as to bring it into conformity with reasonable Chinese aspirations ought to have been recognized. Admiration for the excellence of the work done appears to have prevented Britons from viewing the matter from the Chinese standpoint. One of my greatest difficulties in the reorganization of the Salt Revenue Administration was the fear of the Chinese that a second Maritime Customs Department might be created.

A definite undertaking that a proportion of the higher posts of the department (say 50 per cent.) would be assigned in future to Chinese as soon as qualified candidates were available would have been much appreciated, and would not have been prejudicial to foreign interests; and such an undertaking, given spontaneously and without pressure, would have been convincing evidence of British goodwill.

The Maritime Customs Revenue, including the surplus over and above the amount required for the service of the foreign loans and the Boxer Indemnity, is all deposited in foreign banks, the Hongkong-Shanghai Bank, as the receiving bank, holding the lion's share. This also is a sore point with the Chinese.

Sir F. Aglen undertook the service of domestic loans secured upon the surplus Customs Revenue, so that the Central Government at Peking has been able to obtain loans in the local market upon more favourable terms than would otherwise have been possible; but attempts made by the Chinese since 1921 to obtain control of the surplus have been successfully resisted, and considerable friction has resulted. The situation is difficult. If the Government at Peking is allowed to obtain control of the surplus, it is, unfortunately, almost certain under present conditions that money for the service of the domestic loans, for

which the British Inspector-General has made himself responsible, will not be forthcoming. It is also undoubtedly the case that if the Maritime Customs Department is seriously interfered with, China's foreign credit will be absolutely destroyed. It is not, however, surprising that the Chinese are dissatisfied with the existing arrangements.

Much friction has also occurred in regard to the Customs Revenue at Canton, but up to the present the Nationalist Party has been prevented from seizing this revenue. No protest was, however, made against the seizure of the Salt Revenue and the destruction of the reorganized administration by Sun Yat-sen. In no part of China was the reorganization of the Salt Revenue effected in a manner more beneficial to the consumer than in Canton.

At the Washington Conference in 1921-22 a serious attempt was made, on the initiative of the U.S.A., to satisfy China's legitimate aspirations. At this Conference the Japanese behaved with great moderation. Abandoning the aggressive policy which they had adopted during the war, they agreed to restore Kiaochow to China and to give back the railway on payment of its assessed value, and withdrew their troops, and also agreed to relinquish some of the special privileges which they had secured in Manchuria.

Other concessions were made. Spheres of influence were renounced, and the U.S.A., Japan, Great Britain, France, and other Powers bound themselves by treaty to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China, and to provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government. The abolition of foreign postal agencies, with effect from January 1, 1923, was agreed to; and China's wishes in regard to the abolition of extraterritoriality were met, as far as was reasonably possible, by the agreement of the Powers to appoint a Commission to inquire into the existing methods of Chinese judicial administration, and to assist the efforts of the Chinese Government to effect such legislative and judicial reforms as would warrant the Powers in relinquishing, either progressively or otherwise, their respective rights. Great

Britain also agreed to return Weihaiwei to China; but, as the details of the rendition have not yet been settled, the place is still in British possession.

The question of the Customs duties, however, was dealt with in a more niggardly manner. Arrangements were made for revision by a Tariff Commission of the Customs schedules, so as to secure for the Chinese the collection of duties at an effective 5 per cent.; but agreement to any permanent increase of the Customs duties was again made dependent upon the abolition of likin, as contemplated in 1902-03. A Special Conference, composed of representatives of China and of the Powers, was to be appointed "to prepare the way for the speedy abolition of likin, and for the fulfilment of the other conditions laid down in the treaties of 1902 and 1903, with a view to levying the surtaxes provided for." The Conference was also to consider the interim conditions to be applied prior to the abolition of likin and the fulfilment of the other conditions, and was to authorize the levy of a surtax on dutiable imports at a uniform rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., with, in the case of certain articles of luxury, a permissible increase up to 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, "as from such date and subject to such conditions" as might be determined.

This was not a very generous concession. It was even more difficult for the Central Government at Peking in 1922 to abolish Inland Customs taxation than it was for the Imperial Government in 1902-03, as since the death of Yuan Shih-kai control over the provinces had gradually been lost; and the grant even of this moderate increase of the import duties on conditions to be determined by the Conference gave ample scope for differences of opinion among the Powers, and went very near to interference with the administrative integrity of China. It was, however, a concession; and if the Conference had assembled in 1922, as was contemplated, some practical results might have been obtained. But the French failed to ratify the treaty, apparently because they wished the Chinese Government to agree to their contention that the French share of the Boxer Indemnity was payable in francs at 25 to the pound, and not in francs at the market rate of the day; and in the

absence of this ratification Great Britain and the other Powers were content to wait upon events.

When, after delay of about three years, the treaty was ratified and the Conference assembled in 1925, it ended in a complete fiasco, owing to a difference of views among the Powers in regard to the conditions to be attached, and the absence at the time of any Government in China which could speak with authority. As the Maritime Customs Department is under a British Inspector-General, it was easy for our enemies to throw the odium of this fiasco upon Great Britain.

H.M.'s Government has now proposed that the Washington surtaxes should be granted unconditionally, and that the disposal of the proceeds should be left to the discretion of the Chinese authorities. If this proposal had been made at Washington, it might have materially influenced the whole situation. As all the Dominions enjoy complete fiscal autonomy, and even India has been allowed since the war to impose high protective duties upon British goods, the case for relaxing the restrictions upon China's right to impose Customs duties at reasonable rates was overwhelmingly strong. The Japanese Government, however, has not assented to the proposal; and the difficulty thus created has resulted in Sir F. Aglen's dismissal by the Central Government. The proposal may, however, bear fruit hereafter.

Another important concession to China was made by H.M.'s Government in 1922, when it was decided to expend upon education and other purposes mutually beneficial to both countries the British share of the Boxer Indemnity; but the delay which has occurred in giving effect to the decision has detracted from the value of the concession.

The retention of control of the Mixed Court at Shanghai by the authorities of the International Settlement at a time when the tranquillity of the Settlement was not threatened, and the extension of the Settlement by the construction of roads outside its limits, were provocative measures which gave offence to the Chinese. Control of the court was acquired in the Revolution of 1911; and the retention of control, which was tantamount to an assertion

of a right of jurisdiction over Chinese residing in the Settlement, appears to have been an unjustifiable infringement of China's sovereign rights.

It is somewhat surprising that the Powers interested did not think it necessary to intervene. The system of local administration which had been developed in the International Settlement was, however, strong, and the Settlement was well governed, so nothing was done. As Japanese, Americans, and other foreigners share with the British the advantages of the International Settlement, Britons were only in part responsible for these grievances. Britons have, however, a preponderating influence in the administration of the Settlement, and it was easy for our enemies to cast all the blame upon Great Britain.

It is also a sore point with Chinese residents in the International Settlement that, although they contribute a large portion of the municipal revenue, they have not been given any representation on the Municipal Council.

The Chinese, therefore, had grievances; and these grievances have been exploited to the full. Practically all Chinese at heart are anti-foreign, though individual foreigners may be popular among them. The privileged position enjoyed by foreign missionaries, Protestant and Roman Catholic, is resented by many. No casuistry can make Great Britain responsible for this particular grievance, but the resentment has helped to swell the tide of anti-foreign feeling. In many ways the present outburst of anti-foreign feeling is unpleasantly reminiscent of the circumstances of the Boxer Rising. At that time the foreign Powers were united. Now Germany has been deprived of her privileges and is naturally pleased to see her despoilers in difficulties, and Russia is skilfully directing all the resentment and anti-foreign feeling in the country against Great Britain.

An atmosphere unfavourable to Great Britain was therefore gradually developed, though until May, 1925, on the surface all appeared to be well. None of our countrymen in China seem to have had any suspicion of the storm that was brewing. The ferment among the students, the discontent among the more sober-minded Chinese at their

failure to obtain any adequate satisfaction of their legitimate aspirations, the discontent among the common people owing to their sufferings at the hands of soldiers and bandits, and the opportunities which an efficient postal service and a native press only too willing to print any garbled or exaggerated story of China's wrongs afforded for the dissemination of hostile propaganda—all were ignored; and with a short-sighted optimism it was held that if the war lords could be got rid of all would be well, and that Bolshevik doctrines were not likely to take root in China.

The shooting on May 30, 1925, by the police of the International Settlement of Shanghai of a number of students and other rioters ignited this inflammable material. The police are under British officers; a British officer gave the order to fire on the mob; and British influence preponderates in the Settlement. It was easy for our enemies to throw the responsibility for the incident upon the British, and our Allies were only too willing to allow the British to bear the burden. The Shameen and Wanhshien affairs also offered much material for hostile propaganda.

No fair-minded man who knows anything about China can find fault with the policy of H.M.'s Government since the occurrence of these regrettable incidents. It has been conciliatory in the extreme. In the frenzy of anti-foreign feeling which is sweeping across China, to have attempted to negotiate without a backing of force would have been absolutely futile, and to have left Shanghai undefended would have been a crime. With a substantial military force available, the danger of trouble is less than it would have been if only a few troops had been sent. The future is dark. In the existing atmosphere of hostility it is doubtful if British subjects will be able to carry on trade successfully under the conditions which have been agreed to at Hankow. One can only regret that the concessions now offered were not made or promised in 1919, and that the policy of the Washington Conference of 1921-22 was not more vigorously prosecuted.

THE ASIAN CIRCLE

SECOND ARTICLE

PANISLAMISM

FROM the outset Islam put forward the ideal of the unity of all believers. The Quran declares that the believers are brothers, and Muhammad was the founder, not only of a religion, but also of a political organization in which acceptance of a common creed was the basis of citizenship.

It is true that toleration was granted to Jews and Christians to retain their ancestral faith and keep up the practices of their own religion, but they were regarded as protected communities incapable of enjoying the privileges of the rulers and administrators of the Muslim state. It was loyalty to the faith of Islam which held the citizens of the new state together, and abandonment of this faith was thus not only apostasy, but was regarded as equivalent to treason, and the Muslim who was converted to another religion thereby condemned himself to death. When the Muslim theologians expounded in a systematic form the theory of the Muslim state, they made the distinction between "dār al-islām," the territory of Islam, which represented the countries under the rule of the Imam, the head of the community, and all the rest of the world, "dār al-harb," which was regarded as hostile to Islam, and had to be fought against until its inhabitants submitted to Muslim rule. The theorists of early times imposed on the faithful the duty of campaign against the territories of the unbelievers at least once a year, provided that the Imam recognized that such procedure would be for the general advantage.

The rapid expansion of the Arab conquests in the first century of the Muslim era made the realization of such an ideal for a time possible, and when the new empire was created, the numerous converts of non-Arab stock—*e.g.*, Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Africans, Spaniards, Turks, etc., received the rights of equal citizenship, and every

office under the state was open to them. It is true that the aristocratic feelings of the Arabs, which they inherited from their heathen ancestors, made such an assimilation of themselves with converts from other races distasteful to their pride; still they had to give way, and the accepted political theory emphasized the equality of all believers, and they could appeal to the Quran, which said: "Those who believe and work righteousness are the best of creatures" (98, 6). This theory did not achieve any realization for much more than a century and a half, but the Muslim Empire, while it lasted, was so impressive through its vast extent and enormous wealth, that it has dazzled the imagination of Muslim peoples up to modern times. In the west it included the greater part of Spain, and stretched from the Atlantic across the whole of North Africa right away to the Indus and Transoxiana in the east, having absorbed the ancient Persian Empire and the Oriental provinces of the Roman Empire. Bound up with this theory of citizenship was the doctrine of the Caliphate, according to which the Muslim Empire was to be under the government of one single ruler, who was the source of all authority, and administered these vast dominions in accordance with the religious law. But the elements of the population of this Empire were too heterogeneous for it to hold together long. Spain was the first to break away; at the extreme ends the Berbers and Turks were constantly in rebellion, and, indeed, the whole history of Islam from the death of the Prophet onwards is full of accounts of rebellion and civil discord. The great apostasy (the so-called Riddah) of the Arab tribes followed immediately after his death, and the civil wars between Ali, Muawiyah, Abdul Malik and Ibn Zubayr were typical of that factious spirit which was to rend the Empire to pieces, when, added to the ambition and separatist spirit of the Arabs, there came into the field also the political aspirations of other nations chafing under the Arab overlordship. So the annals of Islam are filled with the record of internecine strife, in which Muslims fought against others as fiercely as they had ever fought against the unbelievers. The ruthless massacres and widespread destruction perpetrated by some of the most famous of Muhammadan conquerors,

such as Mahmud of Ghazni, Salim I., Timur and Nadir Shah, often selected the majority of their victims from among their own co-religionists.

But the theory of the Caliphate, embodying the ideal of the unity of all Muslims, was embodied in the accepted religious textbooks, and was cherished for centuries in spite of its lack of congruity with the political conditions which men saw around them. When, however, in the seventeenth century the political power of the Muhammadan states began rapidly to decline, the ideal of the Caliphate seems to have become dimmed in Muslim eyes; they had been so long accustomed to their internal divisions, and their attention was so largely absorbed in their own disasters and sufferings, that such an aspiration must have appeared more than ever outside the bounds of possibility. Its revival seems to have begun when Turkish diplomats found they could take advantage of the misunderstanding of the position of the Caliph formed by their Christian opponents, who wrongly supposed that the Caliph exercised a spiritual authority over the Muslims corresponding in some measure with the spiritual authority exercised by some of the dignitaries of the Christian Church. Such a claim found expression in the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji, 1774, between Russia and Turkey, and was revived about a century later by Sultan Abdul Aziz (1861-1876). At this time in Turkey there were two hostile parties; the party of reform, which wished to redress abuses and put the machinery of government into order, and was not unsympathetic to the pressure that was being put on Turkey by the powers of Europe, to relieve the unhappy condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and abolish the intolerant provisions of the law in their regard; opposed to them was the party of orthodox reaction, which regarded with detestation the destruction of the ancient ways, and resisted those approximations to the European manners and methods of education and administration which had been first introduced by Mahmud II. (1808-1839). Abdul Aziz, brought up and educated in accordance with the traditional lines of orthodox Muslim education, appears to have taken a serious view of his position as Caliph, and to have, early in his reign, entertained ideas of obtaining recognition of his

authority as holder of this exalted office from the Muhammadan population of states lying outside the Turkish Empire. Efforts were made to promulgate this doctrine, and the influence of the press, new in Turkey at that period, was employed on behalf of this effort, particularly in the Arabic weekly journal *Al-Jawā'ib*, edited by a Maronite convert to Islam, Faris al-Shidyaq, whose publications achieved wide prestige throughout the whole Muslim world. But Abdul Aziz was not a man capable of seriously carrying out such a scheme, and the party of orthodox reaction was soon disappointed of the hopes it had centred on him. His nephew, Abdul Hamid II., who came to the throne in 1876, was a man of much more serious and pertinacious temperament; he appears to have recognized that the declining power of Turkey might derive strength from whatever moral support the rest of the Muhammadan world could give it, and from the outset of his reign he emphasized his claim to be the successor of the Prophet, and the Constitution which he promulgated in 1876 laid emphasis on the claim of the Sultan of Turkey to be Caliph, Article 4 declaring that "H.M. the Sultan, as Caliph, is the protector of the Muslim religion."

How far Abdul Hamid was himself responsible for the activities which endeavoured to centre Muslim sentiment round the person of the Sultan of Turkey and rally all the Muhammadan peoples throughout the world to the idea of the Caliphate, it is impossible to say; he appears to have received in audience and bestowed decorations on the occasional visitors who came to Constantinople from India and other Muhammadan countries; and his emissaries are reported to have been active in Tunis, India, and the Malay Archipelago, and even China, but the alarmist accounts given by English and French journalists of an organized movement of Panislamism, directed and financed by the Sultan, appear to have been largely imaginary. In any case they were misleading, because the invention of the term "Panislamism," which makes its appearance in newspapers and magazines in the early years of the eighties of the nineteenth century, obscured the fact that here there was nothing new in Muslim political theory; for the Islamic world had never abandoned the primitive doctrine of the

Caliphate, according to which the community of the faithful should have one head, the Caliph, who should be ruler over all Muslim peoples, and should appoint all their governors, administrators, and judges. How far the course of human affairs had fallen away from such an ideal state of affairs was obvious to every thoughtful Muhammadan who looked out upon the state of his co-religionists, and the growth of education and the spread of the daily press in the second half of the nineteenth century made men's minds receptive to the recognition of this unpalatable truth. It was a melancholy reflection for those persons acquainted with the past glories of Islam, to recognize how the growing expansion of European domination and commercial activity had brought the greater part of the once independent Muhammadan states under their rule. The Treaty of Berlin, 1878, had dismembered the Turkish Empire in a dramatic manner that forced attention on the rapidity with which the movement of decline, begun in the eighteenth century, was now proceeding. North Africa, since the occupation of Algiers by the French in 1830, was more and more passing under their authority, as was emphasized by the declaration of the French protectorate over Tunis in 1881; the great Mughal Empire in India, with its splendid traditions, had finally expired before 1858 when the government was transferred to the British Crown; and, in 1882, the British occupied Egypt. It was not surprising that some Muslim thinkers should have felt that the remedy for these disasters was to be found in some common form of activity on the part of Muslim peoples irrespective of language, race, or geographical situation. One of the most active exponents of such an ideal was Sayyid Jamal ud-Din (*ob.* 1897), who in his writings laboured for the unity of Islam; but, unfortunately for such efforts, they had to be centred in the only independent Muhammadan potentate who could uphold the dignity of the Caliphate—the Sultan of Turkey; and Abdul Hamid was of so suspicious a temperament that co-operation with him was almost impossible for persons with any degree of independence of character, and his tyrannical government, upheld by an army of spies and unscrupulous palace officials, had alienated such sections of his subjects as hoped for the regeneration of their country by means of

liberal methods of government, and they chafed under the concentration of all authority in the person of the despot of Yildiz Kiosk.

Such liberal thinkers, many of whom had received an education on European lines, and had particularly come under the influence of French liberal ideas, viewed with dislike this attempt to revive the ideal of the Caliphate, as being a return to medieval superstition, for they considered that the only hope of the salvation of Islam lay in its being purged of the medievalisms which still hampered its progress. The reactionary orthodox supporters of the Caliphate idea were, at the same time, hostile to all efforts to reform and all attempts to approximate methods of administration and education to European models; but it was just this introduction of the methods of modern civilized life that the liberal thinkers believed to be the only means of making the dead bones live. Europe had successfully passed out of its medieval period, and was welcoming the advance of modern science, and making use of every fresh discovery; the world of Islam still clung to the habits and mental outlook of its medieval ancestors, and had thereby achieved its own ruin. Both the liberal parties and the reactionaries chafed under the domination of Europe, but they disagreed in the remedy for the ailments which they both recognized. This feeling of mortification was further strengthened by the division of Persia in 1907 into two spheres of influence under England and Russia respectively: by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1908, and by the Tripoli War which in 1912 deprived the Turkish Empire of the last remnant of its possessions in Africa.

A few years later the disillusionments which followed the Great War were, doubtless, more bitter for those who centred their hopes on the revival of the Caliphate than for others. Muhammadans had fought against one another in this great struggle, and the possibilities of any united action on their part seemed more hopeless than ever. The most influential political thinkers in the Muslim world came to believe that their independence could best be achieved by the encouragement of the idea of nationalism, and so the nationalist movements in Egypt, India, and Java grew in strength, and achieved the most striking success in the

establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1922. The ill-fated Caliphate movement in India struggled for a time to blow up the dying flame of the medieval idea, but met with a woeful collapse when the Caliphate was renounced in 1924 by the Grand National Assembly.

At the present day, in Muslim countries, just as in most other parts of the world, there are those who look backwards into the past and hope for the revival of ancient glories by means of the resuscitation of decayed institutions, while opposed to them are those who strive to adjust their lives and their social and political forms of organization to the conditions of modern life. How far either of these two parties in Islam will succeed in winning over their co-religionists to the acceptance of their particular ideal, only the future can decide; but both are equally resentful of political control by the powers of Europe, and chafe at their own commercial and scientific inferiority. Despite the recent Caliphate Congress, held last year in Cairo, zeal for the revival of this institution appears to be on the decline, and the possibilities of any united action on the part of the separate Muhammadan populations scattered throughout the world seems now even more remote than in the days when journalists tried to excite alarm by the bogey of a Panislamic movement. But the feelings of resentment and hostility that contributed to such movements as may be described as Panislamic are still present, and, whatever other forms they may in the future assume, they none the less deserve the careful attention of European statesmen.

NETHERLANDS INDIES SECTION

[The first of this series of articles on the problems confronting the administration in the Dutch Colonies appeared in the January issue.]

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

BY PROFESSOR E. MORESCO, LL.D.

(Late Vice-President of the Council of the Netherlands Indies)

ON May 16 of this year the representative body of the Dutch East Indies, the "Volksraad," will meet for the first time in its new form, and with the new powers granted it by the Act of 1925, by which the Constitution of the Colony underwent a highly important change. Some information concerning a reform which has thus far attracted little attention may, therefore, prove of interest to those who make a study of Asiatic colonial problems. Previous to 1918, in which year the "Volksraad" met for the first time, the Netherlands Indies were an anomaly amongst higher grade colonies, in that no representative body existed in which Government affairs could be publicly discussed and Government policy publicly criticized. The absence of such a body was counterbalanced to some extent by the fact that the Parliament of the Mother Country showed much interest in Colonial affairs, and when dealing with the East Indies Budget (which had to be settled by Act of Parliament) devoted several days, and sometimes even as much as three weeks, every year to a discussion of the policy followed by the Government.

Although this state of affairs naturally never was quite satisfactory, it had to be accepted as long as in the Colony itself there was no possibility of creating a competent body for public discussion and criticism in which the various groups of the population could be equitably represented. In the first few years of the present century this still seemed impossible as far as the native population was concerned. Outside the ranks of native officials there were none who could claim to speak for either the Javanese or the Malays.

There were some native papers, but their low standard

only proved that amongst the indigenous population no real conception of public life yet existed. A change gradually became perceptible in the first decade of the Twentieth Century—a change which developed under the influence of various factors, such as increased primary education, and changes in the economic structure of society, accentuated by the repercussion of events in other parts of the world, such as the Russo-Japanese War, the nationalist movement in British India, the Chinese revolution, and the American reforms in the Philippines.

Plans which aimed at giving the Netherlands Indies a more independent position in the framework of the realm had long existed, and more than once had been laid before Parliament in the form of Bills. The evolution just referred to, however, first gave an impetus to the movement for reform, and at the same time afforded the possibility of making the change something more than a purely formal one. Thus, by an Act of December, 1916, a representative Council was instituted which was given a name borrowed from the history of South Africa—"Volksraad" (literally "People's Council" or "National Council"). It was generally recognized, however, that it would be a long time before the Council became what the name implied.

In order fully to understand what the creation of this body meant, it is necessary to consider how the legislative and the executive powers were organized at that time. By the Constitution, or "Grondwet," of the kingdom the highest legislative and executive authority for the Colonies was vested in the Crown, subject to the control of the Legislature to regulate any question by Act of Parliament. The latter course was imperatively prescribed in the case of certain important questions, such as the Constitution of the Colonies, the financial administration, and the monetary system.

Matters not regulated either by Act of Parliament or Order in Council could be regulated by ordinance of the Governor-General, in agreement with the Council of the Netherlands Indies. This Council does not, like the Viceregal Council of British India, consist of the heads of the central Government bureaus, but of five members appointed by the Crown, who hold no other office. As a general rule they are selected from amongst the highest Colonial officials, although, legally, the choice is entirely free. The Council is presided over by a Vice-President, who also officiates in the absence of the Governor-General. The latter is nominally President, and takes the

chair on special occasions. In executive affairs the Council acts as adviser, but the Governor-General is not bound to follow its advice. On matters of a legislative nature agreement must be reached; only in cases of emergency may the Governor-General over-rule the Council.

For a long time the Government was strongly centralized. It was not until 1903 that local councils were instituted in all the larger towns and in the "residencies" of Java, as well as in a number of the most progressive regions of the other islands, corresponding to a "district" in British India. Members of municipal councils are elected, and those of the other councils are either elected or nominated. Some councils are entirely composed of natives, but most comprise both Europeans and natives, generally also some Chinese. In the towns Europeans form the majority of the members.

A certain number of officials, both Dutch and native, serve as members of the local councils. Unlike the "official members" of the British Legislative and other Councils, however, they are not expected to vote for all official proposals. No matter whether they have been elected, nominated, or sit *ex officio*, they may speak and vote as they please.

To the organization described above, the "Volksraad" was now added as a new element. Whilst in British India the Legislative Councils arose from the expansion of the Governor's Councils, which as "Executive Councils" continued to form the nucleus, in the Dutch Indies the position provisionally remained as it was until automatically modified by use. Ordinances continued to be enacted by the Governor-General, with the concurrence of the Council of the Netherlands Indies, and the Volksraad therefore could only be allowed an advisory status. Even here its functions were limited. The number of ordinances, indeed, was very considerable, and to deal with them all the Volksraad would have had to sit the whole year round. Since the institution of the Volksraad, however, really important ordinances have never been passed without its being consulted, although the final decision still rested with the Governor-General and the Council of the Netherlands Indies.

The most important function of the new body was the discussion of the Budget. From the beginning such discussions have borne the character of a searching criticism with regard to every measure which the Government had taken or ought to have taken in the opinion of the Council.

The Council could vote on every item separately. Its right of amendment enabled it not only to strike out any item or reduce or increase the amount, but to introduce new ones. The decisions thus taken, however, were not final, as the whole Budget had still to be referred to the Home Parliament for settlement.

Considering that two months were available for the debate on the annual Budget, that the Volksraad had power to meet in extraordinary session on its own initiative, and also had received the right to present draft ordinances, the position may be summarized by saying that the new representative body had no power to take final decisions and exercised no influence on the composition of the Government, but that in its exercise of public criticism and expression of opinion on Government actions it had to all intents and purposes parliamentary powers.

Now let us consider the composition of the Volksraad.

According to the last arrangement made before the revision of the Constitution, this consisted of a President appointed by the Crown, and forty-eight members, including twenty natives and three Chinese. Half of the members were elected by the members of the local councils, and the remainder appointed by the Governor-General. What has been said above with regard to the members of the local councils being absolutely free to speak and vote as they please, even whilst officials, applies also to the members of the Volksraad. This sometimes led to singular situations—for example, when an official criticized in the Volksraad a measure which he had to carry out as a Government servant. It frequently happened also that the public service suffered through the long absence of the officials during the sittings.

The right to appoint half of the members was not given to the Governor-General in order to ensure the presence in the Volksraad of a group in sympathy with his policy, but to ensure the representation of special interests and minorities, which had obtained no seats at the elections in the local councils. It is remarkable that in some cases the most extreme movements against Dutch rule were represented by nominated and not by elected members.

When, on May 18, 1918, the Governor-General opened the first sitting of the Volksraad, he declared, in agreement with the Minister for the Colonies, that the ultimate aim of Holland's policy with regard to the East Indies was the setting up of a responsible Government, which, in collaboration with the Volksraad, would be competent to take final

decisions on all matters in which the general interests of the realm were not involved.

Although the Governor-General had spoken very reservedly with respect to the rate of progress along the lines indicated, a tendency to arrogate to itself full parliamentary powers at once revealed itself in the Volksraad. The efforts in this direction were promoted to a considerable extent by the standing orders, more or less a copy of those of the Home Parliament. The mistake made when a Legislative Council in British India was first instituted in 1853 was repeated here, a remarkable proof that only rarely in politics do we learn from the mistakes of other peoples.

At the end of the World War, and under the influence of the slogan "Self-determination for all peoples," aspirations of a far-reaching nature were expressed in the Volksraad. The Governor-General himself set the example by declaring that, in his opinion, the reform of that institution ought to be accelerated. The Volksraad, he declared later, should be raised from the status of a purely advisory body to that of an integral part of the Government. These statements were made without the knowledge or consent of the Cabinet. Questioned about his position, the Minister for the Colonies confined himself to declaring that he would await the proposals which were being prepared by a strong Commission appointed by the Governor-General.

The majority of this Commission, whose report appeared in the course of 1920, were in favour of giving the country at once complete self-government in internal affairs. The Home Parliament might determine the Constitution of the Colony and the Crown continue to appoint the Governor-General, but, save that in the event of a conflict between the Governor-General and the Volksraad the Legislature of the realm would have to decide, neither Parliament nor Crown would be allowed any voice in the internal affairs of the Colony.

The Cabinet rejected these demands, but accepted the principle that the legislative power, as regards internal affairs, should be placed in the hands of the Governor-General, assisted by the Volksraad. The Home Parliament, however, was to retain the power to regulate every point by legislation, and to exercise control over the policy of the East Indies Government, reserving to itself the right to ratify the Budget drawn up in the Colony and to annul ordinances even when they were not contrary to the Constitution and only touched purely Colonial interests. The

Crown would retain so much power as was necessary to ensure that Parliamentary supremacy would be practically effective. In future, legislation by Order in Council for internal affairs would only be possible if the Crown were especially authorized to do so by Act of Parliament. The drafts for such Orders in Council, as well as the Bills relating to Indian affairs, would in every case have to be previously submitted to the Volksraad.

These principles have been laid down in the revised Constitution of 1922 and elaborated by the Act of 1925.

After the foregoing sketch of the historical development little more need be said with regard to the details of the new Constitution.

The Volksraad will in future consist of a President, appointed by the Crown, and sixty members. These include thirty Netherlands, one half of whom are elected and the other half nominated; twenty-five natives, of whom twenty are elected, and five representatives of other communities (Chinese, with perhaps an Arab), of whom three are elected. Of the sixty members thirty-eight are elected, as heretofore, by the local councils. But whereas formerly all members of the local councils voted collectively, the rational system has now been adopted by which each community votes for its own representatives. For the election of native members, the Colony has been divided into twelve electoral districts, which elect a minimum of one and a maximum of four members. Each of the other two groups forms one electoral body.

The power of nominating members is, as heretofore, to secure representation for certain minorities and special interests (such as traders, planters, etc.). Nominated members have the same rights as those who are elected, and officials can sit either as elected or appointed members. The Government, however, has the right to declare certain posts incompatible with membership of the Volksraad, in which case the official in question is relieved of his functions whilst retaining his full salary and emoluments.

The above figures show that the relative strength of natives and non-natives in the new Volksraad is the same as in the old. The Minister for the Colonies would have given the natives half the seats. Parliament, however, maintained the old proportion, considering it unwise to make the group least skilled in matters political preponderant, just when the Council's powers of legislation and control of the administration were about to be considerably increased.

One of the greatest difficulties to be solved in con-

nection with the reforms lay in the nature of the legislative work which would have compelled the members of the Volksraad to spend almost the whole year at Batavia. Owing to the great distances this was out of the question as society in the East Indies does not include a leisured class. It would be possible, indeed, to secure the necessary number of members by granting a high salary, but such members would inevitably belong to the scarcely desirable class of professional politicians.

The obvious way out of the difficulty was to limit legislation by ordinance to the strictly necessary, leaving the rest to executive regulations. As this did not seem to inspire confidence, a smaller body, elected by the Volksraad from its own members, was created for the special purpose of dealing with everything within the sphere of legislation. The members of this body, called in the draft "*Wetgevende Raad*" (Legislative Council), but in the Act as it was ultimately formulated "*College van Gedelegeerden*" (Board of Delegates), were given a salary which enabled them to devote their full time to public work. This board numbers twenty members, and is elected by proportional representation at the first sitting of the Volksraad and for the whole session (four years). Its debates, like those of the plenary sittings of the Volksraad, are naturally held in public. The Volksraad in plenary meeting is competent to deal with all financial matters: the Budget, audit reports, and loans. It has also the power, however, to take the discussion of a proposed ordinance out of the hands of the Board of Delegates and deal with it itself.

This solution, which has met with strong opposition, will now be tested in practice.

The new duties of the Volksraad (both in its plenary composition and in its restricted form as a Board of Delegates) have necessitated a regulation to prevent deadlocks in the event of disagreement between the Volksraad and the Governor-General. It was a question of whether in that case the decision should be entrusted to the Home Parliament, as the more radical reformers wished, or to the Crown, which had hitherto acted as arbiter between the Governor-General and the Council of Netherlands Indies. The first of these solutions has been accepted for everything concerning the financial administration: the items in the Budget on which no agreement can be reached in the East Indies are settled by Act of Parliament.

With regard to legislation, the decision will rest with the Crown. If the Volksraad (in this instance usually the

Board of Delegates) reject a draft ordinance proposed by the Governor-General, or amend it in such a way as to render it unacceptable to him, he may send the draft back for reconsideration. If then, again, no agreement is arrived at, the Crown is competent to settle the matter. The Home Parliament is thus eliminated, although naturally it is competent to criticize the Colonial Minister's attitude in the usual parliamentary way.

In cases of emergency, the Governor-General need not, of course, wait for the decision of either Parliament or Crown, but is competent to act on his own authority.

During the debates on the reforms, much attention was paid to the question of ministerial responsibility under the new régime and to the future relations between the Minister for the Colonies and the Governor-General, especially to the question whether the Minister would still be authorized to give instructions to the Governor-General. It is not surprising that these debates were somewhat nebulous, and that it proved impossible to formulate clearly and in juridical terminology a relation which is essentially political and in practice depends more on personal character than on legally specified powers. An incautious remark on the part of the Minister had made the impression that the Governor-General's position under the new arrangement, as the Minister conceived it, would render timely intervention impossible if the East Indies Government wished to act contrary to the views of Parliament. This led to an amendment which expressly stipulated that the Governor-General should observe the "*directions*"—a milder term for orders—of the Crown. Some people were of opinion that this clause was contrary to the Constitution, which in the revision of 1922 accords the Governor-General an independent position and only allows the Crown authority with respect to subjects specifically mentioned. All this, however, is of little practical importance, and it goes without saying that the Crown decides the question of the recall or otherwise of the Governor-General in agreement with Parliament, as also whether the Governor-General is respecting the lines of action laid down by it in all matters in which principles are involved.

It would be interesting to compare the constitutional institutions in the great Asiatic colonies under Western rule and their evolution. The British in India, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements, the Americans in the Philippines, and the French in Indo-China, are to a certain extent all wrestling with the same problem that confronts the Dutch

in the Archipelago—the problem of how Western representative institutions can so be adapted to the psychology of the various Eastern peoples as best to promote their political development.

The aspects of the problem, however, are different everywhere, not only because these peoples differ widely in intellectual and political development, but even more because of the radical difference in the economic and social structure of the colonies in question. The fact that the institutions are still in a purely experimental stage renders it imprudent to express an opinion as to their ultimate success or failure.

THE INDIAN STATES

III.—BARODA. CAPITAL OF THE GAEKWARS

(Continued)

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

THOUGH, as related in the first part of this article, he was thus friendly to the British, unfortunately the last few years of Maharajah Khandé Rao's rule showed a marked falling-off in good government and he became oppressive and arbitrary. New cesses and levies were imposed to provide for court extravagances and were collected by the harshest measures (*vide* Thornton, "Life of Sir R. Meade," p. 161).

The next heir to the Gadi was Malhar Rao, Khande Rao's younger brother, who had been accused, in 1863, of being concerned in a conspiracy against the Maharajah.* The charge was not apparently proved, but Malhar Rao was kept a State prisoner during the rest of Khande Rao's life, along with his associates in the plot. On the death of Khande Rao, the Resident summoned Malhar Rao from his place of confinement, and, without waiting for the sanction of Government, installed him as Maharajah, subject to the approval of the British Government. The Government accepted the Resident's view, with the reservation that if the child, which Maharani Jamna Bai, youngest widow of Maharajah Khande Rao, was expecting should prove to be a son, he would be recognized as Gaekwar in the place of his father. The posthumous child was, however, a girl, and Malhar Rao remained the Maharajah. His rule proved even more tyrannical and oppressive than that of his predecessor. He did his utmost to wreak his

* See account in "Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol. vii.

vengeance on the adherents of his late brother, who had been against him during that brother's life, and there were many tales of cruelty and oppression about him.

These rumours soon reached the Government of Bombay, under which Baroda then was, and in March, 1873, that Government deputed a new Resident in the person of Colonel (afterwards General Sir Robert) Phayre, a splendid specimen of a high-minded British officer. He was a descendant of men who feared nothing but to do wrong, and from the first he was horrified at the tales of serious and general maladministration, cruelty, and oppression. The Resident perhaps let it be thought that he was prepared to hear complaints against the Maharajah, and this may have increased and exaggerated them, but there were sufficient genuine ones to show that the administration of the State was in a bad way, and when the Governor of Bombay referred their Resident's reports to the Government of India, the latter appointed a Commission to inquire and report how matters really stood. The Commission consisted of Colonel R. J. Meade, C.S.I., Chief Commissioner of Mysore; Nawab Faiz Ali Khan Bahadur, for many years Prime Minister of Jaipur; Mr. E. W. Ravenscroft, of the Bombay Civil Service; Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Etheridge, an officer of irregular cavalry, well acquainted with Baroda; with Mr. McKenzie, of the Bombay Civil Service, as Secretary.

The above members of the Commission assembled at Baroda in November, 1873. They commenced their sittings on November 10, and concluded them on the 24th of the following month. It is not possible to go into all they did, but their general conclusions were that the complaints of oppression made by British subjects were exaggerated, but those by Baroda subjects were substantially true. They recommended that a new Minister should be appointed having special administrative experience, who should endeavour to secure the Chief's goodwill and to work with him. That this Minister (of course an Indian) should be supported by the Resident, and not be liable to removal without the special orders of the British Government. This report was submitted in March, 1874, but no

orders on it were passed until the following July, when it was found that the Government of India, while highly approving of the work done by the Commission, and accepting their views, "shrank from the responsibility of selecting a new Minister for the Baroda State," which would, they considered, place the Maharajah under tutelage, and they determined instead to give him an opportunity of reforming his administration with the help of British officers, should he desire their services. He was at the same time warned that if the necessary reforms had not been carried out by the end of 1875 he would be deprived of his throne. This decision, though meant well, and considerate to His Highness, was unfortunate in its results. The Gaekwar and the Court party regarded the Resident as inimical to them, and to some extent the cause of the late enquiry. There was much friction, and reforms were not carried out. Then occurred an unfortunate incident. The Gaekwar married a woman of low position, named Luxmi Bai, who was, I believe, already the wife of a British subject. The husband complained to the Resident, who, in consequence, declined to attend the Gaekwar's marriage at Nausari. This gave great offence, and the relations between the Durbar and the Residency became more and more strained until, on the same date, November 2, 1874, two despatches were sent off—one from Colonel Phayre complaining to the Governor of Bombay of the state of affairs at Baroda, and the other from the Maharajah to the Viceroy, praying for the recall of Colonel Phayre. A few days later Colonel Phayre further irritated the Gaekwar by expostulating with him, at a private interview, on endeavours being made by his agents to secure the recognition of a child who had been born to Luxmi Bai as his legitimate heir by bribing officials at Bombay. Four days afterwards an attempt was made to poison the Resident.

As this led up to the famous trial of Maharajah Malhar Rao, his deposition, and the establishment of the present régimes at Baroda, it is necessary to go into the circumstances which led up to it at considerable length. Before the news of the attempt to poison Colonel Phayre

of the State now known as Baroda. This was known as the Baroda group, because the persons composing it had followed the fortunes of Pilaji Rao and his direct descendants, and had lived in Gujerat.

2. The descendants of Pratap Rao, a younger son of Pilaji, who had lived in a village near Nassik, in the Khandeish District of the Bombay Presidency. They were known as the Nassik group, and, after careful inquiry by local officials, it was decided that they had the stronger claim. The accuracy of this finding was contested by the Baroda claimants, but the legitimacy of the Khandeish branch was considered sufficiently established by the High Priest of the Gaekwar family, and, as the Maharani herself wished to adopt from the Nassik group, it was decided to go there (Nassik) for the next Gaekwar. I believe the father of the future Maharajah was a patel or headman in his village, and that His Highness, up to the age of thirteen, had lived a perfectly simple life there. His name was Gopal Rao, and he and his two brothers, Anand Rao (older) and Sanpat Rao (younger), were brought to Baroda, and were introduced to the Maharani, Jamna Bai, who adopted Gopal Rao. He thus, by Hindu law, became a member of the ruling family, and was in due course installed Maharajah and Gaekwar of Baroda, under the old ancestral name of Sayaji Rao II. The adoption and installation ceremonies were performed on May 27, 1875. So last year the present Maharajah had been fifty on the Gadi of the Baroda State, and celebrated his jubilee with much pomp and ceremony. There can be no doubt that the Maharani's selection of the present Maharajah as her adopted son was a wise one, and has proved a happy one for the Baroda State. He had the good fortune to have the assistance of Sir Richard Meade, and, after him, of Mr. Melvill and Sir John Watson. He had also the services of a very distinguished Hindu statesman and administrator, Sir Madava Rao, a Deccani Brahmin, "who, after a distinguished career at the Madras University, became successively Diwan, or Minister, at Travancore and Indore." He was (quoting again from Thornton's "Life of Sir R. J. Meade") "a man of rare intelligence, indomitable

powers of work, a perfect knowledge of English, and with great administrative experience. He took charge at Baroda on June 16, 1875, and till the end of that year, when Sir Richard Meade went to Hyderabad, he and the Resident laboured, unceasingly, to place the administration of the State on a thoroughly sound basis."

The young Maharajah had also the advantage of an excellent tutor in Mr. J. A. Elliott of the Bombay Civil Service, who remained with him long after his education was finished as his friend and adviser. Maharajah Sayaji Rao thus started the new life, to which he had come by such a strange series of events, under very favourable circumstances, but his career would never have been so successful as it has been, if he had not been endowed by nature with certain qualities which have spurred him on—self-culture and thirst for knowledge. He has largely developed that "*wanderlust*" which makes people anxious to see strange lands and to know strange people, their habits, laws, and customs. Few people have travelled more than he has done, in all quarters of the globe, and as this involves constant and long continued absences from Baroda, it is, perhaps, the only thing to which his subjects can really object. But there is no doubt also that the present Gaekwar has all his life had the welfare of his subjects at heart, and has worked hard to promote it. In the matter of primary education he has done a great deal, and he has also improved his State in many other ways. His subjects should remember this, and also should try and compare his rule with those of probably all his predecessors, of whom a slight account has been given in these articles. Not only were the former chiefs tyrannical, cruel, and exacting, but all their entourage followed their example and oppressed their unfortunate subjects. From such a state of things Baroda has happily been delivered, and it is probable that the administration does not now compare unfavourably with that prevailing in the neighbouring British districts. These districts surround the various portions of Baroda, which are in five separate divisions—three in Gujerat and two in Kathiawar. Those in Gujerat contain some of the richest soil in India, and has indeed been called "one

reached the Government of India, the Viceroy in Council had decided that the office of Resident at Baroda should be placed in other hands, and Colonel Phayre was superseded by Sir Lewis Pelly, who had been for many years Resident in the Persian Gulf, and was at the time Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana. He was appointed Agent to the Governor-General and Special Commissioner for Baroda, and relieved Colonel Phayre on November 30, 1874. While there was no doubt that arsenic and powdered glass had been put in a glass of sherbet which Colonel Phayre was given, and which he only escaped drinking by accident, it was not at all easy to trace the responsibility for the attempt to the Gaekwar himself. But inquiries carried out by the Bombay Police, under the able direction of Mr. (afterwards Sir Frank) Souter, constrained the Government of India to consider that there was strong *prima-facie* reason to believe that the plot had been instigated by Malhar Rao, and, as it was impossible to pass over an attempt on the life of a British Resident (equivalent to an Ambassador), orders were issued for the arrest of the Maharajah, who was kept in a sort of honourable confinement in a bungalow of the cantonment, till, after the close of the trial, he was deported from his State and sent to Madras.

The "trial" of the Maharajah of Baroda was not, so Thornton writes, exactly a trial at all, but was more of an inquiry made to inform the mind of the Viceroy in Council as to alleged misconduct on the part of a feudatory prince. The Commissioners were to give no verdict, but were simply to report their opinions for the consideration of higher authority. It is quite beyond the scope of this article to give more than a brief outline of this famous trial, which excited very great interest not only in India, but also all over the world. Though it was necessary to suspend the Maharajah, he was, throughout, treated with the greatest respect and consideration, and he was allowed to engage the best legal assistance available in India, and England, the cost, which was very heavy, being met from the resources of the State. The Commission appointed to investigate the charge against the Maharajah was composed of three

well-known Indians—Their Highnesses the Maharajahs of Jeypore, one of the leading Rajput Chiefships, and the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior. There was also Raja Sir Dinkar Rao, who had been Prime Minister of Gwalior before, during, and after the Mutiny in 1857. The English members were the Hon. Sir Richard Couch, Chief Justice of Bengal, Mr. Philip Melvill, a Judge of the High Court in the Punjab, and Sir Richard Meade, who had also exercised the functions of a High Court Judge. This was undoubtedly a very strong body, but none of the Indian members had received any judicial training, and all three were unused to the practice and procedures of British Courts. The famous Mr. Serjeant Ballantine was retained at, I believe, the enormous fee of £10,000 and all his travelling and other expenses, and the prosecution, if such it may be called, was in the hands of the Hon. A. Scoble, Advocate-General of Bombay, and Mr. Inverarity, one of the best known and most able barristers who have ever practised at Bombay. The proceedings lasted twenty days. It is not necessary to go into the evidence beyond mentioning that while there was no doubt as to the attempt to poison the Resident, and also as to His Highness's desire to get rid of him, the actual connection of the Maharajah with the crime was not so clear, and depended on the credibility of the statements made by certain witnesses. At the close of the trial, and of the long addresses made by Mr. Ballantine and Mr. Scoble, the members of the Commission left Baroda, and went to Bombay to consider their report. It was evident towards the close of the proceedings that there would be a divergence of opinion between the views of the European and Indian members of the Commission, and in the end, while the three English officers considered that an attempt to poison Colonel Phayre had been instigated by Malhar Rao, the Indian members of the Commission did not take this view. The President had a casting vote, and in view of various other charges of cruelty and oppression against the Maharajah the Commission recommended that he should be deposed, and his issue be declared incapable of ruling at Baroda.

It was finally resolved, as stated in a proclamation issued in 1875, that the Maharajah must be deposed, not because the British Government decided that the result of the inquiry had been to prove the truth of the imputation against His Highness, but because, having regard to all the circumstances relating to the affairs of Baroda, from the accession of His Highness Malhar Rao, his notorious misconduct, his gross misgovernment of the State, and his evident incapacity to carry into effect necessary reforms, the step was imperatively called for.*

This decision Mr. Ballantine, in his account of the trial, contended was tantamount to an acquittal on the charge of attempt at murder, and he took great credit to himself for his conduct of the Gaekwar defence. The proclamation, deposing the Gaekwar, was unfavourably received in India, and in England, and it was commented on very adversely, for it was said: "The Government have not found the Gaekwar guilty of the attempt to poison, and yet depose him on the grounds of misgovernment before the expiration of the period allowed him for reform." At first the feeling against the Government of India was very strong, but later on, when all the reports were published in the "Baroda Blue Book," a revulsion of feeling took place, and there was a general feeling that justice had been done. Dr. Thornton writes:

"The general result of the great Baroda 'trial' was—

"1. The jurisdiction of the paramount power to inquire into and, if necessary, punish the misconduct of its feudatories, was formally recognized and admitted by the Chiefs themselves.

"2. Baroda was relieved of a tyrant, and was given a new lease of life.

"3. The character of the Government of India, which had, at one time, been ruthlessly assailed, was completely vindicated."

Annexation had been urged on the British Government, but it was clearly shown that no idea of doing away with the Baroda State, or of reducing its status, was ever entertained, and as soon as Malhar Rao was removed, and his

* Cf. "Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol. vii., p. 40.

issue debarred from the succession, arrangements were at once made to select a new Maharajah.

Before we quit the story of this famous trial we must mention two important lessons which were taught by it:

1. That it is not advisable to associate Indian rulers with British officers on a Commission for judicial, or quasi-judicial, inquiries, conducted after English methods; and

2. That inquiries into the conduct of Indian princes should not be held in public.

That cases where the paramount power is compelled to interfere must arise is certain, but where they are dealt with as the Baroda incident was, the character of the Imperial Government for absolute fair dealing with all concerned will never be really impugned.

The health of Sir Lewis Pelly, the Resident and Special Commissioner, having broken down, Sir Richard Meade, who had been appointed a K.C.S.I., for his work as President of the first Commission, was directed to relieve him with the same position, and he accordingly took over charge of the Residency on April 10, 1875. Soon after it became evident that an attempt would be made to reinstate Malhar Rao, and he was sent to Madras; but, nevertheless, a serious rising in favour of his son by Luxmi Bai took place, and was only suppressed by the Resident's prompt action. Jamna Bai, widow of Khande Rao, was summoned from Poona, with her daughter, and Her Majesty the Queen, being anxious to mark her sense of the loyal service of M. R. Khande Rao, empowered Her Highness to adopt, in accordance with Hindu law and custom, as heir to her late husband, some member of the Gaekwar family whom the Government of India might select as most suitable to inherit the sovereignty of the Baroda State. This was contained in a Proclamation issued on April 19, and steps were at once taken to trace the members of the Baroda family where there were boys of a suitable age to be adopted by the Maharani. There were two groups:

1. Claiming legitimate descent from Mhaloji Rao, the elder brother of the Pilaji Rao, who was, as we have mentioned in the previous part of this article, the founder

of the gardens of India." Though not so extensive as the Gwalior State, Baroda ranks first of the Mārāthā principalities, and has an income of about 140 to 150 lakhs of rupees per annum. The population is stated to be about 2,500,000, and in extent the districts directly under the Gaekwar are about the size of Wales. The Maharajah enjoys a salute of twenty-one guns, the same as that given to the H.E.H. Nizam of Hyderabad and H.H. Maharajah of Mysore.

It is not possible to conclude even a cursory account of this interesting State without a reference to the wonderful collection of jewels which are the hereditary property of the ruling Gaekwar. It is one of the sights of the place always shown to visitors, and includes many beautiful gems, of which the well-known diamond, the "Star of the South," is the most famous.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE PROSPECTS OF PROHIBITION IN INDIA

(From the Rev. Herbert Anderson, K.-i.-H., Hon. Secretary, Prohibition League of India.)

SIR,—He would be a bold prophet who dared to dogmatize on how things were going to emerge in India. In these days of confusion her landscapes are full of mist. The high-roads of her destiny are clouded and lose themselves in gloom. Nevertheless, British ideals of freedom and British prestige are India's hope. They will lead her through fields of growing progress to ultimate attainment. One hesitates to claim any special power of discernment by which fully to understand the tendency of passing events. But in all the great spheres of India's life the surest test is the test of tendency, and the dominant trend is forward, hopefully forward.

Prohibition in India is a modern movement. When the deputation arranged by Lord Clwyd and the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association waited on the Marquess of Crewe, Secretary of State for India, in July, 1912, the late G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., one of India's greatest sons and statesmen, declared himself a prohibitionist, but added that, as a practical man, he saw no use in advocating at that time a prohibition policy. Fourteen years have passed. With the Reforms a new situation has arisen. The Swaraj party, led by Mahatma Gandhi, are avowed prohibitionists. In the Imperial Council and all Provincial Councils reiterated expressions of Indian opinion demand a policy of ultimate prohibition. Temperance societies all over India are also keen prohibitionists. Most remarkable of all, as we shall see later, excise administrators in Government service are now falling into line with Indian sentiment.

The prospects of prohibition in India are not rosy. And our first task is to indicate the manifest signs of this fact.

1. The acceptance of prohibition depends ultimately upon the community, including that section of it that is addicted to intoxicants. There has been no clear indication of any widespread or sincere reform in drinking and drug-taking habits among those to whom the Government policy of regulation grants facilities to purchase what they want. Every excise administrative report notes temperance movements in the area of its operation. While it may be said that reform movements are annually chronicled, chiefly among aboriginal and low-caste tribes, they rise and spread and die away like river mists. This difficulty leads one to ask—who are the drinking classes of India? What numerical ratio do they bear to the classes who do not touch liquor or drugs? And what is their political or social influence at the present day? These are questions easy to ask. But the answers are unknown. No Government has ever done

more than guess at them. And no one but Government has the means of finding out. All know that scattered about throughout the vast Empire the hill tribes, aboriginals, and low-caste people are hard drinkers. The Chamars and Muchis, the Churas and Bhangis of North India, the Doms, the Santals, and the Kols in North-east India, the Khonds in Orissa and Madras, the Bhils and Mahars in the West, and the Bagadas of the Nilgiris are representatives of these drinking classes. They are semi-civilized. Stimulation and co-operation from without have occasionally encouraged a rise in social status and a reform in bad habits among them. Some years ago the Hindu prime minister of an Indian State expressed his delight to me that some thousands of such a tribe had embraced the Christian faith and had become a quiet, industrious, tax-paying part of the community. But, looking over India, one fails to see any intention by these tribes of giving up drink—despite the fact that it is the cause of their poverty and a curse to their social life.

Apart from such tribes and low castes, a second and larger class of drinkers is found in all the cities and towns of India. As the excise commissioner of the United Provinces says in a recent report, "The habitual drinker and the opium and drug addict are creations of the conditions arising out of town life. The village shop is a very small tributary to the main stream of consumption and revenue." The same applies to every province.

The drink and drug problem of to-day is principally urban. In Bengal, Calcutta gives 55 lakhs of excise revenue out of a total of 126 lakhs for the whole province. And here again one has to report no clear indication that the drink and drug habit is lessening among drinkers and drug-takers in city areas.

2. A second sign that the prospects of prohibition are poor is the standpoint of the Government of India, and provincial governments, despite their local independence under the Reforms Act in certain parts of excise administration, cannot wisely defy Imperial policy. In that memorable debate in the Legislative Assembly at Simla, September, 1925, when a prohibition policy was carried by 69 votes to 39, the Finance Minister said that the Government of India could not accept the principle of even ultimate prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors, because, so far ahead as they could see, it must be an utterly impracticable policy. And quite recently Sir Basil Blackett on the thorny opium problem has been equally explicit. "The Government state that the policy of aiming at the prohibition of opium-use, for purposes other than medical and scientific, would be clearly impracticable, even if it were desirable; but there is no evidence that there is any serious and widespread abuse of opium, and the Government of India would regard as entirely unjustifiable a departure from their present policy of non-interference with moderate use. The continuance of the existing policy, accompanied by special efforts to deal with areas where consumption is unduly high, is far more likely to produce beneficial results than any attempt to suppress it altogether by measures that the Government regard as indefensible in principle and doomed to prove infructuous." Language could not be more explicit.

And let it be clearly understood that when the Government of India or local governments under its influence say that their policy in excise matters is "a maximum revenue from a minimum consumption," they mean a minimum consumption that grants facilities of vend to all moderate consumers.

3. A third sign of the poor prospects of prohibition is financial. No more illuminating document on this aspect of the question has been published than the Report of the Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee, 1924-5. In Chapter VIII. of the Report that Committee carefully examines the whole subject. It recommends various changes in excise administration, and evidently regards the taxation of liquor and drugs as a permanent source of Indian revenue. It shows how, despite the transfer of excise of country liquors and drugs to provincial governments under the Reforms Act, the Imperial Government is itself financially concerned. In regard to the tariff rate of foreign liquor, the duty levied at the custom houses is credited to the Government of India, while the fees for the privilege of vend are credited to the provinces.

This revenue exceeds 2 crores of rupees to the Imperial Government. At the conclusion of the Report it discusses the place excise revenue will fill in the finances of the future. The present revenue, with the customs duty on imports, is 22 crores of rupees or 14 per cent. of the tax revenue of India. And in this connection the loss of revenue that prohibition would involve, if it were enforced either totally or by degrees, is set forth. In addition to the direct loss of the 22 crores mentioned above, a case is made out for several more crores for an increased preventive staff and the extra expense of administration in criminal courts and jails. In an interesting final paragraph it shows that about 5 crores of rupees have been lost by steps already taken in the direction of prohibition, and finally erects a danger signal in the concluding sentence: "The Committee consider it necessary to emphasize these points of view, since it does not appear to be sufficiently realized in some quarters, that the consistent pursuit of a policy of real prohibition will involve the exploitation of every alternative source of possible revenue."

The same financial difficulty in its provincial bearings is shown in the fact that in five of the provinces of India the revenues derived from excise furnish more than 25 per cent. of the total revenues, in Madras nearly 40 per cent. These revenues have grown out of all proportion to those derived from other sources. And as Dr. Ferguson, of Madras, points out, the higher these revenues go, the more difficult does it become to relinquish them. The policy of a maximum revenue from a source for which the cost of collection is comparatively little, puts the day of prohibition further and further off. No Government with a growing maximum revenue policy can be in sympathy with a prohibition goal.

4. A fourth difficulty that appears to put the adoption of prohibition in the remote future is the enforcement of it under Indian conditions. There are two factors. Illicit manufacture is a comparatively easy task all over the Empire for country liquor, tari, rice beers, hemp drugs, and opium in the areas in which these are consumed. So that the adoption of

prohibition without an expensive preventive staff would not only lead to a heavy loss of revenue, but give little corresponding advantage, if illicit took the place of licit consumption. A second factor is the difficulty of enforcement unless and until the Indian States, over 700 in number, and many of them independent of British control in their internal administrative affairs, were able and willing themselves to adopt a prohibition policy. Some of them have learned the value of excise as a creator of revenue, easily worked and very lucrative, and they have no ways and means of replacing the lost excise revenue that they know of.

It is on the basis of these signs that Official India sees little reason for any change in excise administration, and if one is prepared to admit the official axiom that moderate consumption is not harmful, and that it is the duty of Government to supply all moderate takers and only to prevent as far as possible excessive indulgence, then the Government of India may rightly claim to have been the most successful temperance organization in the Eastern world. For the sake of her policy of preventing the demoralizing effects of excessive drinking and drug-taking, she has all but abolished the outstill system; has concentrated and secured control of production and manufacture; has steadily raised duty and licensing fees; has limited the number of shops and curtailed the hours of sale; has prevented vested interests from growing up; has substituted weaker for stronger liquors; and has granted an element of local control through advisory committees and licensing boards. This record, from the standpoint of her temperance principles, is fine. And no prohibitionist, except in ignorance or malice, can accuse the Government of India of pushing consumption for the sake of revenue. Where the full facts are known, growing revenues do not incriminate the authorities. Honour to whom honour is due.

If, then, the prospects of prohibition in India are not rosy, what is the meaning of the prominence into which the liquor and drug question has been forced? It simply means that British excise axioms are not acceptable to Indian leaders. They hold that Indian civilization has no place for intoxicants, partly because Indian religions are clear in their injunctions against them. Real India has tolerated, but never admitted, the right of moderate consumption. And the traffic as an organized method of satisfying the desires of men is not condemned because it is a traffic, but because, to the Indian mind and conscience, alcohol and the hemp drugs and opium are poisons, both morally and physically. The protagonists of the movement consider that no difficulties of prohibition are to be compared to the evils that these things create in home and village, in city and state. And all the agitation of the past few years has been an attempt to bring home what the evils of drink and drug are in themselves. On the basis of that view nothing but prohibition can be advocated. The Congress, the National Social Conferences, All-India Industrial Conferences, and large representative Muslim, Hindu, Christian, and Buddhist gatherings have been unanimous on this point. They want prohibition, and have set their faces towards that goal.

1. Indians say that the British administrator has given an exaggerated idea of the part liquor and drug-taking play in the daily life and social habits

of the great majority of the people. And to that extent the difficulties of administration under prohibition have also been exaggerated. The Commissioner of Excise of the United Provinces in his Report for 1925 says that in his province the population is 45 millions. Of these the use of alcoholic liquor is permitted by social custom or usage to 41 per cent. or 18½ millions. Deduct the females and non-adults of the consuming classes and the abstaining proportion of the population is approximately 85 per cent. So that the difficulties of administration in a prohibition policy affect only 15 per cent. of the people. Take, again, the comparative geographical area of the Empire that is under prohibition conditions for country liquor, from which a large proportion of Government revenue is derived. In the Punjab there is one shop to every 186 square miles. In Bengal one shop to every 78 square miles. In Bombay and Behar and Orissa one shop to every 48 square miles. In the United Provinces and the Central Provinces one shop to every 40 square miles, and in drink-ridden Madras one shop to every 24 square miles. Of course, the fact of other liquors and drugs must not be overlooked. Nevertheless, Government policy, by the reduction in the number of shops and the restriction of private possession, has created something nearly approaching prohibition in many parts of the Empire. So India asks for a kindlier view of her drink problem in her ability to deal with it.

2. Indian leaders rejoice that a stage of intensive restriction of liquor-drinking and drug-taking has been reached, and get comfort and hope from a careful perusal of Provincial Excise Administrative Reports. These show that Indian sentiment has begun seriously to influence excise methods. In some cases prohibition is stated to be the avowed goal, the Imperial Government notwithstanding. "I am striving loyally," writes the Commissioner of Excise for Bombay (1925 Report) "to carry out the policy laid down by the Government"—a policy of eventual prohibition. The Government resolution on the Excise Report for 1925 of the Central Provinces and Berar says: "Sufficient material is now available on which to review the progress achieved by the Department in carrying out that policy, the aim of which is ultimately the total prohibition of the sale and consumption of country liquor within the province." The Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee makes a list of the steps taken since the Reforms in the direction of prohibition: In Burma total prohibition of spirits to certain races and tribes, and ganja totally prohibited. Opium has been partially prohibited both in Burma and Assam. In Madras the sale of spirit to Todas, Bagadas, and Khonds is prohibited. It is thus clear that the significance of prohibitive measures is being taught to different classes of the community in many parts of the Empire. And when Indian administration has to deal with the matter from its own axioms of value and conduct, the British Government will have prepared the way.

HERBERT ANDERSON.

KERN INSTITUTE, LEYDEN

SIR,—In April, 1925, a research institute for the study of Indian archæology was founded at the University of Leyden, Holland. The aim of the Institute (which has been named after the great Dutch Orientalist, Dr. Kern) is to promote the study of Indian archæology in its widest sense—that is, the investigation of the antiquities, not only of India proper, but of Further India, Indonesia and Ceylon, and, in fact, of all territories influenced by Indian civilization, as well as the study of the ancient history of these countries, the history of their art, their epigraphy, iconography, and numismatics.

The Kern Institute, which is now established in one of Leyden's historical buildings, is in possession of a library and of collections of photographs, slides, casts of sculptures, rubbings of inscriptions, and other materials connected with these studies. Students from abroad, who wish to avail themselves of the facilities thus offered, will be cordially welcome.

The Institute has further taken in hand the publication of an "Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology," which will contain the titles, systematically arranged, of all books and articles pertaining to the field of studies outlined above. It is also proposed, in an introductory note, to survey the chief archæological discoveries made in the course of the year, with the addition, if funds permit, of a few good illustrations. The endeavour will be to render this annual bibliography as complete as possible, especially with regard to archæological publications appearing in India, which often, owing to their being published in local periodicals, remain unnoticed by scholars in Europe and America. Students of Indian archæology and allied subjects are particularly requested to supply the Kern Institute with copies of their publications. It will be possible to send copies of the proposed "Bibliography" to members of the Institute regularly.

Those who are in sympathy with the objects of the Kern Institute are invited to give their support by becoming members. Applications and inquiries should be sent to the Honorary Secretary, The Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland. The annual subscription is five guilders for ordinary members, and twenty-five guilders for patrons. The payment of 100 guilders (or 500 guilders for patrons) will entitle one to life-membership.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST
INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIAN FOREST ADMINISTRATION

BY W. F. PERRÉE, C.I.E.

IN the short time at my disposal I propose to deal with forest administration in the broadest sense of the term, and to trace the genesis of a forest policy, its development, and the organization whereby the forests are administered.

Forests represent a form of wealth differing from other natural resources, in that, given the required protection and treatment, they are inexhaustible. Like all other vegetable products of the soil, they can be indefinitely reproduced.

It may be asked why and how it came about that the British instituted in India a policy of forest conservation so far in advance of their other possessions, or even of the British Isles. I propose, therefore, to trace briefly the history of the inception of forest conservation in British India.

It may at once be stated that the origin of a forest policy was *not* dictated by any thoughts of the importance which forests play in the physical well-being of a country and its people. At the outset, the people took all they required for their simple wants and the requirements of the Government and the people were easily met. There was then no trade in forest produce, and, as a revenue-producing agency, the forests were considered insignificant.

The early efforts of the British in India were directed to the extension of agriculture, a rapid increase of cultivation following upon the security brought by British rule. Flocks and herds increased rapidly, and little account was then taken of the use to which the jungles were put. We shall see that in the end it was only a failure to supply special and local requirements which brought home the fact that the forests could not be worked indiscriminately without exhaustion.

Shipping has always been of foremost importance to the Empire, and from the very outset a considerable shipbuilding industry had been developed in India, based upon the teak forests of Malabar and Lower Burma. At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries the Napoleonic wars had not only led to the exhaustion of our home stocks of shipbuilding timber, chiefly oak, but supplies from outside were difficult to obtain. It thus arose that the Court of Directors of the East India Company enquired to what extent the King's Navy might, in view of the deficiency of oak in England, depend upon a permanent supply of teak from Malabar. A local enquiry showed that the accessible forests had been heavily worked, and that future supplies could not be guaranteed in the then circumstances. A proclamation was thereupon issued declaring that the royalty right in teak trees *claimed* by the former rulers in the south of India was vested in the company, and Watson, a police officer, was appointed in 1807 the first conservator of forests. He established a monopoly of the teak trade in Malabar and Travancore, but the discontent among traders and others became so great that his post was abolished in 1823. The reaction which then followed made matters much worse than before, and the accessible forests were promptly devastated. As a result prices rose, and the India Navy Board recommended in 1831 the restoration of the conservatorship. The general trend of official opinion at that time seemed to favour the placing of forest conservation in the hands of revenue officers, who, it was thought, could be trusted to prevent the felling of undersized or immature timber. Nothing, however, was done of permanent benefit. In 1842 the Court of Directors suggested the planting of teak as a means of safeguarding the future. With the exception of Connolly's work at Nilambur, where he started the now famous teak plantations, nothing appears to have been done until 1847, when Dr. Gibson was appointed conservator in Bombay. In 1856 Dr. Cleg-horn was appointed in Madras. The early reports of these

two officers pointed to wholesale destruction by shifting cultivators and overfelling of teak and other valuable trees. The silting up of many streams as a result of forest denudation was first brought into prominence, and chiefly by Gibson.

In Burma the teak trade had been established prior to our occupation, and the position was somewhat more satisfactory in that the teak tree had long been accepted as a royal tree. Tenasserim was ceded in 1826, and a shortage of teak supplies resulted in the deputation of Dr. Wallich in 1827 to report on the forests. He pointed out that the forests were far from inexhaustible, but nothing of value resulted; in fact, in 1829 we find the forests thrown open to speculators, with the sole stipulation of paying an *ad valorem* duty on the timber extracted. In 1837 Dr. Helfer reported the absence of young growth and recommended extensive plantations. Eventually in 1841, against much opposition, the old leases were cancelled and new ones substituted, imposing certain conditions, the principal of which was the planting of five teak seedlings for every tree felled. In the absence of any protection from fire or tending this provision produced no beneficial result. In 1852 the province of Pegu was annexed, and the forests, with their leases, passed automatically from the deposed Burma dynasty to the British Government. Dr. McClelland was appointed superintendent of forests, and in 1854 he submitted a report which led the Government of India, under Lord Dalhousie, in 1855, to lay down the first principles of a permanent forest policy.

There followed the fortunate circumstance, in 1856, of the appointment of Brandis as superintendent of the forests in Pegu; in 1857 Martaban and Tenasserim were added to his charge. Brandis was a German botanist, who, although not a trained forester, had an extensive knowledge of forests and forestry as practised in his own country. In the next five years this remarkable man introduced principles of enumeration and organization which, until recently, formed the basis of the regulation of the yield; he intro-

duced measures of protection and improvement, and initiated the regeneration of teak by regular and *taungya* plantations. The control installed by Brandis caused much opposition from the teak trade, and the forests were again thrown open to lessees, but with the important safeguards that the fellings should be controlled by the Forest Department, and the outturn limited to the yield capacity of the forest.

These facts clearly show that the basic reason for the institution of a forest policy in India centred around the importance of maintaining a supply of teak from Malabar and Burma for the British Navy and mercantile marine.

In other parts of the country forests continued to be used as the produce was needed. No attempts appear to have been made to protect them, except in the Punjab, where the foresight of Mr. Richard Temple, as he was then, resulted in 1855 in the promulgation of certain rules.

The Mutiny brought home the necessity of improved communications, and in the rapid extension of railway lines which followed the forests of Central and Northern India were almost ruined in order to meet the demand. I have mentioned the early policy of increasing the area under cultivation. In this process large stretches of forest land were alienated or the timber destroyed. Meanwhile, an increased demand for timber in the construction of military and civil buildings arose, and it became apparent that the extensive stretches of waste jungle-covered land, by then overrun by increasing numbers of cattle and annually devastated by fire, could no longer meet public requirements. Lord Dalhousie had laid the foundation of a forest policy in 1855. The Mutiny arrested progress until 1862, when Brandis was placed on special duty with the Government of India to assist in the formulation of a forest policy in the country as a whole, and on April 1, 1864, he was appointed adviser to the Government of India with the title of Inspector-General of Forests. This step formed the dawn of forest conservancy in India. We have seen that conservators had been appointed in Bombay in 1847;

in Madras and Burma in 1857. Matters progressed rapidly under the Inspector-General. Forestry was inaugurated in the North-West Provinces (now the United Provinces) under commissioners in 1860 and under a conservator in 1868. Conservatorships were also established in the Central Provinces and in Oudh in 1861; in the Punjab, Coorg, and Bengal in 1864; in Assam in 1868. Berar was amalgamated with the Central Provinces in 1865, and in 1868 formed into a separate charge. A general eye survey of the forests and their condition was as much as could be attempted at the very outset. It soon became evident, however, that it was necessary to provide ways and means of establishing a permanent forest estate, and to provide an organization endowed with the necessary powers for its administration. In 1865 the first forest Act was passed. It proved imperfect in certain important respects, and was amended in the light of experience, until in 1878 it was recast into the existing Forest Act (Act VII. of 1878). This applied to British India, except Madras, Burma, Hazara, Ajmere, Coorg, Berar, and Baluchistan. Madras later adapted the Act to its special requirements, and in Burma and Assam special Acts or regulations were passed to deal with local conditions. All these Acts or regulations lay down definitely the power of local governments to create reserved forests, and to regulate the use of forests and their produce in lands at the disposal of the Government. The Indian Act aimed at the creation of two types of forest, reserved and protected. The former represent the permanent forest estates; the latter originally were intended to cover forest lands in a stage of transition or uncertainty as to their future destiny, but to which it was deemed advisable to afford a measure of protection. In Burma and Assam the unreserved lands were called unclassed State forests, and the same measure of protection was afforded to them by special rules. The distinction between the two classes of reserved and protected forests is briefly as follows: in reserved forests everything is for-

bidden which is not specifically permitted, while in protected or unclassified forests everything is permissible which is not specifically prohibited. It therefore follows that while new rights cannot accrue in reserved forests, they can in the other types.

It may be imagined that at the outset the position was complex and difficult of solution. At the time of British occupation the proprietorship in forest land varied in accordance with the historical and political development of each province. In the joint villages any forest or waste land was considered common property. Hence it followed that in the populous tracts there were no lands at the disposal of Government for constitution into reserved forests. In the case of the ununited villages no right to the waste land was ever recognized. The old Rajas had claimed all areas which were not actually under cultivation, and the British inherited such lands by rights of conquest. I have already said that there was little or no demand for forest produce for sale; everyone was accustomed to help himself without let or hindrance, so that the acquiescence of Government in this practice had led to the acquisition by the people of rights of user varying in kind and intensity according to circumstances. Moreover, the forests had become indispensable to the people in their vicinity. The unrestricted use of the forest could not, however, be allowed to proceed unchecked if the forests were to be protected at all, and one of the foremost difficulties was to deal with this difficult problem of easements. The Act of 1878 and the others which followed lay down a definite and detailed procedure for the settlement of rights prior to reservation, implying a full inquiry by a revenue official into all claims and their definition or regulation. I have dealt at length upon this important aspect of early forest administration, as upon the successful settlement of rights depends the happiness of all concerned. I think it can be claimed that the interests of the people are amply safeguarded.

The Forest Acts also make provision for the following :

- Control over forests not being the property of Government.
- Duty on timber and other forest produce.
- Control of timber and other produce in transit.
- Collection of drift and stranded timber.
- Penalties and procedure.
- Cattle trespass.
- Powers and protection of forest officers in the execution of their duty.
- Power of local governments to make subsidiary rules, etc.

I have covered the ground dealing with the evolution of a forest law perhaps too far in advance of other and simultaneous developments, but it will be readily grasped that only on a satisfactory legal foundation could the rapidly increasing forest estate be built up. The Acts have stood the test of time, and have been little altered in the course of years. Naturally, the administration of the forest law raised early difficulties. People who had been accustomed to help themselves resented interference, and there were extremes in the over-zealous forest officer as in the revenue officer, who could see no harm in the people continuing to help themselves in order to meet their modest requirements or in pasturing their cattle.

A comprehensive forest policy was evolved only in the light of experience, and it was towards the end of the last century that the consideration of Dr. Volcker's report on Indian agriculture led the Government of India to summarize its policy in Circular No. 22 F, dated October 19, 1894.

In this four classes of forests were recognized :

1. Forests preserved on climatic or physical grounds.
2. Commercial forests.
3. Minor forests.
4. Pasture lands.

The creation of fuel and fodder reserves was also urged.

The close connection between forestry and agriculture was brought into prominence, and it was declared that the forests should be managed for the public benefit.

In dealing with the needs of dwellers on the margin of forest tracts it was stated : " Every reasonable facility should be afforded to the people concerned for the full and easy satisfaction of those needs, if not free, then at low and not at competitive rates. It should be understood that considerations of forest income are to be subordinated to that satisfaction."

A very generous policy was therefore established in dealing with the people who dwell on the borders of the forests.

In the commercial forests the department was given a relatively free hand, but in the minor forests and pasture lands the welfare of the neighbouring inhabitants was clearly demonstrated to be the primary consideration. It has thus come about that in certain tracts the grass may be of greater value and importance than wood, and the value of forests as a reserve of fodder in years of scarcity or famine has been clearly established. It is a noticeable fact that in India, as a rule, no portion of a holding is set apart for pasture or the production of fodder crops. The cattle are usually driven on to any waste lands to find such nourishment as they can among the scanty herbage or woody growth, and as the number of cattle is far in excess of the grass supply the animals naturally browse down anything within their reach. The village lands in which unrestricted grazing still takes place and which are not already denuded of their growth are rapidly being laid bare. The remedy lies in enlightenment both in stock-keeping and breeding as well as in modified methods of agriculture.

We may now trace the steps through which the agency as at present organized was gradually built up. The officers first placed in charge of forest matters were termed conservators or superintendents. Brandis set to work to build up an organization on a uniform footing throughout India and Burma. The various units adopted were as follows :

Territorial administrative unit	-	-	A circle.
Territorial controlling unit	-	-	A division.
Territorial executive unit	-	-	Subdivision or range.
Territorial protective unit	-	-	A beat.

The beat was, and is still, a patrolling charge in charge of a forest guard. The guards are the wardens or police of the forests. A number of beats constitute an executive unit or range in charge of a forest ranger, and a number of ranges constitute a controlling charge or division in charge of a deputy or assistant conservator, while a number of divisions go to form an administrative unit or circle in charge of a conservator. Control charges are further classified into major or minor according to their importance. The subdivision which originally also formed an executive unit has practically been abandoned, so that in the forest department a range is analogous to a subdivision in other Government Departments. Range assistants are termed foresters, or deputy rangers, according to their rank.

The forest guard is generally a local man, and is usually illiterate. The forester is often a promoted guard, but sometimes a better class of literate person is recruited. The ranger must be literate, but may or may not have a knowledge of English. At the present time, however, the greater proportion of rangers know English well.

As responsibilities increased and it was found necessary to increase indigenous agency, a service recruited in India was organized and termed the Provincial Forest Service. At first entry was by promotion from the staff of rangers, but since 1912 entry has been mainly by direct recruitment, and also to a certain extent by promotion. The officers of the provincial service were termed extra-deputy and extra-assistant conservators. The extra-assistant conservators were intended to hold the minor control charges, while a proportion of the major charges were allotted to competent officers of the provincial staff who were termed extra-deputy conservators. Recently the term extra-deputy has been

abolished, and promoted officers of the provincial service have been merged into the imperial service—as deputy conservators. The higher ranks always remained open to deserving India-recruited officers, but it is only in recent years that a scheme allotting a definite proportion of the major charges to provincial officers was brought into effect.

At the very inception of recruitment it was clearly announced that the imperial service was open to Indians, and some of the appointments were filled by promotion from lower ranks. There was not, however, in the forests the same representation of Indians educated and trained in Europe as in other services. Inducements were eventually offered by reserving a proportion of the major control charges, and in 1919 it was resolved to recruit Indians to the extent of 40 per cent. of the imperial staff. Recently this proportion has been raised to 75 per cent., so that in future only 25 per cent. of the higher ranks will be European.

We shall now examine the development of the agency whereby the policy of forest conservation was organized and carried out. In the earliest times we notice the employment of medical men to a remarkable extent. This is explained by the fact that few scientists were in those days attracted to India, and also because the medical profession had at that time a substantial training in botany. When Brandis was faced with the responsibility of starting a new Government organization he had no means of recruiting trained assistants. It was necessary at once to secure men in the country, and officers were obtained from the Army and other sources who, in the pursuit of sport and adventure, had acquired a love of a forest life and an intimate knowledge of the country, the people and their languages. On the whole these men did excellent work, and many exhibited administrative abilities of the highest order. Brandis recognized, however, that the department was in need of professionally trained men, and in 1865, during his first furlough, he obtained the authority of the Secretary of State to appoint two assistants trained in Germany and two

foresters trained in Scotland. The officers recruited from Germany were Schlich and Ribbentrop, each of whom attained to the position of Inspector-General. They joined early in 1867. Meanwhile Brandis made proposals for :

(1) The provision of facilities for studying forestry in Europe by officers of the department whilst on furlough.

(2) The immediate selection of young men to be trained in Europe.

(3) A general scheme for permanently improving the administration of the Forest Department in India by sending out a steady supply of men trained in Europe.

In 1867 seven men were selected for training in France and Germany, and among them was a Parsee, the first Indian to be trained in Europe, and it is somewhat remarkable that until 1910 we find no other Indian recruited direct to the upper staff.

During the first few years the European recruits were trained partly in France and partly in Germany, but the Franco-German war interrupted this arrangement, and in 1875 the training was centralized in France at Nancy. In 1885 Schlich gave up the Inspector-Generalship to open at Cooper's Hill a course of forestry, where the training continued until the college was closed to the forest students in 1905. For the next three years the training was centralized at Oxford, but in 1908 it was decided to throw open the training to Cambridge and Edinburgh Universities also. In 1920 the Secretary of State decided upon the opening of higher training in India, and preparations have now been completed for the training of Indians at Dehra Dun, where the first batch of recruits has quite recently been admitted. The employment of continental officers and schools was inevitable at the outset, and the use of continental forests must continue for many more years as an object lesson and training ground.

The training of a subordinate staff simultaneously with the controlling staff soon became a pressing matter. At the very outset some students were deputed to the Engineering College at Roorkee, but as there was no course in forestry the attempt proved unsatisfactory, and eventually in 1878 a separate forest school was opened at Dehra Dun under the Government of the N.W.P., and in 1884 the school was transferred to the Government of India. All officers for the executive staff were at first trained at Dehra, but the expansion of staff led to decentralization. Burma set up its own school in 1898 and Madras in 1912. These at present meet the requirements of provincial governments and of the Indian states provided recruitment is maintained at a steady figure and abnormal demands are spread over a period of years.

The provincial service which I have above alluded to was originally recruited from the rangers, but with the increasing responsibilities thrown on the staff it was found that men who had spent many years in subordinate positions lacked the initiative and sense of responsibility required in officers of the controlling staff. A separate class of training was therefore opened in 1912 at Dehra, and in 1923 Burma followed suit with a course at the Rangoon University. The Dehra Dun provincial class is, however, about to be closed.

Having briefly described the organization and the agency, we may examine the method of working. The unit of working is a compartment which may vary in size according to the intensity of management, but is usually composed of a stretch of forest of fairly uniform character. Compartments are numbered, and may be subdivided for convenience into subcompartments. A number of compartments constitute a block which is usually distinguished by a local name.

It is necessary in forest management, perhaps more than in other matters, to ensure continuity of purpose. Forests are managed according to the wishes of the proprietor, which in British India is the State, and the system employed

must be capable of producing the desired result. To ensure continuity and success the forests are therefore managed under working plans. These are based on a careful examination and enumeration of the growing stock, and the outturn is calculated for a term of years, usually ten or fifteen, and the order of carrying out the fellings is indicated. Definite areas are thereby set aside for definite treatment in a certain period, and all works of regeneration and improvement are prescribed and results recorded. Not only do the working plans deal with the special technical matters connected with working, but wherever the local demand is in satisfaction of rights or of produce for domestic use the working plan must make provisions for the supply of local requirements. All working plans pass through the hands of revenue officials prior to sanction to ensure that this is the case.

A close relation between the revenue and forest officers was inevitable in view of the highly complex and difficult situations which arose in the process of constituting the State forests. Thus it was that the forest officer became the assistant of the civil district officer in forest matters. The system has worked well, and nothing better could have been devised. The degree of subordination of the forest officer to the head district authority has varied with circumstances, but in practice the forest officer is left to deal with all technical matters, and usually seeks the advice or assistance of the revenue officer in matters affecting the interests of the people. The revenue officers, on the other hand, exercise their authority only in connection with the welfare of the local people.

The department increased rapidly with its responsibilities. It was found necessary in the larger provinces, which had established several administrative charges, eventually to place a chief conservator over the whole. Special posts also became necessary to deal with working plans, schemes of exploitation and utilization, and also to cope with the very interesting problems which arose in silviculture. The opening up of the forests with roads and bridges and the

use of mechanical appliances also went beyond the capacity of the ordinary staff, so that in 1920 a forest engineering service was created. Two consulting engineers were appointed for three years and one of these is still employed in Madras, while eight assistant engineers were recruited and distributed among the provinces. It is remarkable that the framework on which Brandis erected his organization has remained unaltered; there has been a marked expansion in all directions, but in no way has the original basic constitution required alteration.

Progress in forest administration has taken place in more or less definite stages. During the first twenty-five or thirty years much of the initiative lay with the Inspector-General, and during this period the forest law and the forest policy were evolved. The greater part of the work of constitution of the State forests, implying reservation, demarcation, and survey, was taken up in this period.

The next quarter of a century may be termed the period of restoration. We have seen that the forests had been overworked, and that they were overrun by fire and cattle. It was necessary to regulate the working, and to protect from fire and other injury; while the administration was less centralized, we find that the control over the technical work of the department was still with the Inspector-General. Extreme caution in assessing the yield and in carrying out the simple silvicultural operations resulted in a marked improvement, much of which must be ascribed to fire protection and the regulation of grazing; so much so, that the next twenty-five years may be termed the period of decentralization and development. The control of the Government of India passed to local governments or to local officers, and a gradual emancipation of the officers of the department followed, resulting in greatly increased powers and responsibilities. The simple methods of management which had hitherto been applied had not always resulted in correct silvicultural treatment or produced the desired results, and there arose within the

department, as a whole, a demand for better and more scientific work. This found expression in more elaborate working plans, but it was necessary to provide means of carrying out research into matters dealing with the identification and the ecology of the components of the forests, into the conditions under which the forests regenerate themselves, their rate of growth, and the nature and effects of the enemies of forest species.

All the above deal directly with problems of production, but equally important problems dealing with utilization awaited enquiry. It thus became clear that a Forest Research Institute, aiming to provide for forestry what the Pusa Institute had already provided for agriculture, was necessary. An institute was created in 1908 at Dehra Dun, and out of a humble beginning has gradually evolved the present organization, which compares favourably with any of its kind in the world. Experts have already done a great deal to extend our knowledge of the components of our forests from the botanical as well as the economic standpoint. The sphere of silvicultural research is shared between the statistical staff of Dehra and the provincial silviculturists who carry out the field work. In the sphere of botany the systematic work, which was of importance at the outset, is gradually being replaced in significance by the study of ecology and mycology. Entomology has so far extended little beyond a general survey of the insect enemies of the forest. It is in the sphere of forest economics, which deals with all matters connected with the utilization of the products of the forest, that the most definite achievements may perhaps be claimed. Considerable progress has been achieved in the past few years in the determination of the strength values of the principal Indian and Burmese timbers. The difficulty of seasoning timber in a climate of such wide extremes results in much wastage. Already valuable work has been done in devising methods whereby timber can be seasoned, naturally or artificially, with little wastage. The use of preservatives, such

as creosote, opens up the possibility of replacing expensive by cheaper timbers, which have been treated with suitable antiseptics. This has already resulted in the laying down of extensive creosoting plants. It must be remembered that the general improvement in the standard of living has increased the demand for the best timbers, and woods which formerly were available at a low price for railway sleepers are now diverted to other purposes, and have gone up in value. Hence the need of providing efficient substitutes.

While timber must always represent the main crop of a forest, there are a number of other products, such as bamboos, grasses, fibres, gums, resins, essential oils, etc., which are of immense value commercially. The war gave the necessary impetus in the direction of rendering India self-supporting, and special research was considered justifiable in the manufacture of paper pulp from bamboos and grasses. Substantial results have already been obtained.

The investigations into the composition of minor products and into certain soil problems required a chemical branch, and this has also rendered valuable help in past investigations. It is possible only in this short time to give the briefest sketch of the work to be done, and of the means hitherto provided for this purpose. In the sphere of research much remains to be undertaken. The field is enormous, but it is only by advancing in our knowledge in anticipation of actual commercial enquiry that we can achieve the object in view—namely, the management of the forests for the highest public benefit.

It is inevitable that I should inflict upon you some statistics, but I have left these until the very end, and I shall make them as brief as I can.

Arcas.—The area of Reserved forests is 153,449 square miles and of Protected forests 7,931 square miles. These two classes together cover 10·1 per cent. of the area of British India. Unclassed State forests, which represent lands at the disposal of Government, and not necessarily covered by forest growth, extend to 228,850 square miles,

or 20·8 per cent. of the total area of British India. These unclassified forest lands are mainly in Burma and Assam.

Fire Protection.—Attempts are made to protect about 43 per cent. of the Reserved forests from fire. The degree of success varies with the nature of the season, but usually only 5 to 10 per cent. of the area attempted is overrun by fire, although in unfavourable seasons, such as 1923, as high a percentage as 27·9 was burnt.

Grazing.—In 1923-24, 13,300,000, animals were grazed in the Reserved forests, and of this number 4,800,000 were grazed free of charge.

Afforestation.—The area of plantations is :

Regular	-	-	-	97,935 acres.
Taungya	-	-	-	126,742 acres.
Total				224,677 acres.

At the end of 1923-24 afforestation of ravine lands bordering the Jumna had been successful over 10,000 acres at a cost varying between 50 and 60 rupees per acre. To those acquainted with this practically useless tract, the production of timber and firewood from this inhospitable region as well as the growth of large quantities of fodder represents one of the proudest achievements of the Forest Department.

Communications and Buildings.—The average expenditure of the last quinquennium was 33·28 lakhs of rupees against 17·44 lakhs in the previous quinquennium. Improved communications are reflected at once in increased revenues, and the housing of the staff in moderate comfort is also productive of better and more work from a contented and healthy establishment.

Working Plans.—About 60,000 square miles of the Reserved forests are under working plans.

Revenues.—Taking the annual figures at distant intervals, we find :

			Gross Revenue. Lakhs.	Surplus. Lakhs.
In 1868-69	-	-	37·4	13·6
In 1898-99	-	-	177·2	79·2
In 1923-24	-	-	551·7	184·6

Exports.—The exports of lac totalled in value in 1923-24 the very high figure of Rs. 9.06.27.000. Myrabolams in that year were also exported to the value of Rs. 72 $\frac{2}{3}$ lakhs, while teak exports represented a total of Rs. 1.06.94.024. These figures emphasize the value of minor products.

Looking back upon the past history of forest administration in British India, we find that in the first seventy-five years or so since a policy of conservation was inaugurated substantial progress has been achieved. Seventy-five years represent a relatively short period in the life of a tree or a forest, and much still remains to be done. The influence of man on Nature is gradual, and in the case of a forest few men live to see the result of their efforts to preserve and improve. The process of destruction alone is rapid; creation and restoration are extremely slow. A policy of extreme caution is therefore the only safe course. Those of us who have had the good fortune to be associated in the administration of the Indian forests cannot but feel proud of the position which India has attained in the sphere of forestry. We can but hope that as much success will be vouchsafed in the future as in the past.

In the preparation of this paper I have to acknowledge the assistance obtained from the following: Professor Stebbing's "The Forests of India," Ribbentrop's "Forestry in British India," the quinquennial review of Forest Administration in British India for the period ending 1923-24.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W. 1, on Monday, January 24, 1927, when a paper was read by Mr. W. F. Perrée, C.I.E., entitled "Indian Forest Administration." Sir Robert Warrand Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Colonel R. E. Crompton, C.B., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Lady Kensington, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mrs. Perrée, Mr. C. Fischer, Miss Partridge, Miss Gravatt, Mr. E. S. Carr, Mr. H. E. Stapleton, Mr. L. A. G. Clarke, Miss Carlyle, Miss McNaughten, Mr. M. Robinson, Mr. Fraser Story, Miss M. Sorabji, The Hon. Mrs. Grant Duff, Miss Morton, Mr. J. H. Buckill, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. D. Hooper, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. W. N. Delevinge, Miss M. Vaughan, Miss Nina Corner, Mrs. Martley, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It does not need many words of mine to introduce Mr. Perrée to you. He has been many years in India in the Forest Department, and rose to very high rank in that service. He has intimate knowledge of the subject on which he is to address you this afternoon, that subject being entitled "Indian Forest Administration." I think that if anybody after hearing his paper does not know something about forest administration in India, there must be something wrong with that person and not with the paper. (Applause.)

The lecturer then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure that Mr. Perrée's very clear paper has given all his hearers some idea of the very important functions performed by the Forest Department and the way in which these functions are carried out. He gave us some figures with regard to the area under forests, but it may perhaps be easier to realize the enormous extent of our forest property if I mention that the reserved forests cover an area of about the same extent as that of the whole of France. You will perhaps have noticed that our forest administration sprang up in the same haphazard way as many other things have done in this country, but ultimately we have had our first-rate men who have come along and made it a success. India owes enormous gratitude in this respect to three men—Dalhousie, Brandis, and Curzon. Dalhousie was the man who had the first idea of a forest scheme, and Brandis put the scheme into effect, while Curzon was the first Viceroy who really understood the difference between an amateur and an expert and the need of research work on a large scale. It is forty-five years since I went to India, and I could see very clearly by the time I left how

greatly the point of view as regards forest administration had altered. The Department at first was very unpopular and was looked upon as hampering the cultivator in all sorts of unnecessary ways. The ordinary layman who has not experience of forest work does not realize that the capacity of a forest is not unlimited, and that you cannot go on cutting or otherwise utilizing it without limit. I believe towards the end of my time the enormous importance of forests to the country was generally recognized by all officers who had to do with administration. The first function of a forest officer is to keep up the forests, and therefore his first business is to be a silviculturist. His object as a silviculturist is to see not merely that the forest does not decrease, but that the capital in the shape of timber is increased. Perhaps the most vital importance of forests is in hilly country to prevent erosion and to maintain water supply. It is also already important from the revenue point of view, and its importance in this respect is steadily increasing. I am very glad to see developments in certain new directions of late years. When I was in India there was no such thing, until the very end of my time, as a forest engineer. If any engineering had to be done it was done by the forest officer without any help from outside. Forest officers were trained as silviculturists, not as engineers, and though many of them have done excellent engineering work, it was due to natural aptitude for it, such as is not possessed by all forest officers, and even in this case they could have done still better with the help of men who had been trained in engineering. I am also glad to see that India has now a Department dealing with the utilization of forest products. It may be necessary or advisable to have a forest officer at the head of such a Department, but it is also essential that you should have a Department which is in touch with business, and which knows how to sell its products to the best advantage. There is also another matter which raises hope for the future in connection with forests. There is a much more widely diffused scientific sense than was the case years ago. People do realize increasingly the importance of science and of work being done on scientific lines, and the Forest Department has kept abreast of the times in that respect. (Applause.)

Mr. FISCHER said with regard to the expression one often heard and which he had recently seen in a book of travels—namely, “inexhaustible forests,” there was really no such thing. In India the aboriginals were very apt to have what was known as shifting cultivation. In that case they burned down the forests and cultivated crops for a year or so on the better soil created by the ashes. By that means in course of time they had stretches of country which were rendered absolutely barren. There was another very great danger from the goat, which helped very considerably in the destruction of forests, and there were areas of land where goats had run where hillocks could be found consisting of nothing but enormous boulders with not a blade of grass to be seen. Yet another cause of the destruction of forests was waste. When timber was being obtained from the Malabar district for the Bombay dockyards, there was a waste of something like 70 per cent. of the timber. Of course,

it had to be remembered that in those days they had not the cutting implements of to-day, but they used the aboriginal implements. It must not be forgotten that comparatively few persons had to deal with a vast area of forest, which, as the Chairman had said, was something like the size of the whole of France. Not very long ago there were about 250 superior officers to manage the forests. The lower subordinates had ten or twenty square miles of forest to look after. It also had to be remembered that the population in the forest villages was an illiterate population. They had lived there from time immemorial alongside the forests, and they resented interference; they had not the public feeling which obtained in this country or in more settled countries than India; on the contrary, their hand was against the law, not in the sense that they were lawless, but in the sense that they would not help the law; therefore the forest guards had not the opportunity of protecting the forests as they could be protected in a country like England. Two of the great difficulties to be met in India in connection with the matter were theft and fire. One of the great difficulties in Madras, with which he was familiar, was the keeping of cattle out of the more valuable forests. The local people could not see that the cattle did any harm, but it had been pointed out to them that it was in their own interests to limit the cattle, because once the proper grazing was exhausted the animals began to eat anything which was within their reach. The forests were very large; it was no unusual thing to have a forest which would stretch from, say, London to Oxford one way and London to Brighton the other. Obviously the cattle could not be looked after every moment, and consequently with the wild animals which were about they were destroyed. In conclusion, he would like to point out that the forest officer was a silviculturist, and, although he was generally a jack-of-all-trades and also had to be his own merchant, yet he was not a trained commercial man. Personally, he was very much of opinion that the time had come when a special commercial branch of the Department should be created, so that the produce which the forest officer grew could be sold to the best advantage. (Applause.)

Mr. BOMPAS, referring to the speaker's remarks with regard to the relationship between the forest officer and the district officer, said he thought it would be more correct to say that the district officer was the adviser of the forest officer, from the general point of view. The arrangement, if worked without a cordial spirit of co-operation, was one which was very apt to break down. In practice he had found it worked excellently as a rule, but the position was not without difficulty. The forest officer was a man trained in forestry and engaged in forest work, and naturally for an unprofessional man to have the right to interfere with the professional man was a position of affairs which might often give rise to difficulties. In his experience he had seen a gradual change in the work of the Forest Department. It was, of course, a very young Department, and naturally in the early years attention was concentrated on the preservation of the forests, but of late years more attention was rightly being paid to exploitation. Under the reserved forest scheme it

was at one time the policy to buy up and remove villagers who lived adjacent to forests, when it was desired to take them away from the temptation which existed; but when more attention was devoted to the sale of produce and the value of forests, it was perceived that some of the population would be necessary for the purposes of the development, and then the villagers were restored. In regard to the protected forests, there were very interesting legal questions. Many rough-and-ready arrangements had to be entered into between civilians and forest officers, and they usually worked very well. In conclusion, he desired to thank Mr. Perrée for his very excellent paper.

Mr. NOLAN said he had been for a number of years in Burma and was particularly interested in the extremely informative and able paper which Mr. Perrée had given, but there was one point upon which he desired to ask for information, and that was with regard to the policy of Departmental extraction as compared with the leasing of forests to private firms. He was somewhat amused to hear Mr. Perrée use the words "minor products" in connection with teak exports. The exports of teak were, he believed, small compared with the amount of teak used in Burma and India. With regard to the introduction of Indians into the Forestry Department, the experience in Burma had been a little unfortunate, because the examinations produced very few Burmese who were anxious to go into the Forestry Department. Although the Burmese were a jungle people to a very large extent, they were unwilling to do forest work. The tendency of the Burmese, who considered themselves aristocratic, although they might come from the agricultural class, was rather towards the towns and the professions instead of the forests. With regard to the extraction of jungle timber ("hard woods") in Burma there were great difficulties, because the cost was very considerable. People would not undertake the initial expense which was necessary for the extraction of those timbers which would not float. The woods which floated were easily handled, but the others, though very valuable, were not.

Colonel CROMPTON said that he believed that the reason he had been called upon to speak was that he had a long experience of life in India and of the operations of the Indian Forestry Department. When he first went out to the Punjab in 1865 there was hardly a tree standing; this was then said to be because the Sikhs in the wars of the '40's had felled all the hard wood for artillery purposes; then followed the Mutiny, and it was a sad sight to see the ancient forest land turned to waste. He went out as a soldier, but had always been keen on arboriculture, for as a boy in Yorkshire he had had a fair training in tree planting and thinning, so that when in India the Colonel of his regiment asked him if he would join a small society of officers formed to prevent indiscriminate and wasteful felling of trees in the hill country, close to the hill station of Murree, he took on the job of secretary and had a very interesting time.

Later on, sad to say, from being a tree preserver he became a tree destroyer, as Lord Mayo's Government put him in charge of the first great experiment in road traction on the Grand Trunk Road near Rawal

Pindi. During his appointment as Superintendent of the Government Steam Train, from the years 1868-78, he was forced to make contracts for the wood fuel for the engines, and he then was at pains to ascertain which of the woods available gave the best results as fuel, compatible with the least damage done to the forest by such use. He found out there were large quantities of scrub consisting of the wild caper tree, mentioned by Rudyard Kipling, the Kareela, and made his contractors supply this.

As one who always was and continues to be interested in India, its people and their ways, he wished to say how much India owed to the three great developments:

1. The railway and road transport;
2. Irrigation;
3. Afforestation, due to the splendid work of the Indian Forestry Department.

He might mention that he had been asked to deliver an address on "What Engineers had done for India," in the course of the spring, and he intended to bring this before the public. He thought Englishmen, as a rule, did not appreciate what England had done for India on the three important points which had led to such great increase in the well-being of the native of India.

Once when out in India in connection with the establishment of electrical works at Calcutta, he met a distinguished American engineer, who travelled round with him. Even at that time, more than twenty years ago, the American said that he was surprised to learn for the first time what we English engineers had done for that country. From conversations he, the speaker, had with leading engineers in America last spring, he thought that in America they were still far too much of the opinion that India had been exploited by England, solely for its own benefit, which is the reverse of the truth.

In conclusion, he wished to say how much he was indebted to Mr. Perrée for his paper.

Mr. PERRÉE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I shall endeavour to reply to one or two questions which have been asked and also make a few additional remarks, because, after all, I have only attempted a sort of thumb-nail sketch of what forest administration implies. It is so often the case that the forest officer is asked: What do you do in the Forest Department? It is a most difficult thing to explain to people in a few words what the duties of a forest officer are; it might be easier to explain what he does not do. The Chairman has alluded to the importance of an increase in the capital value of the forests. That is a matter which I had entirely overlooked, but which I think is of very great importance. Looking back on many years of forest service in India, I think I may say that we have at least doubled and probably trebled the growing stock of the forests—that is to say, the forests have appreciated in capital value, in growth, by 100 or 200 per cent. Mr. Fischer's illustration of the grazing tracts in Nellore is in substance what I have urged should be done elsewhere. Unfortunately it is a

INDIA'S COTTON PROBLEM

BY H. A. F. LINDSAY, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S.
(*Indian Trade Commissioner*)

I HAVE chosen India's cotton problem as the subject of my paper to-day for two reasons. Firstly, cotton is the biggest single item in the long list of commodities in which India is interested both as a producer and as a consumer. On the export side, raw cotton, cotton yarns, and cotton piece-goods account for 20 per cent. of India's total exports; and on the import side the same trio—raw cotton, cotton yarns, and cotton piece-goods—account for over 30 per cent. of her imports. Anyone, therefore, who takes a real interest in a market which is more important to the United Kingdom than any other market within or without the Empire, must infallibly begin with cotton. But I have a second reason, and a rather wider one, for having chosen this subject. We are all interested to-day—whether we are business men or economists, or merely students—in what I may call world economics. That is to say, we feel that the trades and industries of the world are only carried on with the greatest difficulty. Our economic life is full of surprising and usually untoward events. Prices are very irregular—so that we find that some commodities are absurdly dear while others are absurdly cheap. In other words, there is hardly a trade or industry in which some one or other does not feel a grievance, whether as a consumer because prices are too high, or as a producer because they are too low. And it is not only that profits seem to be thus so irregularly distributed, but also that prices fluctuate to an alarming extent from week to week, or even almost from hour to hour. I am not, of course, talking so much about the retail trades; for it is the primary duty of the retailer to keep his prices as steady as possible in order to encourage consump-

tion on a level and even basis. I am thinking more of wholesale production and distribution. We all look forward to the day when confidence will return, prices will become steadier, and trade and industry will settle down on surer lines.

Now, of all the world's staple commodities, it has always seemed to me that cotton is the most interesting, because the development of the cotton trade during and since the war is so typical of our economic development generally. There was first the period when, instead of being respectably spun into yarn and woven into cloth to clothe mankind, cotton was deliberately blown up, not by hundredweights, but by tons, throughout the period of the Great War. Then followed years of shortage, which might almost be described in biblical language as "the years which the locust hath eaten"; for successive American crops were devoured piecemeal by the boll-worm, and prices ran up to exorbitant heights.

Fortunately, the great law of demand and supply began to operate. The higher prices went the more was production encouraged. During each of the past six years from 1921 to 1926 the output of the American crop has run as follows in successive years: 8,000,000, 10,000,000, 11,000,000, 14,000,000, 16,000,000, and now, this season, 18,000,000 bales.

As a result, prices have come down with a run from a maximum of 31d. in 1920 to approximately 7d. to-day.

What has been the effect of these changes and vicissitudes of production and price on the Indian crop? India is the next biggest producer of cotton after the United States, but is apt to be rather overshadowed by the American crop which outnumbers it in most years by three bales to one.

This competition of American cotton has always been a feature of the Indian cotton markets. In the case of most other crops, such as wheat or rice, oil-seeds, hemp, etc., the various producing countries of the world compete with each other on fairly level terms, and no one can claim absolute

very difficult matter, because, taking the places where you have a dense population and a very large number of cattle, if you say to the people, "You must set aside a certain part of your holding for pasture or for the growth of fodder crops," they simply tell you it cannot be done, because they have the greatest difficulty in supporting themselves from their small-holdings and there is no room for growing fodder crops. It is only in the enlightenment of the people that the remedy can be found. Mr. Fischer also alluded to the commercial branch of the Department. That is a very important matter indeed. We have so far only touched the very fringe of the subject. We have created a few posts whereby we hope to establish a liaison between the Department and the commercial world, but we have not altogether succeeded, because we have not always got the right men in the posts. It is true that we have very able men in the Forest Department, and some have shown a special aptitude in commercial matters, but nevertheless they do not look upon their work from the commercial point of view, and there is undoubtedly a very great deal to be done yet in bringing into the Forest Department men trained in commerce and business matters to expand our scope and our revenue. Mr. Bompas referred to the position of the forest officer. I still maintain that he is the assistant of the collector or deputy commissioner, as the case may be, and is essentially his subordinate. The position is clear. With regard to forest villages, it is undoubtedly the case that we have had to restore villages where we had spent a lot of money in turning the people out; but, taking the long view, is it the case really that we can count on forest villages for a long period of time to supply our requirements in labour? After all, we cannot go beyond the economic law of supply and demand. My experience is—and I have had considerable experience of forest villages—that after a few years the people are so well off that they will not work at all, and therefore the forest village scheme is not a complete solution. You still have to go to people outside who are in want of money, and therefore will work under economic pressure when you want them to come and undertake forest tasks. Now comes a most difficult and controversial question—that is, departmental *versus* private agency in the extraction of teak. Looking back on the history of the matter, the forest work originally was largely in the hands of firms, and many European firms had forests leased to them. Apparently there was a great deal of controversy, when the leases lapsed, as to whether they should be continued as leases or whether Government should step in and work the forests departmentally and extract the timber itself, employing minor contractors or other people directly as its agents to work out the teak. Only a limited area of the forests in Burma is actually worked departmentally by Government for teak. I understand, if my impression is correct, that a small area was retained in the hands of Government, chiefly in order to ensure a supply of teak to the Admiralty. Whatever other developments may have taken place since I cannot say, because local governments have authority to deal with this matter entirely by themselves; but I think really the origin of the retention of a relatively small area of forests for departmental

extraction was to ensure to the Admiralty the standard of teak timber required, and I must say it is a very high standard indeed. I think my audience would be surprised to find that not more than 10 per cent. of the timber that is extracted will reach the Admiralty standard. As to the rights and wrongs of the Government extracting its own timber instead of selling or leasing the forests or adopting other means of realizing revenue, it is a very difficult matter for me to deal with; it is a controversial matter, and I would really ask my audience not to raise in this connection anything which has been a matter of so much controversy. I am sorry if I conveyed the impression that I classed teak as a minor product. I alluded to minor products and exports together, and I mentioned teak purely to show that really the exports of teak were only about one-ninth of the value of the exports of lac. It has also occurred to me, since the remark was made about the proportion of Indians to be recruited in future, that the high proportion of 75 per cent. does not as yet apply to Burma. Colonel Crompton has alluded to the influence of the Indian Forest Department on home forestry. I think it is a matter of pride to us that it is very largely the reflex action of the Indian Forest Department on home forestry which has stirred the British Government to doing what it is doing now. (Applause.)

Mrs. GRANT DUFF, in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the lecturer, said that everyone present must have enjoyed the privilege of listening to Mr. Perrée, and, as Secretary of the Association known as "The Men of the Trees," which was started in Africa only a few years ago, she was particularly interested in the paper.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

supremacy. I am, of course, not referring to monopolies, such as jute, but to the ordinary agricultural crops of the world, where cultivation is not privileged and competition is free. One of the great difficulties in India has arisen from the fact that the American cotton crop has always so dominated the world's markets that the Indian crop, even in India, was affected. This feature occasionally turned to India's advantage when India produced a heavy crop and the American crop was small; but things did not always turn out in this favourable way, and it is most awkward

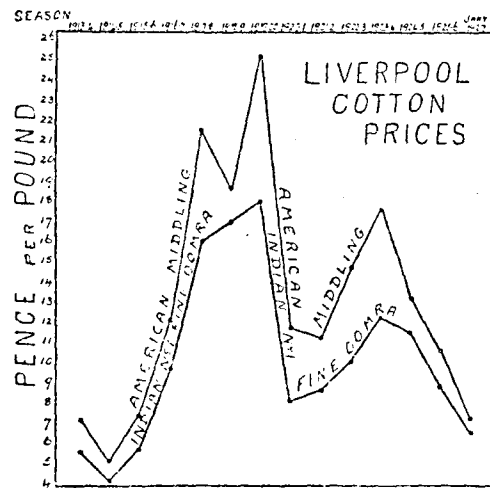


FIG. 1.

for India, as you can well imagine, when the Indian crop is short and the American crop is heavy.

The first diagram (Fig. 1) which I will show you this evening compares the prices of Indian and American cotton during the past few years. I start with 1913-14, which is the last normal year, and I show you the course of Middling American cotton prices and No. 1 Fine Oomra's, a typical Indian cotton, season by season, up to January, 1927.

The first point you will notice is the tremendous rise which occurred owing to war conditions. As I said before, cotton was being blown to pieces instead of being quietly worn out as clothing. The second point is the gap that develops between the prices of American and Indian

cottons. Both points have an intimate bearing on India's cotton problem.

The beginning of the trouble, of course, was the increasing demand for cotton for munitions purposes during the war. As soon as the war was over the world found that its stocks of cotton yarn and cotton piece-goods were absolutely bare. In consequence, there was a rush to buy cotton, and by February, 1920, American cotton reached, at Liverpool, the record price of over 31d.

This state of things could not last for ever, and the natural laws of demand and supply began to operate. That is to say, as prices rose, not only was production encouraged, but also demands fell off, for the world at large could not afford such a price as 31d. Thereafter the drop began. As you will see, there was a recovery in 1923, but that was only temporary, due to short output and temporarily short stocks. The decline continued during 1924, 1925, and 1926, when a record crop of 18,000,000 bales was secured. The result has been a continuance of the slump to approximately 7d. to-day.

But I also want you, please, to note the course of Indian cotton prices. For one thing, they did not rise in proportion to the rise in American cotton prices. That was chiefly due to the fact that for two or three years in succession India was lucky in having bumper cotton crops at a time when the American crops were short. Although Indian cotton prices were not able to follow American to the same dizzy heights, the loss was made up to India in a larger output.

But there is a further point of interest to note in this connection. Look at the relative values of American and Indian cotton in the last year or two. You will see how closely they have drawn to each other. In fact, the margin between the two price levels is much narrower in January, 1927, than at any earlier period, even during the pre-war season 1913-14. I will revert to this point later on, for it is, naturally, of the greatest importance to the Indian cotton

textile manufacturers. As you know, they are spinning and weaving heavier and rather coarser classes of yarn and piece-goods than can be manufactured from American cotton. The reason for that is that Indian cotton is what is technically known as a short staple cotton; sometimes the fibres are as short as three-eighths of an inch, and in India seven-eighths of an inch is accounted a long staple cotton. There is not much Indian cotton which exceeds a length of staple of one inch; but American cotton is on average of rather longer staple. Seven-eighths of an inch is accounted short staple in America, and the normal margin there between short and long staple is approximately one inch and one-eighth.

Now the great advantage that Indian cotton gives to the Indian mills over foreign mills spinning American or Egyptian cottons is that of cheapness. You will figure to yourselves the effect on the Indian industry when Indian cotton, as it is in January, 1927, is very close to the price of American cotton. The advantage of cheapness has been reduced to almost nothing. I will return to that point later, when we come to deal with the manufacturing industry.

Before I leave the subject of raw cotton, which forms the first half of my address, I will give you a brief account of the steps which India is taking to improve the quality and condition of her crop.

For many years past the Indian cotton mills have done all in their power to improve the quality of their manufactures, particularly in the direction of spinning finer counts. You will remember that in very early days India produced long staple cotton and wove fabrics well known all over the world for their fineness. The present tendency towards finer counts is thus a reversion to the practice of the eighteenth century. In this they have had considerable success. If you compare the counts of the yarn spun in the Indian mills to-day with those spun a quarter of a century ago, that is to say in 1900, you will find that India is actually spinning less yarn of counts 1 to 20—that

is, the coarser varieties of yarn—than she was at the end of last century. On the other hand, she is producing a vastly greater quantity of yarns of counts above 20. In fact, her output of these counts is four times what it was twenty-five years ago.

You will see at once what has happened. A very large section of the population of India, which had formerly been content with the coarser goods woven from Indian cotton, was beginning to prefer the finer goods spun and woven from American cotton. But in those days practically the whole of the Indian crop consisted of short staple cotton, and the Indian mills which wished to specialize on the finer counts had to import American cotton for the purpose, and, later on, as the production of cotton in Uganda and other parts of East Africa increased, East African cottons as well. It was very desirable that Indian mills should be independent of foreign sources of supply for an essential commodity such as cotton, which is indigenous to India. The question was how to improve the Indian varieties of cotton, and particularly to secure local supplies of long staple.

This was the conundrum for which a solution has been found by the appointment of the Indian Central Cotton Committee in 1921. For many years before that date agricultural experts in India had tried to introduce American and other foreign strains, and also to improve the indigenous varieties of cotton; but they were naturally able only to make slow progress in isolated areas. The British Cotton Growing Association, which still operates in India, was able to do a good deal, and India owes the Association a considerable debt of gratitude for the success which has attended their efforts to cultivate long staple cotton, especially of the American variety. All these, however, were isolated attempts, and it still remained to organize some central body which would undertake this problem for India as a whole.

The Indian Central Cotton Committee began its work,

as I say, in 1921, financed by funds provided by Government. In 1923 an Act was passed which empowered the collection of a small cess of 4 annas a bale on all Indian cotton consumed in local mills or exported. The funds thus raised are spent by the Indian Central Cotton Committee on measures for the improvement of the crop. Moreover, on the initiative of that body, legislation has been passed by the Government of India which prohibits the adulteration of long staple cotton with short staple varieties. You can see at once how grave were the risks from such adulteration. Not only did it mean that purchasers of varieties which claimed to be long staple cotton were disappointed to find that part of the bale consisted of only short staple; but also in the gins and presses the seed of short and long staple cotton was mixed; and, if sold for planting purposes, the resulting crop contained mixed cotton. Once that was done the mischief was complete, for it was quite impossible then to separate the two. By the measures now enforced, areas which grow long staple cotton are protected from adulteration by a clause which prohibits the transport of short staple cotton to such areas.

In addition, legislation has been passed to ensure cleaner conditions in the gin and press-houses. All baled cotton has to be stamped with a mark showing from what gin or press-house it has emanated. Thus, if, after purchasing a consignment of cotton, a mill-owner finds that it is not up to standard, he makes a note of the press-house from which it has come, and decides that he will not buy further cotton with the same marks.

These are very important regulations. Their effect is to put a premium on the cultivator who undertakes to grow long staple cotton and to market it in good condition. I will say no more on this particular subject save only to show you a diagram which illustrates the results obtained from this forward policy on the agricultural side of India's cotton industry. The diagram in front of you now (Fig. 2) compares the output of short and long staple cotton in

India in 1915 and again in 1925. You will see that in those ten years, while the yield of short staple cotton has

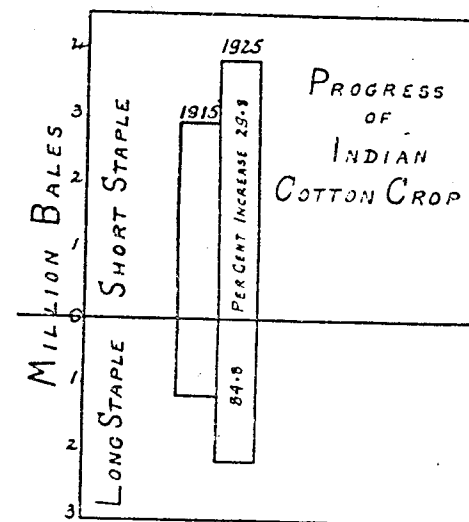


FIG. 2.

increased by less than 30 per cent., the yield of long staple cotton has increased by nearly 85 per cent. Those

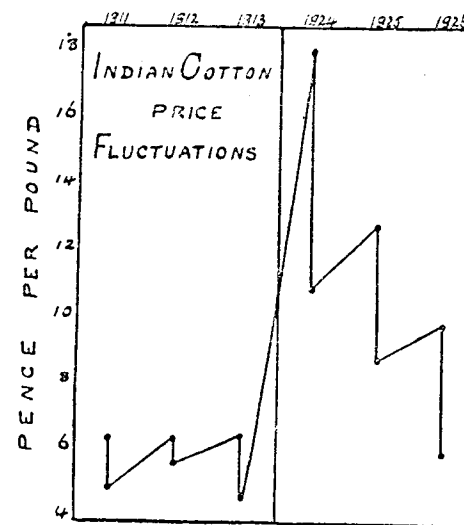


FIG. 3.

figures speak for themselves. They mean that India is looking ahead. She is not content with using American and East African cotton to produce the finer counts of

yarns, but can confidently rely in future on an increasing quantity of long staple cotton which she has grown herself.

The diagram which I show to you now (Fig. 3) compares the maximum and minimum prices of Indian cotton during each of the three years 1911, 1912, and 1913 with the maximum and minimum prices during each of the last three years, 1924, 1925, and 1926. I think you will agree that fluctuations to-day, owing to the uncertain condition of demands and supplies, are very much more serious than they ever were before the war.

You will also notice in this diagram one further point, namely, that during the past three years the fluctuations have not only been wild, but they represent, on the whole, a downward tendency. Now the trouble about falling prices is that practically everybody concerned, from the manufacturer and the merchant to the broker, the retail dealer, and the ultimate consumer, is adversely affected. Let us begin with the consumer first. Obviously he is hit to this extent, that the longer he postpones his purchases the cheaper he will find the goods. Secondly, the retailer instead of making a profit may find that other retailers have been able to buy at cheaper rates before he has cleared his stocks, and he has to sell at reduced prices. And so on up the scale to the manufacturer, who has to buy his raw materials and convert them into manufactured goods, only to find that the price has gone against him.

That is exactly what went on in India, and accounts for the stagnation of the cotton piece-goods markets of India during the past few years. Nobody dared buy because he might not be able to dispose of the goods quickly enough to anticipate a further fall in price. Indeed, the bazaar dealer in India, who stands near the end of the long chain which stretches from the mill producing the cloth to the Indian peasant who ultimately wears it, has lost much of his capital through falling prices. Sometimes a rise of exchange—and we must not forget that exchange was slowly rising throughout the period 1922 to 1925—meant lower

rupee prices even though the sterling price was steady. Sometimes it was the price of cotton itself which fell, and sometimes the depreciation of Continental or Japanese exchanges meant that the exporters there could sell at cheaper rupee rates than their competitors in Lancashire or Bombay.

But the most serious factor, from the point of view of the manufacturer, was the high price of cotton which prevailed from 1916 right down to the middle of 1926. During this long period of ten years, cotton piece-goods commanded prices which were above the means of the average working-class population of India. That is to say, that although the purchasing power of the working classes in India had increased since the war, the increase was nothing like proportional to the rise in the prices of cotton textiles.

My next diagram (Fig. 4) explains this point in detail. Here you have compared in a single diagram, first of all,

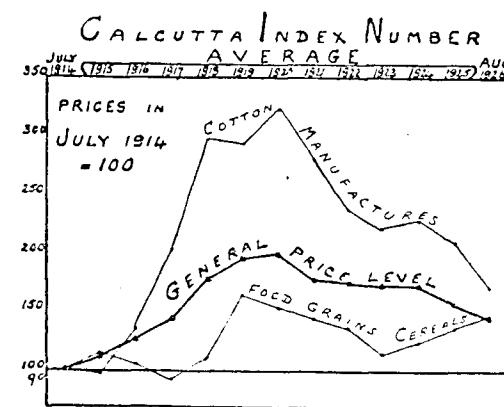


FIG. 4.

the price of food-grains produced by the peasant of Bengal, and, secondly, the price of cotton textiles in the Calcutta market. You will see how very wide indeed was the gap between the two curves. Indeed, it is only just in the last few months that the price of cotton piece-goods has really come down to anything like the values which the peasant is getting for the crops he grows. As a matter of fact, since

this diagram was prepared, cotton prices have fallen still further, and now they represent about 50 per cent. over the pre-war values. The price of food-grains is now about 40 per cent. over pre-war, so that the gap between the two has narrowed almost to nothing.

Before I go further to explain the effect of war and post-war conditions on India's cotton-mill industry, let me first say a few words in explanation of the lines on which that industry is organized. Out of the 300 odd mills established in India, by far the greater number—177 in fact—are established in the presidency of Bombay; and of these the larger number are found in the island of Bombay, but others also at Ahmedabad and Sholapur. There are 22 mills in Madras; 21 in the United Provinces; 13 in Bengal; 10 in the Central Provinces; and a few also in the Punjab and in the principal Indian States.

The real centre of the industry is located at Bombay itself, and has been for many years past. During recent

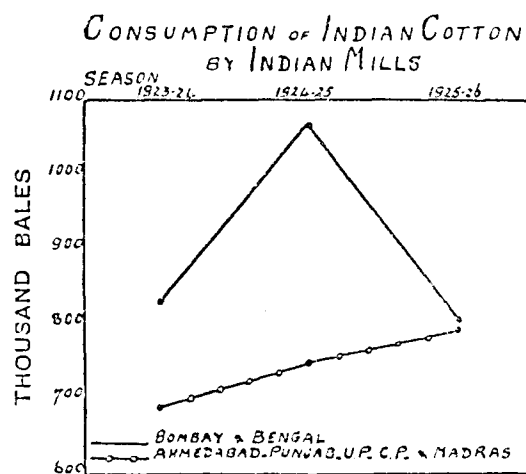


FIG. 5.

years, however, the tendency has been to establish new mills in the centre of India rather than at Bombay. The mills at Lahore, Delhi, Cawnpore, Nagpur, and other up-country centres are situated close to the sources of supply of the raw material and also close to the up-country con-

suming markets. Moreover, they are protected against foreign competition by the long railway lead from the ports. My next diagram (Fig. 5) illustrates the progress of the principal groups of mills in India, as indicated by the consumption of raw material during each of the past three seasons. You will see that, whereas the Bombay and Calcutta mills increased their consumption of raw cotton between 1923-24 and 1924-25, consumption fell off during 1925-26. On the other hand, the up-country mills consumed more cotton in 1924-25 than during the previous year, and again increased their consumption in 1925-26. There is no better criterion of the condition of an industry than its consumption of raw material; and the diagram which I have just shown reveals very clearly the depression which exists at present in the Bombay cotton mills, and which has compelled them to apply to the Government of India for the appointment of a Tariff Board to enquire into the condition of the industry.

I shall now proceed to examine in somewhat more detail the effects of war and post-war conditions on the Indian industry taken as a whole—that is to say, on all classes of piece-goods consumed in India. We must take into account, firstly, the products of the local hand-loom industry scattered throughout the length and breadth of India. They are normally the cheapest variety of goods, although some hand-loom cloth in India is as fine as any machine-made cloth. They are woven from yarns, either imported or local, and are sold in the market in which they were made. There is thus a minimum of transport, handling, and overhead charges. The local weaver sells at a return which will just cover the cost of his raw material and labour.

Then we come to the Indian cotton mills working with up-to-date machinery and a high degree of technical skill and efficiency. The various processes of spinning, weaving, and finishing are usually conducted under the supervision of a single concern, and are not distributed as they are in England. Grey and bleached piece-goods form the bulk

of the production, but the output of coloured piece-goods and hosiery is increasing.

And, finally, we come to the British goods, which consist of the finer and lighter cloths spun and woven from American cotton, and the competing goods from Japan and the Continent, usually of a rather heavier material. In fact, Japan and Italy compete in both directions, with the output of the Indian mills on the one hand and with the British mills on the other.

Now, as the price of cotton rose, and, with it, the prices

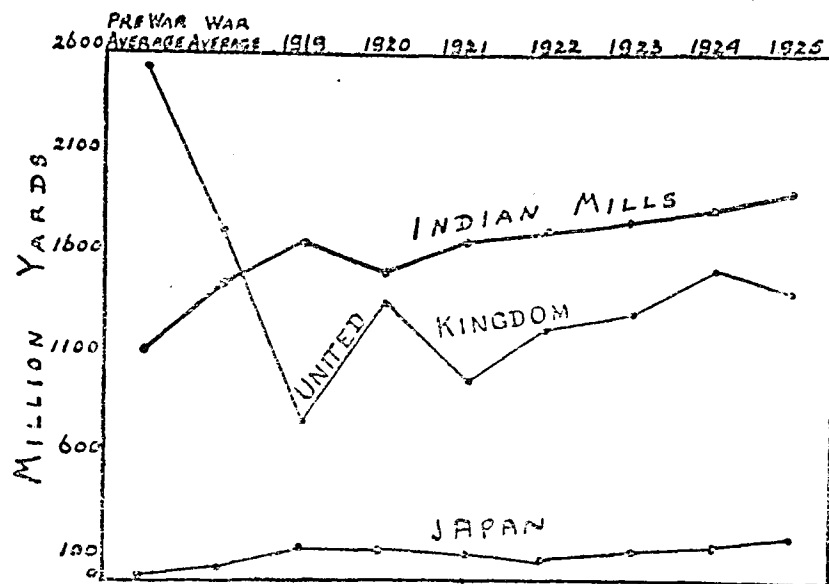


FIG. 6.—COTTON PIECE-GOODS TRADE IN INDIA.

of the different varieties of cotton piece-goods, the tendency was for Indian consumers to descend from the finer and more expensive to the lower and cheaper grades of cloth. The Indian mills thus gained a considerable advantage, not only from the fact, which we have already seen, that Indian cotton was cheaper than American by margins greater than had ever been known before the war, but also because a large proportion of the middle-class consumers, who had been accustomed to use Manchester goods, could not afford these goods, and used instead the cheaper local products.

My next diagram (Fig. 6) compares the production of

the Indian mills with the imports of Manchester and Japanese cotton piece-goods, firstly, before the war, and then again during the war period and during each of the subsequent years. By a curious coincidence the consumption of cotton piece-goods in India—if we exclude handloom products, for which, unfortunately, detailed statistics are not available—is very much what it was before the war—namely, 3,600 million yards. But the Indian mills have doubled their share of this trade—from 1,000 to 2,000 million yards—while the imported goods have fallen off from 2,600 million to approximately 1,600 million yards.

The depression from which the Indian mills, and especially the Bombay mills, are suffering to-day is due to two important factors: firstly, the margin between the prices of Indian and American cottons is very narrow; and, secondly, as the American cotton prices have fallen the finer goods have, naturally, also fallen in price, and are again coming within the purchasing power of India's middle classes.

But there are other and bigger considerations at stake. The Japanese cotton industry has undoubtedly made tremendous strides since the war. It has used the profits made during the period of high prices to write down capital values, and, in some cases, even to write down the values of stocks of cotton. Labour conditions have also been improved in Japan, and the rates of ocean freight between Japan and India are kept surprisingly cheap. For some years Japan had the advantage of a falling exchange with India, which enabled her to undersell Manchester products on the one hand, and Indian products on the other. Finally, Japan undoubtedly secured a considerable advantage from the fact that her cotton-mill operatives—chiefly women—were employed at night in spite of the terms of the Washington Convention, while India had for many years past prohibited the employment of women on night work in factories. Thus machinery was kept going in Japan for longer hours than was possible in India

or Lancashire, and overhead charges were proportionately reduced. It is understood, however, that Japan will enforce the provision of the Washington Convention in her own mills with effect from 1929. Moreover, the yen has now attained a considerable measure of stability. Two of the advantages on which Japan was thus able to reduce the price of her cloth and yarn in Indian markets must be regarded as temporary advantages only.

And now, what of the future? We must, of course, await the report of the Cotton Textile Enquiry of the Indian Tariff Board, which is expected to be published shortly. It is certain that the Indian mills will wish to advance still further in the production of the finer counts of yarn and the finer grades of cloth, absorbing increasing quantities of the long staple cotton, which is itself being produced in larger quantities in India. It will be some time yet before the local mills and hand-looms can supply the whole of India's requirements of cotton cloth. It is in the interests of Lancashire to see that everything possible is done to improve the purchasing power of the Indian peasantry and middle classes, whose purchases go so far to maintain the Lancashire mills in employment. Trade is a matter entirely of mutual benefit. The Japanese have made progress in India's markets largely because they have increased their purchases of Indian cotton. This is a lesson which British merchants would do well to take to heart. By increasing their purchases of Indian products in preference to competing products of similar quantity and price from foreign countries, they set up the credits against which India is enabled, in her turn, to buy British goods.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, February 14, 1927, when a paper was read by Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., L.C.S., entitled "India's Cotton Problem." Sir Frank Nelson, M.P., was in the Chair.

The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Selwyn H. Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallick, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. K. S. Bajwa, Mrs. Martley, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. A. C. Brown, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. H. Hamel, Mr. W. K. Roy, Colonel French, Mr. and Mrs. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. F. T. de Monte, Mr. G. Fowkes, Pandit Gopalji Ahluwalia Mr. F. J. P. Richter, and Mr. H. D. Butler.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I see no reason whatever for deviating from the sovereign rule that the prime duty of a Chairman is to be seen and not heard, and as I see in the agenda that I am asked briefly to address you, I shall now call upon my old friend Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay to address you. (Applause.)

The Lecturer read his paper, illustrated by lantern slides.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think my first duty is to express what I feel sure will be your united approval of Mr. Lindsay's most instructive and interesting address. I have heard cotton talked upon on many occasions, but I have seldom, if ever, heard it discussed with such facility of expression and, if I may say so, with such a charming outlook upon the future of what, to a great number of people, is a very dry subject.

Now my second duty is to invite discussion either by means of questions to the Lecturer or by means of short speeches.

Pandit GOPALJI AHLUWALIA, M.Sc., Lecturer, 1922-23, Delhi University, said: One of the photographs illustrates the hungry, emaciated, and miserable-looking labourers carrying the baskets of raw cotton to the mill. Another photograph shows a dirty thatched room, outside a mill claiming to possess the most up-to-date machinery. Progress should be judged by the conditions of working classes, not only from profits. Regarding profiteering by adulteration in cotton, it is not peculiar to Aryavart alone, as appears from the following quotation (*Lansbury's Weekly*, February 12, p. 6): "The Yorkshire folk tell a story of an engineering firm which in one room makes a sprinkler which goes to Egypt, and in another room makes a machine known as an extractor which takes the sand out of cotton when it gets there."

Sir BENJAMIN ROBERTSON said, in reference to the remarks of the last speaker regarding the Empress Mills at Nagpur, that he had known the mills for thirty-five years, and that labour conditions in them would com-

pare favourably with conditions in any spinning and weaving mill in this or any other country.

He liked to express his agreement with the Chairman that the Indian cotton problem had never been more clearly presented than it had been that afternoon. His main interest during his service in India had perhaps been more in connection with the production of the staple than with the manufacture of the finished article. And he would like to say how immensely the demand for cotton had added to the prosperity of the Indian cultivator, especially in recent years since the excellent results of the work of the Agricultural Department, which had been solidly established by the late Lord Curzon, came to be reaped. The advance in a country like Berar had to be seen to be realized. He gave an account of a visit he had had from a large Berar cotton cultivator just before he left India, whom, at that time of high cotton prices, he twitted with being better off than the speaker was as Chief Commissioner of the province.

In conclusion he desired to thank the Lecturer for his very interesting paper.

The LECTURER: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The first speaker has reminded me of a point which I forgot in the course of my address, and that was the question of the relative labour conditions in the Indian and Japanese mills. One of the chief advantages which the Japanese industry has is the fact that cotton operatives are employed at night, and that enables the Japanese industry to secure twenty-two hours a day work out of their machines. The Indian operatives are chiefly women, and the Washington Convention, which was subscribed to by Japan, prohibited the nightwork of women in factories; but many years before the Washington Convention, India had already prohibited the employment of women at night in Indian factories, and, in fact, India has taken the very greatest care with regard to the conditions of labour in the factories. The advantage which the Japanese have is, we trust, going to disappear when they introduce this particular provision of the Washington Convention, as they have promised to do, from 1929. (Applause.)

Mr. P. R. CADELL said, as one who had come very recently from a province which is very much interested in the increased and important cultivation of cotton, he desired to make a few remarks.

First of all, he would take the opportunity of thanking Mr. Lindsay for the very lucid way he had put the problem before them. Incidentally he was sorry that the first speaker in the discussion was not better acquainted with the provinces in the north of India. In Sind, at least, he would not find the cultivators lean and he could not accuse the workers of being emaciated.

He would like to ask the Lecturer if he could give them a little information as to whether the increased production in the Indian mills was proportionately as great with regard to the higher counts, that is, in the use of the longer staple cotton. It was a matter of great importance to people in Sind to know whether the efforts in Sind which were being made to induce the country to grow better cotton were likely to be recompensed by a larger use in the mills of the longer staples.

The Lecturer had said, no doubt intentionally, very little about the

export of twist and yarn from India. It would be interesting to know whether the great decrease in its export was permanent.

With regard to what had been said about labour conditions in Japan, he had come through Japan on his way home, and he would like to confirm what the Lecturer had said. He was told by people on the spot of hours of labour that were astonishing. It certainly seemed at first sight discreditable to the Indian mills that the cotton should be produced in India, exported to Japan, there made up, and sent back to India to compete with the manufactures of the Indian mills. But one of the most powerful reasons for this was the greater freedom of labour in Japan.

Finally, he desired to thank Mr. Lindsay for his excellent lecture. (Applause.)

Mr. R. K. SORABJI said he had greatly enjoyed the lecture, but he wished the Lecturer would more fully explain one or two points. He would like to know clearly what the real cause of the friction between Lancashire and India might be, and what steps were being taken to allay that friction. He would also like to know, now that Lancashire's trade with China was crippled, owing to the prevailing chaos in the Far East, whether any steps were being taken to secure that trade with Lancashire, for India. He felt there was one more matter he must refer to. The first young Indian who had spoken had expressed himself with great heat, and that had upset the Chief Commissioner who had spoken later. Personally he felt it was a good thing to let young Indians explode, when they felt like it, provided more than one or two of them did not explode at a time. They felt so much better when they had given vent to their feelings. It did harm to no one, and when they had emptied themselves of their heated feelings people who were older than they had an opportunity of correcting their views and putting sounder impressions into them. He would like to point out to his young Indian friend that it was a most illogical position to cry out for independence, and then to blame the Government for everything that was wrong without attempting to shoulder the responsibility of striving to put things right. Social conditions were eminently matters which Indians should try and put right for themselves. That was Gandhi's doctrine. The women of India were waking to a sense of this responsibility. He would like his young friend to read the excellent speeches made by women at the recent gathering of Indian ladies in Poona. They fully realized that the condition of workers in India ought to be the concern of Indians themselves, and not merely the concern of the Government.

He had recently read of the condition of workers in Japan and felt assured that conditions in India were better.

He would, in conclusion, like to impress on the audience that it would help relations between England and India if we were to exercise a little sense of humour and not take matters too seriously.

Mr. COLDSTREAM said that he was an enthusiastic young Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab so many decades ago that he could hardly reckon them, but the Punjab Government was then very much interested in the growth of foreign cotton, and they used to have impressed upon them

the necessity of growing seed from Florida and Egypt. He wondered whether that enthusiasm so many years ago had produced any effect.

The LECTURER: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have one or two questions to answer, and I will not detain you very long. First of all there is that very interesting question of the counts of Indian yarns. You must not forget that in the old days India used to produce very long staple cotton, and used to manufacture very fine muslins known as the Dacca muslins; they were known almost all over the world for their fineness. Therefore, in producing longer staple cotton, India is not really turning to some new line, but is really going back to what she had done before. The effect of the longer staple cotton on the actual manufacturing industry of India is very clear and very striking. If you go back over the last twenty-five years, you find that India is producing to-day exactly the same quantity, or possibly even less, of the yarns of the counts 1 to 20—that is to say, the coarser and heavier types of yarn; there has been no advance whatever in her total output of those coarser yarns, but in the finer yarns—that is to say, the 20's to 30's and the 30's to 40's, the output is exactly four times what it was twenty-five years ago. (Applause.) That is a very striking indication of the demand in India for longer staple cotton and the use to which such cotton is being put. With regard to the loss in the export trade of yarns, that was due to two things. First of all, unfortunately, there was the loss of the China market, which had been her biggest market for yarns. The China market for cotton yarns has been captured by Japan, but there is compensation for this in the fact that the Indian industry has increased during and since the war on the weaving side. That is to say, India is using for her own requirements a very much higher proportion of her own output of cotton yarns, so that the loss of the China market is being made good by the utilization of these yarns for cloth to be consumed in India.

With regard to the relations between Lancashire and Bombay, I think we have had proof quite recently of considerable improvement in those relations. At one time I admit feelings may have been a little bit strained, especially when successive increases were made in the import duty on cotton goods. The import duty went up from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and now stands at 11 per cent. Last year the cotton excise duty which had been levied for so many years on the Indian cotton industry was removed. That measure, which at one time would have evoked a chorus of growls from Lancashire, was received in the most friendly spirit possible. I do not think a clearer illustration could be given of the very much more cordial feelings which exist between Lancashire and India. (Applause.)

Sir DUNCAN MACPHERSON, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and to the Chairman, said he had known Mr. Lindsay from the latter's earliest days in the Indian Civil Service, and it was a great gratification to him to see how well he had made use of his opportunities. He did not think anyone could have given a more lucid account of the position of the cotton industry in India and shown a clearer grasp of the world-wide conditions which affected it than Mr. Lindsay had done. (Hear, hear.)

THE ROMANCE OF THE INDIAN ARMY AND ITS FUTURE

By LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN, K.C.B.,
K.C.S.I., D.S.O.

THE subject of this paper is the romance of the Indian Army, and also what the future of that Army under modern conditions is likely to be.

To my mind the story of the Indian Army from its earliest days is purely a matter of psychology, and perhaps the most distinct tribute that can be found to the British capacity to lead, as well as that of the Indian to serve faithfully.

The fighting power of the Indian military classes has been developed almost entirely by the devotion of the men to their British leaders, who exercised on them an influence which cannot be acknowledged in precise terms. Without that psychological influence your Indian troops would be no better than those of former Indian rulers who from time to time they signally defeated.

THE EARLY HISTORY

It is not necessary to detain you with much of the early history of the Army in India. Most of you know how the English first went to India as traders with the full approval of the Mughal Emperor. You will remember that it was the army of France, born of the struggle of the French with Hydar Ali, that first reached the dimensions of a regular line. As danger compels preparation, so the gloom of Mysore, which hung over the whole of the Malabar coast as well as the Carnatic, brought a great line into being, and as it grew a similar force developed on much the same lines in Bengal and Bombay.

In the early days the number of British officers was

few—two or three to a corps—and Indians rose to comparatively high positions, even occasionally to the command of irregular regiments. Towards the close, however, of the eighteenth century the great Princes of India were forming armies on the European models, trained and commanded often by British, French, and American adventurers, among whom the French predominated, partly owing to the large number of Royalist officers whom the French Revolution had left at a loose end. This state of affairs produced two new conditions. British commanders and organizers were largely drawn from the King's Service, and they came with all the tradition of the British forces which had been so successful on the Continent thirty years before. Troops were organized on the model of the British line. Their headdresses were transformed into shakos, they were clothed in the red coatee, white ducks, and white cross-belts of the British line. Nor was this all military pageantry. The disciplined forces of the Mysore and other Princes were apt to concentrate their efforts on the English portion of the Anglo-Indian force opposed to them. By dressing the whole force in scarlet and cross-belts the British line of battle appeared to be European, and its prestige was considerably enhanced.

Incidentally, I might say, it fell to me a few years ago to examine and arrange the old dress records of the Madras Army which had been sent to Simla when the Madras Command was broken up. When I had put them in order they were presented by the Government of India to the Royal United Services Institution, where they may be consulted. They are a remarkable set of drawings, more complete in many respects than those we have of the British Service; and there are some interesting plates of the uniforms of eight regiments of the Madras Light Cavalry, whose officers and troops were dressed very much as the cavalry on the Continent. The paper on which these were drawn bears the watermark of 1808.

As the armies of the Company grew and the expansion

of the Company's rule brought them into competition with the larger powers, it was found that Indian troops would not face their opponents without a larger proportion of British officers, and so the majority of the Army was placed on what we call the "regular system." The regiments of cavalry and infantry had the same number of British officers on its strength as a British unit, in addition to the numerous subordinate commissioned ranks of the Indian officers.

This is a very important point to remember, because we shall see the same thing happening again when the Indian armies met the Frontiersmen after the Mutiny, and again when Lord Kitchener was preparing to meet Russia. It is a factor which to a great extent covers the problem of Indianization, and I will refer to it later.

THE BRAHMINIZATION OF THE OLD ARMY

The memoirs of the officers of the early nineteenth century constantly express regret at the Brahminization of the Army both in Bengal and Madras.

There is no doubt that in the earlier days of the Indian Army the country was full of adventurers from the north—Turks, Afghans, and Arabs—and their descendants of the second and third generation. In fact, they formed the bulk of the fighting forces in the Army of the Company and that of the Native States. As recently as the Mutiny large numbers of Arabs were still fighting against us in Central India. It is on record that those who attacked the Residency of Lucknow were for the most part not the mutinous soldiers, but the Powindas, who, as now, come down from the hills in the winter.

During the period following the fall of Seringapatam the adventurer class gradually died out; hence the Civil Government began enlisting the better class peasantry, who were either Rajput or Brahmin. This was referred to by those who took exception to it as the Brahminization of the Indian Army.

THE COMPANY'S ARMY BEFORE THE MUTINY

It is one of the tragedies of Indian military history that the Bengal line, which eventually was far the largest of the three Presidencies, should have disappeared in that pitiful crash of 1857. With it went a century of regimental tradition.

Only the other day Colonel Downing, who some of you will remember was known in India twenty-five years ago as "Buckshee Downing," and who was a great student of the romantic stories of the Army, sent me a tale of a certain Walmsley of the 16th Grenadiers. Who is there now who knows anything about the 16th Grenadiers? They were the 16th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry, and one of General Nott's Sepoy regiments that did so well at Kandahar at a time when so many of the Bengal battalions were doing badly. They were made Grenadiers for their services, and were for some years looked upon as the smartest regiment of the line, and was the regiment to which the famous Sir Nevill Chamberlain belonged. Now, to quote from Mark Antony's oration,

"None so poor to do them reverence,"

for they mutinied.

Incidentally, as I have mentioned them, I might continue the story of Walmsley. The regiment came down after several years of frontier wars to Calcutta, where Walmsley betook himself to the drinking haunts of officers of the merchant ships in Dharamtullah. Shortly afterwards he was sent with treasure to Allahabad, and the captain of the vessel who had brought him up as far as steamers could go and was awaiting his return had trouble with the Civil Authorities, and was in the lock-up when Walmsley and his detachment of Grenadiers returned. The Captain sent a message to his companion to rescue him. With the Grenadiers Walmsley attacked the prison, rescued the ship's officer and a planter who was also in gaol, and took

them back in triumph to Calcutta. In due course the inevitable reports arrived and Walmsley found himself under arrest. Chamberlain might perhaps have got him off if he had not insisted upon breaking his arrest and appearing at the Governor-General's ball given in honour of the arrival of captured Sikh cannon at Calcutta. That story is by the way, but there is sufficient flavour of romance in it to be germane to my subject.

The romance of the old Army is charmingly brought out in a book which many of you will know, "*From Sepoy to Subahdar*," by Subahdar Sitaram, a book which, at Sir Alfred Bingley's instance—or Major Bingley, as he was then—Lord Kitchener had introduced as a textbook, used until comparatively recently, for young officers studying the Indian languages. It is a most remarkable story of the British Army. Sitaram is the son of a Brahmin farmer. His uncle is a havildar in the Army, and comes swaggering home on furlough from time to time. In defiance of his parents' wishes and the advice of the family parohit, or priest, Sitaram insists on going back with his uncle to enlist, and his story of his reception at the Colonel's house, of the Colonel's lady, of the unruly children, and the impressive Adjutant and the Regimental Doctor of those days, are told in a most lifelike way. He takes part in the Pindari War of 1816-17, and later on received special promotion by transferring to a regiment of the Shah's contingent being raised at Ludhiana for the service of the Shah of Afghanistan in 1839. He is overwhelmed in the disaster of Kabul, and is for many years a slave, but escapes and gets back to the Punjab, to be ill-treated as an outcaste and renegade Brahmin by all his caste fellows until helped and rescued by the magistrate. The last tragedy in which he takes part is being in command of a firing party which executes his own son who was a mutineer. The book contains all the wisdom of the Indian soldier, and how to handle and understand him, with many shrewd discussions on the ethics of the British in India.

THE CONDITIONS THAT OBTAINED AFTER THE MUTINY

With the Mutiny the regularity of the Bengal Army disappeared. No longer did a battalion consist of ten shakoed and scarlet-clad companies, with, at least, two British officers per company. Their regular system whereby Indian leaders commanded squadrons and companies in the Punjab forces raised to quell the Mutiny had swept public opinion by reason of the success which had resulted. The post-Mutiny army was to be irregular. Wings of regiments were to be commanded by British officers, companies and troops of cavalry by Indian officers; units were to have a commanding officer, an adjutant, wing commanders, and two or more doing "duty" officers as assistant to the wing commanders. The staunch Indian Sirdar of the type who would lead and command with vigour was to be aimed at. The regiments in Bombay and Madras were to be converted to the same system. All cavalry, except in Madras, were further to be on the Silladar system, the European type of uniform was to disappear, and the troops would be clad in a blend between native costume and the uniform of a regular army. The result for the time being was eminently satisfactory, but in a very few years the old story began again. The new regiments found themselves up against the tribesmen and swordsmen of Umbeyla. It was found that, staunch though the new troops were, they were not fitted to face heavy fighting without better leading; they lacked the psychological power and prestige that was necessary. The demand for more European officers was unanimous. The Afghan Wars of 1878-81 still further emphasized the point. The Frontier Campaigns of 1897 also taught the same lesson; while, when Lord Kitchener came out with his mandate to prepare the Army in India for a war in defence of Afghanistan and India, military opinion was universal in maintaining that still more British officers were required, and the number now grew from the five or six of the

immediate post-Mutiny period to something like fourteen. This same fact was illustrated during the Great War, where, though more officers were not required to be in the fighting-line, it was found important to replace at once those that fell, if the Indian troops were to fulfil the rôle and tasks allotted to them.

INDIANIZATION OF THE ARMY

Turning now to the question of the Indianization of the Indian Army, which, during the last two or three years, has been a matter of considerable discussion and interest in this country and of acrimonious debate in the Indian Assembly.

The admission of Indian officers to the same positions of command as British officers is admittedly a difficult problem, and it is not too much to say that the difficulties of the situation have induced us, in a somewhat Anglo-Saxon spirit, to shelve the question for many years. In the Indian Civil, Medical, Forestry, and Engineering Services Indians have been admitted on the same terms as Europeans, and in certain phases of this work they have shown a brilliant aptitude. In the Army, however, though the martial classes are in many ways more readily agreeable to the British military officer than any others, we have never been able to give them any share in the higher positions. Has this been from a want of understanding, or have there been other causes? I venture to think that to a certain extent we must accept the blame, because we have not tried, until lately, to face the difficulties which surrounded the matter.

In 1911, when His Majesty the King went to India, the Government there was searching for boons which might be given to the Indian Army to commemorate the occasion, and I was one of a party of younger officers on the General Staff in India who were urging that this was a signal opportunity to make a start, but the mass of opinion was against us.

The difficulties are as follows : (1) The close contact which officers of a regiment must have with each other ; (2) the detached position of the European in the Indian regiments, in which a great deal of its prestige lies ; (3) the general European feeling that, while in the Civil Departments of Government it is quite possible to serve under an Indian of superior grade, the peculiar conditions of army life make it unacceptable for military conditions. Therefore, rightly or wrongly, this curious anomaly remained—that in the military services alone there was no power of rising to higher grades.

I have already explained that in the early days when British officers were few, Indians did rise to high positions, and how the increasing efficiency of the armies of the Native States, which the British Raj was compelled to meet, was responsible for the regularization of the Indian Army, and how, without a large proportion of British officers, the Indian troops of early days would not face the European-trained armies of the Indian States. This is a very important point to remember, because, as I have already mentioned, I consider that it really goes to the root of the whole problem.

Now, had an experiment in trying selected Indians to hold what we may call British officer positions been introduced when His Majesty visited India, we should have had some experience to go upon. Unfortunately we have lost the value of the Great War so far as experience in this matter is concerned. In vain did Lord Rawlinson say that it had taken 200 years to produce the British officer type and forty years to train himself to be fitted for the office he held. The enthusiastic politicians of the Assembly could only see India flouted by refusal to Indianize rapidly. The Government of India had already started a system of bringing the young Indians to Sandhurst and admitting them to the position of the British officer. They aimed wholeheartedly at making the experiment a success.

THE CONDITIONS ON WHICH SUCCESS DEPENDS

Now what are the conditions governing the success of such an experiment? First and foremost must come :

- (a) The power of command and the class from which young men possessing this power can be selected.
- (b) A system of education which will produce such qualities, presuming the class necessary exists.
- (c) The adaptability of the young Indian to mix in the ordinary military life with British officers and adopt their standard of integrity and honour.

You will see that these are very big conditions, and that anything that can be done must be in the nature of an experiment.

Young Indians have passed through Sandhurst and been posted to regiments where they have been cordially received and assisted by their brother officers and commanders, but that is as far as the matter has gone.

Lord Rawlinson decided that certain Indian Corps should be entirely Indianized—that is to say, the filling-up from the bottom by undergraduates from the Military Colleges, so that in the course of years the regiments would be officered in the higher and lower ranks by Indians.

During the process of Indianization in the years since the War there has been great difficulty in obtaining sufficient suitable candidates. To no one than yourselves is it better known that the intelligentsia of India are largely drawn from the non-martial classes—classes who in the whole history of many hundreds of years have never been called on for their hand to keep their head. These are the classes who demand Indianization of the Army without quite realizing what it means. The martial classes have been slower, far slower, to educate themselves. Because of this difficulty it has appeared wise to the Government of India and to the General Staff, whose business military education is, to organize schools where the sons of the present type of Indian officer, those Subahdars and Jemadars whom we

all loved so well, shall be educated from the earliest days for a military career in British officers' positions so as to hold "King's" as distinct from "Viceroy's" commissions.

In India there is no school system as yet which makes for character-building and no machinery for producing officers who shall bear the burden of the day in the way in which the British officer does at present. However, it is evident to all who study the question, that however wholeheartedly the Government of India supports the movement it must be slow, it must be experimental. Mixed up with it to a minor degree is the question of an Indian Sandhurst. To demand an Indian Sandhurst is not of itself *méchante*, though possibly some of those who joined the demand may be actuated by a *méchante* frame of mind. It is generally a big proposition to ask young Indians to leave their parents and come here among a people of entirely different religion, and to lose their own religious influence at the critical age so as to be able to go through the course at Sandhurst. However kindly the reception, however careful the welfare organization, it is a big thing and a great expense to put Indian parents to. It may be preferable and necessary to have a Sandhurst in India, and we shall soon see what the recent committee on this subject have to say.

THE FUTURE

Now we come to the great problem of what is to be the future of this magnificent and faithful Indian Army, who, after serving so well in the past, have grown into so magnificent a line under the British Crown. Will the young Indians now joining the Army, and who, as far as they have gone, are giving satisfaction, develop so as to be able to lead their men in times of danger and responsibility? Will they inspire that dog-like devotion which the British officer inspires? Will they preserve that impartial care of Hindu and Muslim, of Sikh or Dogra, of Pathan or Jat or Goorkha? If so—and it is to be anticipated that some of

them will—to what extent can the Indian regiments be officered by Indians—25, 50, or 75 per cent.? Where does the point lie? Some of you will remember the tragedy of a Sikh regiment of one of the Imperial Service contingents that found itself in the Afghan Hills in 1897. Faced with trouble, it suddenly became rudderless and was as sheep for the slaughter. Is there a point in Indianization beyond which you cannot go? Up to what point will the War Office accept the Indian units of the future as sufficiently efficient comrades to British units? They cannot be expected to allow British units to be the sole support of inefficient Indian units. Where does the point lie? The answer is—no one can tell. Then, again, comes the question, Who is going to find out? The answer is the military authorities in India alone and untrammelled, uninterfered with against their advice by the Government of India under political influence, or uninterfered with by the politician himself. If this is religiously conceded, then the present experiment will go on happily and fairly until it finds its own equation point—the point where saturation is reached. A considered satisfactory solution must await more experience. We are all agreed that up to a point—and where that point is we cannot yet tell—a modicum of Indianization is possible.

So long as the Government of India takes its military authorities as its advisers in this matter the Indian Army will be a satisfactory service to which British officers may be proud to belong. But a little giving way, a little listening to the vocal enthusiast, might very easily produce regiments so pretentiously inefficient that no self-respecting British officer would remain there. If the arguments of the fighting man of what is and is not required for an officer are overruled by men of no military experience, whose minds tend only to compromise, to believing human nature is not what it really is, to thinking that a good-looking, clever lad of pleasant address is therefore a leader, or of material from which leaders are made, then this mag-

nificent structure of a hundred and fifty years' growth is going to collapse, and to collapse disgracefully, to collapse, too, at a time when the safety of India and the stability of the whole Empire may be involved.

I labour this point very strongly, for I have talked with so many agreeable, cultivated Indians of the bourgeois class who think that life in the Army is a pleasant, well-paid position, with little to do and plenty of people to help you, which would just suit their sons.

We must remember that in the East the lad who is clever at football and hockey and can handle a bat with credit does not necessarily possess pluck. Here in England, where almost every man is a fighting man by nature, these considerations do not arise. They are the whole story of the dominance of India by the invaders from the north. I believe the Indian Army and all the romance that has ever clung to it will still be there for those young Britons of character and understanding and sympathy who select the Indian Army as a career in the future.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, March 21, 1927. General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present :

Général de Brigade Desprès (Military Attaché at the French Embassy), Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald H. Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir George Shaw, C.S.I., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Francis Sprig, K.C.I.E., Mrs. Maistre, Sir Reginald A. Mant, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Lady Pinhey, Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Major-General H. W. Duperier, Colonel G. V. Holmes, Colonel Lowry, Colonel Luxmoore, Colonel and Miss Dowden, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Pandit Gopalji Ahluwalia, Colonel E. G. W. Pratt, Colonel A. H. Battye, Mr. and Mrs. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. John Jopp, Mr. O'Dwyer, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mrs. Drury, Miss Nina Corner, Mr. G. C. Golding, Mrs. Ducat, Mrs. Jackson, Colonel Jones, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mrs. Martley, Mr. S. D. Rafik, Mr. W. N. Delevinge, Dr. A. Shah, Dr. P. Mehta, Diwan A. Mehta, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. L. G. Moore, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Mr. P. B. Dresser, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mrs. Batten, Mr. M. J. Clauson, Miss Morgan, Captain Schoubre, Captain G. Brown, Mr. M. Fleming Maynard, Mrs. Grabbatt, Mr. J. Seccombe, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty this afternoon is to introduce the Lecturer to you. This is an easy duty because he must be well known to most of you here. Some of you have served under him, while many others, I am sure, have read with the greatest interest the delightful articles he used so frequently to contribute to *Blackwood*, so I am quite sure we all look forward to hearing his account of the Indian Army in the notable campaign in which he himself played a great part.

Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn proceeded to deliver his lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not propose to discuss the very excellent lecture that we have just heard till after other speakers have given us their views; therefore I am now about to call for volunteers who have suggestions or ideas which may interest us, but before doing so may I say that we have in our midst the new Attaché at the French Embassy, Général Desprès, and as he belongs to a service which also included a "native army," I think we should all be glad to hear his views before we ventilate our own.

Général de Brigade DESPRÈS (Military Attaché at the French Embassy), after having apologized for speaking in French, said :

I feel greatly honoured at being invited to this meeting and also at being asked to address you—and I particularly wish to thank General Sir

Edmund Barrow for having given me thus the very great pleasure of hearing the speech of so qualified a gentleman as General Sir George MacMunn and for giving me the opportunity, which I do not wish to miss, to pay a tribute, as representative of the French Army, to the magnificent military qualities shown by the gallant infantry and cavalry divisions which the Indian Army has sent to the French Front. I think that, better than any words of mine, some figures will give you an idea of the great effort made by the Indian Army during the War and the results obtained therefrom. An especial interest attaches to them because I think that it is the first time that units from that army were employed in any European theatre of warfare. I permit myself to remind you that the figures of the Indian Army during the Great War were as follows: 877,068 combatants and 563,369 non-combatants. Its recruiting effort came then to the stupendous figures of one million and a half of men; of these the following were sent to the French Front: 20,748 British and 113,608 Indian. Besides these there were 42,430 British who first landed in England and most of whom proceeded to France. They consisted of the 3rd and 7th Infantry and 1st and 2nd Cavalry Divisions. The 3rd Division arrived in France on September 26, 1914, and left December 27, 1915, for service in Mesopotamia. The 7th Division arrived on October 2, 1914, and left the French Front on December 11, 1915, likewise for Mesopotamia.

During that period of more than one year these divisions held the portions of the line allotted to them, thus permitting the formation of new divisions at home. They took part in all the important engagements in 1914-15—viz., La Bassée, Loos, Givenchy, Messines, Armentières, Ypres, Neuve-Chapelle, Aubert, Festubert, Gheluvelt, and St. Julien.

The 1st Cavalry Division arrived on November 10, 1914, and became on November 24, 1916, the 4th Cavalry Division, and did not leave France until February, 1918, when they went to Palestine. The 2nd Cavalry Division arrived on December 19, 1914, and became, on November 24, 1916, the 5th Cavalry Division. They remained in France until February, 1918, when they also left for Palestine. These divisions therefore served in France for three and a half years, and took part in the important operations at La Bassée, 1914; Festubert, Neuve Chapelle, Ypres, 1914-15; the Somme, 1916; and Cambrai, 1917. To these units must be added the 2nd and the 3rd Battalions of Pioneers of Bombay and the Sappers of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, who also took part in these engagements.

It is a remarkable fact that all the races of India played their part: Punjabis, Rajputs, Jats, Baluchis, Sikhs, Dogras, Gurkhas, Garhwalis, etc., and that they all displayed the same admirable devotion. Here again I let the figures speak for themselves: Dead, 1,382 British and 904 Indian officers, 1,011 British and 61,152 Indian non-commissioned officers and men.

Ladies and gentlemen, these are the details of the rôle played by the Indian Army on the French Front, and I again thank you for giving me this opportunity of paying a tribute to their valour.

If now we consider the future, it is certain that, with regard to the Indian Army, as with all native armies, various serious problems mentioned by the Lecturer come forward, and more particularly those concerning the organi-

zation and the Indianization of the cadre of officers. But, on account of my poor knowledge of the subject, as well as my being a foreigner, I cannot allow myself to give an opinion which would be out of place. I will, then, only say that, in my opinion, the future of the Indian Army, examined in the light of its past, may be viewed with the greatest confidence. Its glorious past answers for the future.

Pandit GOPÁLJI, M.Sc., observed: Sir,—My name is Gopálji, the first, the original, and at the start, the only Lecturer of the Imperial Educational farce, otherwise styled Delhi University. I come from the Ahluwálíá family, one of the twelve families that ruled the Panjáb after Maharájá Ranjitsingh. Even at present the Native State of Kapurthala in the Panjáb is an Ahluwálíá State. I belong to the Sikh race, the greatest martial race of Áryavart. I can, therefore, speak about the Army with confidence. Unfortunately during recent years the Government of India has been rather unkind. It is a pity that the learned Lecturer has not referred to any authority on the national side of the question. It should be remembered that there is another side of the picture also. I refer to Akáli oppression in the Panjáb, as it is reported in the Civil Disobedience Committee Report, published by the Indian National Congress Committee, Allahabad. . . .

The speaker was proceeding to read extracts, but the Chairman ruled that the point was irrelevant.

Mr. R. K. SORABJI said that he had very much enjoyed the lecture. He had a great admiration for the Indian Army, and always objected to those who praised only the Civil Service, and not the military, for service to their country in India. Anyone who had watched sepoys sitting round a field where their officers were playing a match of hockey, cricket, or football—watching the game intently, and then carrying their “sahibs” off the field, cheering and shouting, would have realized what a bond existed between officers and men. The Lecturer had laid stress on three things as essential to giving further opportunities to Indians to enter the commissioned ranks successfully. Firstly, education to develop character; secondly, selections from those classes which had characteristics which would tend to leadership; and thirdly, good feeling between the British and Indian officer. He agreed with those points. It was the fault of all of us, for we were all British, that character-building was left out of the curriculum in schools and colleges. The English went too far in their fear lest they should interfere with religion, and the Indian had too little demanded that character should be developed in schools and colleges. No Indian would object to the teaching of character in schools. It was that teaching in English public schools which made men fit for leadership. Stories of loyalty and courage such as the Lecturer had told could be multiplied. And they showed that there were classes in India that could produce leaders.

As to the relationship between English and Indian officers, the former would have to forget their reserve, and the latter their sensitiveness, in order to attain the necessary fellowship. But of course it would take time to produce the Indian officer. The process could not be unduly hastened, but the period of production should be begun as it had been, and con-

tinued systematically. The romance of the Indian Army would not be complete till Indian officers, of proved power to lead, were produced.

Mr. RAFIK wished to ask what was meant by the saturation point of the Indian Army. He also desired to ask a question as to the efficiency of the Indian officer, who was never given a chance beyond the rank of Captain. He would like to know of any instance in which an Indian officer had been put in command and had failed, and if not, why should it be presupposed that he was going to fail? Saturation would only be reached when every British officer was replaced by Indians. He sincerely believed that the Indian Army should be controlled by Indians.

Mr. CORBETT said that he was delighted to hear the Lecturer say that young Indians were very warmly welcomed by British army officers. It was contrary to what one had read in this country. He referred to a remark of Viscount Caldeross, who was himself in the Irish Guards, that one of the Indian officers appointed to the Irish Guards was boycotted, and not until he had proved himself in the War did anyone have a good word to say for him. He would, therefore, like the Lecturer to emphasize the fact that young Indians when they joined English regiments are not boycotted because they were not public school men like the young Army officers themselves.

Mr. MALLIK, referring to a remark of the Lecturer that Indians had not yet got the necessary character through the education they received, wanted to put a question to the Lecturer, and that was this: Was it not the British people who have been imparting the education to the Indians for over a century, and if so, who were responsible for this deplorable condition of affairs? If it is the British people who are so responsible, then is it at all fair to assign that very condition as a reason for withholding from the Indians their birthright of defending their motherland?

Mr. MEHTA asked if the speaker could point exactly to the methods by which he believed character could be formed in a country like India which would enable Indians to hold responsible positions.

Lieut.-General Sir GEORGE MACMUNN: I have been asked a question as to how his character could be formed. I imagine that there is no better way of forming it than by starting suitable schools, and, where possible, boarding schools, or schools on the ordinary English model where boys are brought together and educated more in the way in which we bring up young Englishmen. This is the aim and object of what is now going on in India both in St. George's School and in the new public school which Mr. S. R. Das is proposing in the Indian Press, and which has been taken up rather heartily, in addition to the general development of the school system. Mr. Mallik had said that it is the fault of the British that the character-building system of education has not been evolved. Perhaps it is; but the building up of the ruins of the Moghul Empire involved so much that perhaps there has hardly been time in the absence of a stronger lead from the Indian public themselves. Everything is now moving so much faster that I dare say the aims and objects that we all wish to see achieved will come quicker. You cannot do it all in the 150 years in which England has helped to rebuild India.

Mr. Corbett has asked another question; he queried whether young

Indians were well received by their British comrades in those regiments which they joined.

Mr. CORBETT: "Also at Sandhurst."

Lieut.-General Sir GEORGE MACMUNN: I should say most certainly at Sandhurst, and certainly I know that in the regiments every effort is made to make them feel happy and at home. Anyone who understands the British character could not doubt it. Of course, the way a man is received among his comrades will depend to a certain extent on himself, on his own nature and character; but I say from what I have seen that young Indians are received with every kindness and comradeship that they could possibly expect, and those that I know are extremely happy there, and in fact they have protested at being compelled to join those regiments which were selected for Indianization, saying that they were so much happier among British officers, learning their profession there, than they would be grouped in with young Indians.

Sir LOUIS DANE said he was not a soldier, but he and his family had been connected with India for a great many years, and he took a very lively interest in the Indian Army. He felt very grateful to General MacMunn for the story he had told of the elements of that army, and he thought that those present ought to feel even more obliged for the eloquent speech made by the French Attaché. General MacMunn, in his opinion, rightly deplored the fact that when the Bengal Army finished in the storm and smoke of the Mutiny all the record of its honours disappeared from the colours of the regiment. General Desprès in his remarks had given a story of the achievements of the Indian Army in France well calculated to replace those old honours that had disappeared, and he hoped that some of those achievements might find their place in the records of the regiment.

A great deal had been said, and quite rightly said in his opinion, by Indian gentlemen here, who wanted to know why a greater number of Indian officers had not been appointed to the Indian Army. He most fully sympathized with their aspirations. When Indians first began to enter the Indian Civil Service and other services reserved to British officers there was a great deal of doubt as to how they would do. Looking back over a very long career in India, he could only say that, as far as the Civil Services were concerned, the admission of Indians was a complete success and thoroughly justified. There was a little more difficulty about the Army. India at the present time was not entirely free from communal dissensions. It seemed to him that they always had existed. One of his first duties on joining in India in 1876 was to send down to quell riots in Lahore arising from communal dissensions, and the same thing still went on. In the civil line it was very much easier for an officer to do his work without being brought up against the difficulty of communal dissensions, but in the case of the Army great difficulties must undoubtedly arise in putting an officer of one race or one religion to control soldiers belonging to a different race or a different religion. The Britisher, for what he was worth, was regarded by most people in India as being completely detached and not likely to take part with any disputant, but it was very difficult to get a man who had served under an officer of one religion to say that he

was being properly treated if he belonged to another religion. That difficulty had to be faced, and he believed that it would be faced and would be solved. We must get inculcated into all that character calculated to make a man a good officer. This must be done in the Indian schools. The system of education had not been altogether satisfactory in that respect; that was partly because we took such great care not to appear to interfere in the slightest degree with the religions of the people. Without religion we could not have character; of that he was perfectly certain. He had always thought that we should make a beginning; it was no good sitting still and saying that the thing was impossible. Nothing was impossible if faced in the proper spirit. General MacMunn had told the meeting how in 1911, when King George was going out there, he and others considered the possibility of making a start with the admission of more Indian officers to the higher ranks of the Indian Army. The question cropped up a long time before that, and he remembered a conference between Lord Minto, Lord Kitchener, and Sir Beauchamp Duff and himself on the subject of admitting Indian officers to the Army. Lord Minto was most sympathetic, and wished to carry it through, and he (the speaker) suggested that an experiment might be made in certain regiments by taking boys who had been through the colleges and possibly the cadet corps, so that from the time they were about seven years old until they were twenty years old they had been under English methods and English ideas of discipline and character forming; those he suggested might be recruited as officers in those regiments. That very nearly went through, but he was sorry that it did not, because, as far as he could make out from what General MacMunn had said some twenty years afterwards, the same idea was coming on more or less under the scheme started by Lord Rawlinson. The difficulty was that both Lord Kitchener and Sir Beauchamp Duff said that they did not quite see how it could be done at that particular moment, and they did not think the time was quite ripe. He was very sorry the experiment was not made. He hoped that the gentlemen present would realize that it was not the case that the Government of India had not wanted to do this thing. Over and over again the matter had cropped up, and over and over again the difficulty had been not with the British, but with the Indians themselves. They were not quite certain how far Indian soldiers would work under Indian commissioned officers, and there was great difficulty with the subadars, resildars, and so on, thinking that they would be superseded by Indian commissioned officers. The question was a difficult one, but he was perfectly certain that if it was faced in a proper spirit, British and Indian together, it would be solved satisfactorily to both.

Mr. PILCHER said that he was very pleased to pay a tribute to the Lecturer; he had enjoyed every word of his address, which had given a great deal of information he had not possessed before. Following on what Sir Louis Dane had said, he would like to add that a few days ago he had a very unpleasant task in trying to explain to the Labour Party in the House of Commons why it was necessary to go slow in the matter of the Indian Navy. It was extraordinarily difficult to explain to people at home, and he realized how difficult it is becoming to explain to the people in India why

we must go slowly in reforms, the necessity of which we had ourselves admitted. Apparently now we were exactly where we were twenty years ago when Sir Louis Dane was in the Panjáb. Now that we had made up our minds to take this step it appeared to him to be essential that we should go on with it as fast as we could.

The Lecturer had not said anything about the Dehra Dun experiment. It seemed to be a very remarkable experiment, and one about which he would have liked to hear a great deal more.

The CHAIRMAN: It has only just begun.

Mr. PILCHER, continuing, said that he was a member of the Assembly soon after it began, and he was most interested in the early reports which came out with regard to the running of that institution. He thought perhaps Sir George would remember that in 1913, or thereabouts, when the first report came out, there was a most dismal account of the difficulties confronting the organizers in the shape of the inefficient education of those who arrived. Excellent young men arrived, their parents were keen and they themselves were keen, but it was found that they had very often only the very vaguest idea of world geography; they hardly knew where India was and what its place was in Asia, and still less its position with regard to the rest of the world. They had got the material ready; it was plastic enough, and in a condition to receive new impressions. There were innumerable Pertab Singhs and he would like to see them given an opportunity.

Mr. JONES said it occurred to him that when people were talking of forming character in India they forgot how expensive a thing it was to form the English character. If one wanted what is called character, which was apparently to be obtained mainly in a public school, he supposed it would cost something like £2,000 at a low estimate for the school alone, and if one wanted to add Oxford or Cambridge it would probably cost another £1,200. It seemed a sordid consideration to bring in, but he really believed that it had had a very considerable influence on the question of producing Indian character. In support of that he referred to an experiment made in Bengal of starting a kind of Eton or Harrow; things went very smoothly until it was found that the Government were defraying the greater part of the expense, and when the parents were called upon to make up the difference they flatly refused, and the experiment of forming character in Bengal collapsed.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I suppose I ought now to summarize to the best of my ability what has been said. It is a very difficult task because the discussion has not always kept to the lines of the lecture. I had written out a number of very valuable remarks, as I thought, before I came here, but I must scrap them all if I am to stick to what has been actually said.

However, I am sure we are all agreed on one point, and that is that we are much indebted to General MacMunn for his very excellent lecture. I am sorry that the discussion should have rather drifted off what I consider the lines that should have been adhered to, but I at all events am not responsible for initiating those variations. I would like to say that at these meetings we welcome criticism; we are very glad to hear it so long as it is temperate and to the point. I am by no means desirous of blaming

those who introduce matters which we consider irrelevant, because I am sure it is done in good faith.

I wish I had time to reply more fully, than I now intend to do, to the various points, but I must correct one misunderstanding. I should judge from what has been said here that we had made no attempt to Indianize the regiments! We made a small beginning some years ago. Since then there have been native Indian officers both in British regiments and in Indian regiments. There are to-day, I believe, thirty-one such officers—I may not be quite correct as to the figures, but, anyhow, there are six infantry battalions and two cavalry regiments which are called Indianized units, with the intention of making them purely Indian units with Indian officers. It will take time! Some of the speakers do not seem to appreciate the point that it takes a good long time to make an officer. I have the good fortune to be a General officer, but it took me a great many years to attain that rank, and even to attain the rank of field officer used to take twenty years; so that, as you can judge, it is not at all easy to form an Indianized army in a short period of time. Personally, I think it will take at least a generation to do so. Officers have to be trained up from the very bottom. It has taken the British Army more than 200 years to reach its present high level of fitness and efficiency, and I very much doubt if an Indian Army can attain to the same level even in thirty years. The object, of course, of all Governments is to improve their armies and to bring them up to the highest level. I do suggest that some of our Indian fellow subjects and friends here might consider the difficulties there are before accusing us in this matter. Armies are not bodies you can summon out of the vasty deep at a moment's notice; you have to take time and thought.

That is one point I wish to emphasize. I have just said that our object is ultimately to attain 100 per cent. of Indian officers in particular Indian regiments; that is, of course, 100 per cent. of the officer rank in those units.

I cannot now go through the various points raised, because it would take too much time. Is there any other point on which anyone desires remarks?

AN INDIAN GENTLEMAN rose to say that there had been a good deal of talk about character, and that by mingling certain classes of people you mould their character, and by going to these schools they were taught character, but as far as the character of the Indian was concerned he thought it was quite equal to the character of the Western people, which was assumed by those present to be better.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not disputed at all; it is the character of Indians as soldiers that has been referred to.

THE SECRETARY: Before we go I should just like to propose the usual vote of thanks—I say “usual,” because it is always done; nevertheless, I am sure it will be no less hearty—to General MacMunn for his lecture, and to General Barrow for presiding this afternoon. I should also like to add that I am sure it has been very gratifying to us to welcome here one who is so distinguished as Général Desprès. We should always be extremely glad if our friends from over the water—that is, not only Frenchmen, but all the Continent—would attend these meetings, when we would try, in so far as we can, to give them information about our Indian Empire.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

“THE YELLOW PERIL”

BY STANLEY RICE

SOME time ago there appeared a fantastic novel in three volumes, which seems to have had considerable vogue in France and Holland. The name of it was “L’Invasion Jaune,” the author an officer of the French Army. The leading idea, accompanied by many dramatic situations, plenty of bloodshed, and the inevitable love-story, was that in the middle of China a huge yellow army was built up by Japanese enterprise and under Japanese direction, and financed and armed partly by America and partly by England, the former, at any rate, as the unconscious dupe of Japanese intrigue. The leading spirit was a Japanese marshal, who had vowed vengeance on the whole white race for the death of his son in the ordinary course of warfare in the Japanese trenches before Port Arthur. The yellow armies sweep across Asia, overwhelm the Russians on the Volga, annihilate the German armies on the Niemen, and end by burning Paris, the French Army having disappeared in accordance with a resolution of the Socialist-Pacifist party in France. There are many indications that this book must have been written before the war: the Kaiser dies gloriously at the head of his troops; Germany is regarded as the one bulwark of Western civilization; England, owing to the Japanese alliance, is the traitor, who sees in the *débâcle* of Europe her own opportunity. It is therefore possible to excuse, or at least explain, this complete misreading of the conditions in Europe, but it is not so easy to understand the misconception of the Chinese character as it has been revealed by almost every writer and almost every incident from 1840 to the present day.

For that it is a misconception is undoubted. The idea so sedulously inculcated by the Kaiser that there exists a “Yellow Peril” of the kind suggested by this novel is based upon the fact that Chinese and Japanese belong to the same great branch of the human race, from which it

is deduced that both nations are actuated by the same principles, and that the Chinese numbers, possibly very much exaggerated, will, if directed by Japanese brains, be able to sweep over Europe in the old manner of Genghiz Khan and Attila. But, as Mr. Lowes Dickinson has said, the first thing for us to get into our heads is that the East is not a unity. We talk of the East and the West glibly and familiarly as though the Suez Canal were really a sharp line dividing one species from another, and in respect of the East this fallacy is enhanced by distance.

It is quite true that the civilization of Europe has so much that is common to all the countries that there is some justification for classing them as the West in contradistinction to another set of countries which we conveniently call the East; but while we recognize the difference between French and German, English and Italian, we are inclined to class the East as a homogeneous whole. Exactly the reverse is the case. There is far more difference between a Buriat of the Steppes and a Brahman of Southern India, between a Bedouin Arab and a Japanese, than there is between any two given nations of Europe. Of course Japan has largely borrowed from China, and in some, at least, of her customs, in her arts and in her language, Chinese influences are clearly traceable, but in the character of her people she is entirely different. Whatever the future may have in store, it is quite inconceivable that Japan, the alert, the progressive, and the martial, should join in a crusade with China, the apathetic, the stagnant, and the pacific.

The Chinese have always shown a marked sense of nationality, which is the more noteworthy since they have been subjected to many invasions; the highlands of the west are quite different from the lowlands of the east, and the language of the mandarin, it would seem, is hardly intelligible to the common folk. Nevertheless, it remains true that there has for many centuries been, in China proper at any rate, a kind of unity, not perhaps so closely knit as that of Britain or France, but sufficiently conscious to divide them from the Tibetans on the one hand, and the so-called Indo-Chinese upon the other. It is peculiarly characteristic that they have always absorbed their conquerors, not as Saxon absorbed Norman to produce a blend in which the Norman is still traceable, but as India absorbed the Macedonian outposts, swallowing them up entirely, until nothing was left but the relics of a past age. This sense of nationality found its most curious

manifestation in the "pig-tail," which, originally imposed upon them as a badge of servitude, came to be regarded as a symbol of honour, since to wear a pig-tail was equivalent to announcing yourself a member of the highest of the world's races.

But pride in themselves as a nation developed or degenerated into an insufferable arrogance. The Emperor of China was the Son of Heaven; his subjects were, and still are, the Celestials. Other nations have been arrogant. We English have been freely accused of an attitude of superiority, not only to what are called subject-races, but not so long ago towards the nations of Europe. Into this matter we need not now enter, but pass to another illustration, merely noting the unquestionable fact. The arrogance of Germany before the war reached an extraordinary pitch. Not only were other peoples despised for their military inferiority, but German Kultur—whatever that elusive word may have connoted—was above any other Kultur, and was the only one worth having, while the extreme jealousy of England was due to the consciousness that no amount of self-deception could persuade Germany that she was paramount at sea. France was arrogant both in the time of Louis XIV. and again during the First Empire. There were grounds for such arrogance as this—insufficient it may be in the eyes of a generation to whom the sword had become in some measure discredited, and yet it did not rest wholly on the sword. Chinese arrogance rests almost entirely upon vanity, and vanity upon ignorance. The ruler of so vast an Empire must surely be the greatest of all kings; a civilization so ancient must necessarily be the greatest of all civilizations. And so the famous flag which announced that the English king was sending tribute to the Emperor, and the equally famous letter which treated George III. as a vassal and lectured him upon his conduct, were symbols of a profound and perfectly sincere belief in Chinese superiority. That belief is still existent, in spite of rude lessons to the contrary. It shows itself in the haughty and disdainful attitude of the mandarin, to whom it would be degrading to put foot to the ground, and who must needs travel wrapped in silks and fine linens in the seclusion of his palanquin. It is the arrogance of an old civilization which refuses to believe in the new. Dr. Legendre,* whose life was spent in the remote province of Szechuan, and who claims to know the China of the Chinese as it cannot be found at Shanghai or Peking, is

* "La Civilisation Chinoise Moderne." Paris: Payot. 20 fr.

especially struck by the almost incredible apathy of the people. He speaks of "*une vitalité maintenant disparue*," and compares modern China with Nineveh and Babylon, Athens and Rome. She has known her zenith, and is descending into the twilight of decline. The blindness of ignorance and apathy, joined to an extraordinary self-complacency, have ruined the country; they have produced a conservatism which amounts to complete stagnation, so that the Chinese under the all-powerful influence of the family is for ever working backward instead of forward, has created nothing new himself, and despises the contribution of the West as something inferior, or at best only equal to that which China has evolved for herself.

M. Legendre, a French Catholic missionary, is temperate in his condemnation. M. d'Auxion de Ruffé,* who writes from the point of view of Shanghai and the foreign concessions, is much less sparing in his criticism. His book is full of extracts from the English newspapers at Shanghai, for, as he says, he is anxious to record nothing that he cannot prove, and much of what he says would be incredible but for their support. It is, however, still possible to be strictly accurate in fact and yet to leave the impression of strong partisanship. Yet if, as an English missionary assures us, the Christian General Feng, who is none the less Christian because the word is so often printed in inverted commas both in England and in France, marched along to the tune of "Onward, Christian Soldiers" through the ranks of a fearless and delighted crowd, it is difficult to explain away the various acts by which he won his way to temporary power. M. de Ruffé, however, expects too much. He will have none of the boasted Chinese civilization—he almost denies that it exists at all; but he seems to forget that, by whatever name you call it, the Chinese for centuries have been nurtured in a system which has inevitably had its effect upon the national character. He is, moreover, inclined to regard civilization too exclusively from the material plane, and to contrast, as M. Legendre also does, the buildings of Peking, Canton, and other exclusively Chinese cities with Paris and London, to compare the Chinese junk with the ocean-steamer, and the antiquated conveyances with the motor-car. These are but the expressions of that fatal apathy and vanity which, as we have seen, are leading Chinese characteristics, and they manifest themselves also in their dealings with

* R. d'Auxion de Ruffé, "*Chine et Chinois d'Aujourd'hui*." Nancy: Berger-Levrault. 16 frs.

foreigners. The various evasions, the long delays, the futile demonstrations, are, in fact, the weapons of a weak people, trying to keep up appearances and to "save its face," but too ignorant or too vain to perceive that these things only succeed in lowering it in the eyes of others. The massacre of the White Russians by the troops of Chang Tso-Lin, the treacherous attack upon the colony of Shameen, and the incarceration of the heads of business-houses in order to extort manifestly extravagant terms, are of a piece with the capture and, if the Chinese had had their way, the execution, of the British envoy, Mr. Parkes, in the early days of intercourse with the foreigner. The facts speak for themselves; and if we are sometimes led into extravagance by M. de Ruffé, we are able to correct our impressions and verify our incidents by turning to Mr. Putnam Weale's latest volume.* He has treated current history in the form of a diary; and it is exceedingly interesting to note how from day to day he records expectations that do not come true because of some surprising turn of Fortune's Wheel, not governed, we may add, by Fortune, but by the deliberate acts of men. Mr. Putnam Weale deals chiefly with that very confused period when the military dictators were fighting each for his own hand, and before the parties had emerged, as they seem to have done now, into the two definite parties of Cantonese against the North. He gives a very vivid description of the attack upon Shamcen, and deplores the lost opportunity of blowing the nest of Bolshevism into the air at a time when the Russians had actually packed up to leave or to fly. Mr. Putnam Weale differs from our French writers in that he makes little attempt either to analyze Chinese character or to impress his own views upon his readers. His narrative is disjointed because it is written from day to day, but for that reason it is the more remarkable, since it shows up so vividly the various contortions of the Chinese "dragon." All three books were, however, written before the latest developments in the situation, and since they appeared the Kuomintang, with their Bolshevik masters or instructors, have stood out as the strongest party in China.

A man of note in the world of business has laid at the door of the missionaries much of the blame for the unrest in China. Why, he exclaimed, cannot we let them alone? Why must we thrust upon them a Christianity which they do not want, and seek to break down the faith to which

* Putnam Weale, "*The Vanished Empire*." Macmillan. 15s. net.

they are passionately attached? This brought out indignant replies, as was only to be expected, and the manner of it, by raising a false issue, directed the repudiation into an equally false channel. It may well be doubted whether the masses in China are passionately attached to anything that rightly can be called religion; it is certain that they know nothing of the atheistical, ethical creed which guided men to the everlasting peace of Nirvana through suffering and renunciation. M. Legendre is willing to admit any amount of superstition, and that of a kind which the most impartial of observers, undisturbed by any preconceptions of Christianity in any of its forms, could hardly call anything else. "The Chinese," he says, "is an old man who has looked about him, has learned that all is vanity, and has lost faith in all that others call the immortal beliefs of humanity." If his gods are in favour he promotes them as you would promote a baron to a viscount; if not, he degrades them. If the rains fail the poor god is taken out and chastised, sometimes it seems, as the last indignity of the noble male, by a female hand. This hardly accords with the picture of an ancient civilization clinging passionately to a sublime faith.

But the missionary is also mistaken. It is futile to argue that he has as much right to be in China as the merchant, the chief consideration is whether either is of benefit and welcome to the Chinese; beside this the question of legal rights sinks into insignificance. Whether the missionary is justified in the work of proselytizing in a country which already possesses one of the great religions of the world, whether the exhibition of different and to some extent antagonistic views of Christianity is not bewildering and even unedifying, must remain the subject of controversy between opposing schools. From his own point of view the missionary's position is unassailable. If the acceptance of the Christian creed in the particular form favoured by the individual be necessary to salvation, and if the saving of a soul is more important than the downfall of an empire, to put the extreme case, missionary effort is justified, and must be carried on though the heavens fall. But missionaries, like everyone else, are the product of their own age and their own country. However much they may strive to avoid it, they cannot help mixing up their religious propaganda with their own special views on political theory and their own special colour of civilization. Wherever the West has gone the same thing has happened. It arises from the generalization that morality, including in that term

all that is commonly called the "spiritual" side of life, is universal and is static. Consequently, in applying to countries hitherto unaccustomed to them the ideas which have only gradually been evolved in the country of their birth, the would-be reformers of the West are applying, possibly unconsciously, the methods of revolution with the usual results. It is at least possible to hold that much of what is ascribed to the Christian spirit is really attributable to Western civilization, itself a compound of Roman law, Greek philosophy, Christian ethics, and Gallic and Teuton ideas. This is too wide a subject to be discussed here; it must suffice to point out that the Bishop of Exeter has illustrated the point by calling attention to the emphasis laid by Americans upon their own revolution and the so-called blessings of a so-called democracy, and that the same idea is latent in the minds of those who have regarded with misgivings the inculcation of Western political and social philosophy in India. The result has been the same: the creation of a large class of intelligent youths, full of the valour of ignorance, who have been steeped in the new learning, and have come to regard with some kind of contempt the institutions which their fathers respected, but which their teachers despised. M. d'Auxion de Ruffé is surprised and indignant that "MM. les étudiants," who owe everything to the foreigner, and who but for the foreigner would be smacked and sent to bed and generally kept in their place, should be loudest in their hatred and foremost in their demonstrations. But surely that is the most natural thing in the world. We in the West, having slowly emerged from infancy to manhood, from barbarism to civilization, from vilenage to comparative freedom, would be amazed if our young men from Oxford and Cambridge, instead of decorously conducting their practice debates at the Union, were to march about England waving flags, black or red. Our friends across the water would be horrified if the cadets of Saint Cyr took to parading the country calling for war on Germany or Venezuela. And so, forgetting the precocity of the Oriental youth and the violence of our educational methods, we treat with a certain scornful anger the fanaticism, so characteristic of the convert, that impels the Eastern student to conduct in his eyes so noble and patriotic, in ours so petulant and ungrateful. M. de Ruffé confounds the individual with the community. He expects that the gratitude of the one will become in the aggregate the gratitude of the many; that because the single boy ought to be, and

probably is, grateful to the foreign teacher, therefore the students as a class ought to be grateful to the foreign community. That is a distinction that is made all the world over. The Englishman who hates France may yet love his own French friend; the Hindu boy who shouts loudest for the death of the English has often had a warm corner for his own Englishman. And so, if you teach what in the particular instance are revolutionary ideas, can you be surprised if you get revolution? The missionary is right when he says that in China we are reaping the fruits of our misdeeds, but not in the sense in which he uses the words. There is no question of opium wars or concessions, of foreign dominance and foreign exploitation, but of the misguided efforts of the missionaries themselves. That is exactly how things were heading in Japan when the Government, fortunately strong enough to act, closed it to foreigners for two hundred years. That is exactly how things would be heading in India if the Government there also were not able to check unfledged exuberance, and were not assisted by the good-sense of the more weighty part of the intellectuals. That is exactly how things have gone in China, because there was no Government strong enough to repress the irrepressible Sun Yat Sen, nor has any since been able to prevent the spread of revolutionary doctrines.

That these doctrines have been supported by Bolshevik Russia is too obvious to need demonstration. One school of thought insists that Chinese nationalism is a plant of spontaneous growth, which is using Bolshevism as a prop, to be discarded when the mature tree can stand alone; another maintains that the Chinese are simply dupes, exploited for the purposes of the sinister designs of Russia upon European civilization, and upon Great Britain in particular. The truth, though the facts are obscure, seems to be midway between these extreme views. Nationalism may be regarded as the expression of an inspiration towards definite nationality—that is to say, towards the definite idea of unity, however brought about, which draws men together into a single body, and is exclusive of all other such bodies. It is naturally to be found only among those who have had enough education to appreciate, even though dimly, the doctrines of political philosophy, and must, therefore, necessarily be confined to the minority, in the case of China, as we have seen, largely to the vocal student class. And these doctrines have received a great impetus of late through the spread of such ideas as "self-determination,"

"anti-capitalism," "the rights of oppressed countries," which receive so much support from a certain class in "God's own country," particularly distinguished at the present time for the lawlessness of its streets and the number of its murders. It is almost a commonplace of history that the more oppressive the Government, the more violent is the revolution, so that, having regard to the peculiar character of the Chinese Imperial Government, we can hardly be surprised that the Nationalists—the Kuomintang—should have shown such a marked predilection for Bolshevik doctrines, and that, as M. de Ruffé says, there are Marxist societies among men who do not know who Marx was, nor what he stood for. This situation has been astutely turned to account by turning the agitation against the foreigners, and particularly against the English. It may well be doubted whether Russia is moved by any real sympathy for Chinese aspirations; her object is world-revolution, and her tactics are a flank attack upon the strongest of her opponents. It is most unlikely that China, if left to herself, or even when she is really mistress in her own house which now contains none, would entirely abandon the traditional reverence for the ascending line of ancestors, and for the mandarin and other highly placed classes would condescend to the exaltation of the rickshaw coolie, the boatman, and the peasant. Time may indeed show that the Bolshevik, working in the congenial soil of Chinese susceptibilities, has obtained such an ascendancy that the Chinese Sindbad will be quite unable to throw off the Old Man of the Sea. We have not in such a case to fear a combination of Chinese numbers with Japanese brains and energy, but the gradual reduction of all China into a Russian sphere of influence, with Shanghai as the long desired port on the warm water. That, however, is a menace that can be met, for if China became a Russian province, Chinese Nationalism would be obliterated by the domination of a foreign people, and the question would become no longer national but international, no longer Eastern but worldwide.

Soviet Russia is, however, too subtle for such crude methods. The history of great revolutions shows that there is behind them some doctrinaire political theory, and that their violence is in direct ratio to the contrast between such a theory and the existing and accepted conditions. But so long as such a revolution can be guided and controlled by a Government, whether democratic, autocratic, or dictatorial, the changes, though fundamental, can be made in an orderly and gradual fashion. Or if, at the

outset, such a revolution finds no such controlling power, there is chaos more or less marked, until the man or the body of men emerges. A violent revolution is like a river in flood; if it bursts its banks desolation is spread far and wide; if it can be contained within its banks, it may sweep away obstacles that lie in its path, but it runs its appointed course. The English revolution began in war, continued in a dictatorship, but after less than twenty years of experiment the nation settled down again into the old ways with a difference tending towards democratic government. The French Revolution was the outcome of doctrinaire theories, acting upon a down-trodden and despised class. The Russian Revolution was equally the result of doctrinaire theory, acting upon a people not far removed from serfdom and exasperated by the mismanagement of a great war. In France Government succeeded Government, leader after leader was sent to the block, until at last the man appeared who blew anarchy into the air and took control. In Russia too, after a period of instability, we have seen arise a coterie of men who, however much we may dislike them and their methods, are at least governing the country on a settled plan. The Japanese, on the other hand, avoided the peril, partly because the great change that took place after 1853 was not based upon theory, but upon hard and inexorable fact, and partly because it was brought about not by the upheaval of the people, but by the deliberate policy of the Government.

Ever since the Chinese revolution which displaced the Manchus the country has been seeking for a stable Government, but so far has found none. The extraordinary confusion of the past few years, when, like the satraps of the declining Moghul Empire, military adventurers and provincial governors were playing for their own hands, has apparently hardened into a conflict between Peking and Canton, but a stable Government is as far off as ever. That is the "Yellow Peril" of to-day. All the symptoms of the great mass revolutions are present to-day in China. Authorities are agreed that, while mandarins roll by in silk and satin and the aristocracy are wallowing in wealth and arrogance, the Chinese proletariat are sunk in such poverty as Europe has perhaps never known, and beside which all the much-advertised poverty of the Indian ryot is a comfortable competence. Doctrinaire theory, fanned by Russia, but taking its origin from the campaign of Sun Yat Sen, holds sway among large masses of the people too ignorant to appreciate the subtler consequences, but ready to accept

any doctrines that promise an amelioration of their lot. The Government is weak and unable to direct and control the forces which have been let loose, and the danger is lest, with the violent movements so characteristic of mass psychology, the Chinese ship should break loose from her moorings and drift helplessly into unknown waters, or, to abandon metaphor, that the Chinese people should cast away all their traditions of the centuries, and plunge forward at a rate that outdistances the constitutional States of Europe. For the time being exasperation has, partly owing to Russian influence and partly owing to the Nationalist spirit—itsself a product of the war and of the doctrines which sprang from it—been concentrated upon the foreigner, and upon Great Britain in particular. The display of anti-Christian hostility may be regarded less as an outburst against the religion than as a demonstration against Western civilization. It is noteworthy that amongst the stories of the flight of missionaries and the desecration of churches we have heard very little of the Chinese Christian, and that little tends to show that he, too, is casting in his lot with the Nationalist movement. At the same time it is well to remember that the more recent revolutions in Europe were accompanied by a deliberate and systematic attempt to destroy religion. The causes for this peculiar accompaniment of mass upheaval are too complicated to justify discussion here, and it may be that they do not apply to China, for in dealing with an Oriental people we must not fall into the error of pushing the European analogy too far. The danger, however, exists. If the Chinese abandon not only Christianity, but the reverence for ancestors and the unit of the family upon which their social institutions are founded, Buddhism as at present practised will probably follow in due course. But no nation has ever yet succeeded in maintaining itself in prosperity upon a creed of pure materialism. The abandonment of religion is the sure sign of eventual disintegration.

Such is the Yellow Peril of to-day. It lies not in any fear of millions of the race sweeping across Europe, carrying murder with them and leaving desolation behind, not in alarm for the prosperity of trade, whether of Great Britain or of other countries, not even in the dominance of Soviet Russia and all that it implies, but in the destruction of all that has hitherto characterized Chinese civilization, and the adoption of new and untried theories calculated to upset the equilibrium of the world. The

future lies in the hands of China herself; it is for the world to hold out to her a helping hand, if she will but accept it, and to guide her from the rocks and shoals on to which she seems to be drifting.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

LEAVES FROM A VICEROY'S NOTE-BOOK AND OTHER PAPERS. By The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. (Macmillan.) 1926.

(Reviewed by Lieut.-Colonel C. E. LUARD, C.I.E.)

A TWOFOLD interest attaches to these literary remains of one of India's most distinguished Governors-General, their own intrinsic value and their revelations of that very human side of his character which but few of those who served under him saw, and then only at rapidly fleeting intervals—the dignity of Viceregal office veiled it, perhaps overmuch. So not to have published these papers, even in an unrevised state, would have been a real loss.

They are of many kinds, serious and light, sombre and lively, and all, or nearly all, reveal something of this little known side of his character.

Of the lighter pieces "The Valet" and "A Speech in Portuguese" are the best perhaps.

Under "Horses" Lord Curzon does not mention an occasion on which he himself suffered the penalty of greatness. He was visiting a State in Central India where his host, at the last moment, decided that the claims of dignity and hospitality demanded entry into the capital by four-in-hand. So the fiat went forth and the day before a four-in-hand was duly created—four indubitably astonished steeds finding themselves yoked to the same vehicle. All went moderately well until the cheering of the school-children was reached. This the four had not been prepared for, and away they went until a narrow gateway terminated the drive by precipitating Viceroy, Maharaja and staff into the dust, an A.D.C. being, however, cleverly thrown so as to break His Excellency's fall.

The hero of "abdication" was a very well-known figure in Central India, and had indeed also distinguished himself by his eccentricities in England at Queen Victoria's Jubilee. He could never resist a humorous sally against officialdom, and two of these were directed at the Viceroy. On one occasion, owing to the absence of its official head, Lord Curzon temporarily assumed charge of the portfolio of the Public Works Department of the Government of India. Just then a severe letter had been written to this Ruler calling upon him to reform his administration. He replied that the necessary steps were being taken in all departments, and that H.E. would, he was convinced, be delighted to hear that he was following the Viceroy's illustrious example by himself assuming the portfolio of the State P.W.D., in which therefore rapid improvement was a foregone conclusion!

The other occasion was on Lord Curzon's final departure from India after the *contretemps* with Lord Kitchener. Some years before, when the Maharaja was still ruling, Lord Curzon had visited a British Cantonment in the State, near to the capital, but had refused to see the Ruler because he was officially "in disgrace." As Lord Curzon was passing through Central India on his way to Bombay he sent him a telegram: "Now we are both in disgrace why should we not meet?"

"The Plague Hospital" is but a somewhat glaring example, it must be owned, of the fakes inseparable from Viceregal visits.

Of the serious papers those two which take us from Kashmir through Gilgit to the Pamirs are the best of the travel pieces, though all reproduce vividly the country traversed and the people met with.

But we cannot linger long over them here—space forbids. Yet how pleasant and withal instructive they are, carrying us from the rugged mountains of Gilgit (that important outpost of Empire) over the "Roof of the World," through forest-clad Annam and the rocky fastnesses of the Levantine monasteries to the lovely Yosemite Valley of Waterfalls (what an example to the modern town-planner of preserving open spaces!), to where the Nile still flows through the sands of Egypt, but an Egypt no longer "hushed."

A word must be said of the article "The Old Persian" a charming Introduction to Morier's immortal *Haji Baba*, the most Eastern book in feeling ever written by a European.

Looking back on the titles of these essays one is overwhelmed at the area they cover. What opportunities our author had of acquiring knowledge of

. . . cities of men

And manners, climates, councils, governments,

especially of the East, and of widening his sympathies for them! What a preparation for the Viceroyalty of India! And yet when the moment came did he always bear in mind his wise dictum at the end of "The Sikh Way"? Not invariably, I think we must admit. The book is excellently produced in good clear type and with admirable reproductions of photographs.

ART

STUDIES IN INDIAN PAINTING. By Nānālāl Chamanlāl Mehta, I.C.S. Bombay (*Taraporevala Sons and Co.*). Rupees 56.

(Reviewed by E. B. HAVELL.)

The author of this fine book begins by acknowledging the unstinting help which his publishers have given him in the production of it. Messrs. Taraporevala have certainly achieved a notable success in the illustration and printing of the book. Some of the coloured plates of Mogul miniature paintings, which, owing to their delicate colouring and fine finish, are always difficult to reproduce satisfactorily without prohibitive expense, will stand comparison with the best art publications of Europe.

M. Mehta as author fully deserves the consideration his publishers have shown him. He has collected a quantity of fine material, much of it not published before. Unlike some European writers who stray into the field of Indian art, he is in entire sympathy with his subject, and on the whole treats it with sound judgment, though exception must be taken to some of his artistic valuations. In his first chapter he deals with the wonderful remnants of so-called Pallava frescoes in a monolithic temple at Sittanavāsai, near Pudukottai, the discovery of which was one of the great events in Indian archaeological work, though it does not seem to have attracted the attention it deserved. Yet if most of the fascinating trinketry which the Mogul court painters produced were permanently consigned to the limbo of oblivion from which it has only recently emerged, the loss to Indian art would be far less than the total disappearance of the scanty remains of the great schools of Ajantā, Bagh and Sigiriya to which these most precious fragments belong.

For even in their present mutilated condition these great paintings reflect the whole life and thought of India in the full maturity of her creative powers. They reach to far greater heights and depths of art than the glitter and tinsel of court pageantry which limited the vision of the Mogul court painters. Yet it is to be feared that this irreparable loss to Indian culture is inevitable unless they are more effectively guarded than is possible under present conditions. In the case of the Bagh paintings it is obvious that they can only be saved by removing them from the caves and placing them in safe custody in a suitable art gallery or museum.

Apparently the archaeological experts have not yet realized that the mere copying of these Indian frescoes, unless the copies are accompanied by first-rate photographs, fails in the essential point, the exact reproduction of the modelling and brush outline by which all the form and expression are given. A perfect photographic record of all the paintings is the first precaution to be taken with a view to their preservation for posterity, and this will always be more valuable both from an archaeological and artistic point of view than any copies by hand. Yet in the case of Ajantā it was due to the enterprise and enthusiasm of M. Victor Goloubeff, many years after great expense had been incurred in copying, that the only satisfactory photographic record of the paintings was made. At Bagh the work of copying has been completed, but apparently the essential photographic record has not yet been made. All the expensive works on the subject of Indian frescoes hitherto published fail in this vital point.

Mr. Mehta's presentation of the Sittanavāsai frescoes recently discovered suffers from the same serious defect. Apparently the essential photographic survey has not yet been made, so that Mr. Mehta can only give us some sympathetic copies by an Indian artist, which like a modern translation from a classical epic, miss the forceful technique and expression of the originals. Still, even in these modern transcripts one can recognize the grand style of the Pallava and Chola sculptors. The Devadāsi of Sittanavāsai is the direct ancestress of the Chola Natārājas, though I am inclined to doubt whether the paintings are as old as the temple itself.

In the next chapter, illustrating secular painting of the fifteenth century

in Gujarat, Mr. Mehta loses his sense of artistic values and comes down abruptly from the heights of Kailāsa to the plains of India. He might easily have found as good or better material by living Indian painters in wandering through any of the towns and villages of Gujarat.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Mehta and other Indian critics will not follow the example of Europe in attaching an exaggerated importance to everything old and shutting their eyes to the living art tradition which is India's great heritage from the past. There can be no real artistic renaissance in India so long as this attitude is maintained, and Mr. Mehta would do a great service to Indian art if in his next effort he would concentrate on a complete study of the living art of the district in which he serves.

The portraits of the Maharajas of Jaipur illustrated in chapter iii. have a certain distinction of style, but certainly cannot be reckoned "among the finest specimens of Hindu portraiture." The striking equestrian portrait of the Dātia Maharaja in plate 14, which is a late eighteenth-century work, is very much finer. The charming landscape composition in plate 23 which Mr. Mehta uses to illustrate the court art of Tehri-Garhwal contradicts the author's comment that the Pahari painters never felt the beauty of mountain lines and arboreal forms. Here arboreal form is used with the unfailing instinct for decorative beauty which comes naturally to Indian artists. The praise which Mr. Mehta bestows on a painting by Abul Hasan, Jahangir's court painter, is extravagant. It is possibly a work of the artist's old age and decline. If it represents his best work the title which Jahangir bestowed upon him, "The Wonder of the Age," was certainly unfair to his other court painters and showed his lack of discrimination.

But all students of Indian art will be grateful to Mr. Mehta for publishing for the first time the pictorial roll by Ustad Salivahana, another of Jahangir's court painters, which records the presentation of a petition to the Emperor by the Jain community of Agra. It is of great historical interest, and the paintings show Mogul art at its best. This is another branch of Indian painting, closely allied to the pre-Mogul tradition, which calls for a separate and more complete monograph.

The chapter on the Mogul painters is fully illustrated with some admirable plates, including an exceptionally fine one, plate 40, "A Pious Conclave," reproducing an exquisite painting of Shah Jahan's time. The subject, a favourite one with the Mogul artists, is the visit of a prince of the imperial house to a Mussalman saint.

In spite of the immaturity of his artistic criticism Mr. Mehta must be warmly congratulated on a valuable contribution to the literature of Indian art.

CHINESE PAINTINGS IN ENGLISH COLLECTIONS. By Laurence Binyon (Paris: *Van Oest*.) Four guineas.

In opening this work one stands immediately amazed at the extraordinary beauty of the subject and the clear and artistic reproductions of the objects. We do not recollect any other work on Chinese art of which the same praise can be given in such an unreserved manner. We

particularly single out plate 12, a lady holding a dress, by an anonymous artist, probably of the T'ang period; plate 14, bird on a bough, of the same dynasty, both belonging to Mr. Eumorfopoulos; plate 16, being a portrait of a lady Lien by a Sung artist, from the British Museum Collection, is also very successfully reproduced, as also Plate 19, bridge over a mountain stream, belonging to Mr. H. Oppenheim. These are only a few of the masterpieces contained in a volume which is full of masterpieces. As regards the text of thirty-four pages, which naturally refers to these illustrations, it is written with all the artistic and æsthetic excellence of Mr. Laurence Binyon. The descriptions of the plates will be welcomed by the connoisseur as well as the student for the knowledge they convey of the artists as well as the age of the paintings.

BYZANTINE ART. By Hayford Peirce and Royall Tyler. With one hundred Plates in Collotype. (*Ernest Benn.*) 21s. net.

The chief attraction of this small handbook are its illustrations, selected from a very special point of view, on which light is thrown by the ten pages of Preface and thirty-seven pages of Description of Plates. Some of these must be very welcome to students of Byzantine Art because they are absent from other well-known handbooks. The authenticity of most of the objects of art reproduced is indisputable; a few, however, coming from private collections, appear to be questionable notwithstanding the encomium bestowed upon them in the text. Being executed in relief and shown to their advantage in the reproductions, it is comparatively easy to form an opinion about their claims to be genuine or the work of a modern forger. On the other hand it is to be regretted that other plates, such as Nos. 43 and 44, corresponding to plates XVI. and XVII. of Omont's "*Fac-similés des Miniatures*" (Paris, 1902), are so very inferior in this otherwise excellent collection of material.

J. P. R.

LES ARTS MUSULMANS. By Gaston Migeon. (Paris: *Van Oest.*)

The author, of course, has a world-wide reputation. With this work he wishes to give us a representative collection of plates dealing with Muhammadan art. They are sixty-four in number dealing with architecture, paintings, carving, bronzes, leather-work, glass and pottery. The text which really constitutes an introduction to the subject is therefore a very brief outline. Students are recommended the study of his more comprehensive works.

ORIENTALIA

OLD DECORATIVE MAPS AND CHARTS. By A. L. Humphreys. Seventy-nine plates, of which nineteen are in colours. (*Hallon and Truscott.*) Price £3 13s. 6d.

(*Reviewed by S. CASSON.*)

This volume, which is the latest of the admirable series published by the Argonaut Press, is one of which its author and publishers may well be

proud. The fine type and first-rate reproductions are all that a book-lover could desire, and the red buckram binding gives it a perfect finish.

The subject is one of increasing popular interest, partly because of the general appreciation of old coloured and other maps as works of art, and partly owing to the very scientific work which has been done in the last few years by Sir George Fordham on the one hand in England and by Mr. E. L. Stevenson on the other in America. The work of both these pioneers is here fully acknowledged.

The author in his Introduction gives a learned and valuable summary of the growth of map-making from Greek and Roman times down to the last century. He has, of course, many learned monographs and articles to draw from, as can be seen from his useful Bibliography (pp. 49-51), but his Introduction is not mere compilation. It contains all the essential facts and the fullest details of the great map-making firms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Mercator, Ortelius, Blæu, Jansson, Speed and Saxton. Nearly everything that we want to know about the methods of these map-makers, their artistic contributions and their historical importance, is here given. The text is more than generously illustrated by the plates, which are fully described in the scholarly catalogue of the Macpherson collection; it is the work of Mr. Henry Stevens and is placed at the end of the book. The period covered by the plates is from 1482 (the Schnitzer map of the world) to 1776 (a map and view of New York). The dim uncertainty of mediæval map-making is clearly seen in the earliest maps, with their reliance on Ptolemy and their neglect of the practical experience which, during the last part of the period, was being carefully hoarded in the highly accurate and painstaking Portolan charts.

With the growth of human learning and travel the map-makers abandoned their quasi-religious inspiration and began to use their eyes and the eyes of others. The map of the world made in 1375 for Charles V. of France, compiled from Portolan charts, marks the emancipation of map-making. But it was not really till the early sixteenth century that the increasing demand for accurate maps led to their scientific study and production. Mercator's world map of 1569 condensed the increasing knowledge of the first half of the century into a magnificent scientific synthesis. That only one copy of his original edition has survived is testimony to the neglect into which maps had fallen right down to the last few years. What is surprising is that the period of transition from the comparatively puerile works of the fifteenth century to the perfect works of art of the sixteenth should be so short. The map of America by Ortelius, shown in colour on pl. 9, is a map fit to travel by and marvellous to see. The same master's map of India and the East Indies (pl. 10) is as admirable. The adornments of sea and land, the sea monsters, ships and armorial devices, add beauty without detracting from use. What is of surprising interest is the early date at which the conventions of map-making seem to have arisen. They seem to be fixed as early as Ortelius, and since then have varied but little. On the other hand, certain regions, of which information should have been easily available, seem plunged in uncertainty for centuries. The Caspian region and the Caucasus vary in nearly all maps until the late

ment would have to be granted to Korea in time. At Seoul the Japanese complained that American missionaries, not for the first time in the history of missions, have stirred up the people against Japanese rule by encouraging in the manner of America the Korean independence movement. That this attitude was, in part at least, due to a natural desire for independence may be granted; but it was fostered and aggravated by Japanese contempt for the natives. Baron Saito, whose policy, like that of later statesmen in India, has been one of conciliation and co-operation, probably with much the same result among certain sections of the people, was obliged to issue the warning that "should the Japanese people regard the annexation as a result of the conquest of a weak country by a stronger one, and should speak and act under such an illusion in an overbearing and undignified manner, they would act in a spirit contrary to that in which the present step has been taken. Japanese settlers in Korea seem hitherto to have considered that they were living in a foreign land and have often fallen into the mistake of adopting a superior attitude toward the people of the country. . . . Let the Japanese settlers take this occasion to change their ideas and their attitude toward the people of Korea."

This is doubtless unfortunate, but it is human nature; it is of universal experience. You cannot change the attitude of one people towards another, whether in India or in Indo-China, on the Congo or in Mozambique, by rescript or ordinance. The most you can do is to show that the Government is not in sympathy with it, and to hope that by constant inculcation you may be able in time to moderate it. The powers of a government, however strong, however autocratic, are limited; but within the spheres in which it may reasonably expect success, the Japanese would seem to be fulfilling their trust admirably; although they share to some extent the usual illusion that what is good for Japan must be good for her dependencies, they are trying, to do them justice, to avoid the snares and pitfalls of that obsession. In almost every direction—in the Law Courts, Police, Prisons, Finance, Education, Medicine, Economics—the old Government of Korea was marked by ineptitude, apathy, corruption, and even worse. The country had not advanced beyond the stage of mediævalism, and it was the mediævalism of Asia, not of Europe. The example of China was perhaps the only one they knew; the influence of China the only influence brought to bear. Justice was

administered by untrained executive officers; torture was freely applied in order to obtain both confessions and evidence; the administration of the law was a fruitful source of illegal profit. From the police "the people at large had more to fear than to hope for." The prisons were "horrible beyond description." The finance, though there was a system and money was collected somehow, was, as is usual in such countries, laid under contribution by dishonest officials. As was only to be expected, medicine and sanitation were in a deplorable state. Education had certainly received sound attention; that too was only to be expected, since according to their lights—and at one time their lights were not dim by comparison with those around them—the Koreans were, if not in the van, at least in the first flight of Asiatic civilization, and being so closely connected with China the schools were very naturally restricted to Chinese philosophy, and so remained owing to the strict isolation of the country. All this is reminiscent of India at that confused time when the British took command, but with certain differences. The British acquisitions in India were made very gradually, and a policy according to the knowledge of those times, modified in the course of the years to suit the progress of science in many departments, had to be evolved which would be applicable to the less as well as to the more advanced parts of the country. The Japanese took over Korea complete; they were dealing with a homogeneous people, and the policy which could be applied to the whole country was the product of the experience of many nations. The book of the world lay open to the Japanese to read, and the world knows with what industry and care they have read it. They were, moreover, dealing with a neighbouring people, a people from whom they had themselves borrowed something of their culture, and who, like themselves, were Far Eastern Asiatics. Whether these considerations made the task easier or harder might be argued; it is quite possible that the interference of a people so nearly akin to themselves might have aroused all the more resentment and opposition in the Koreans. It is hardly necessary to add that the attempt is being made to reform the whole administration on thoroughly modern lines. Mr. Ireland's material is so extensive that his book takes on the appearance of an official document; the reader is overwhelmed with figures, which, so far as mere figures go, certainly leave the impression of an immense, almost a miraculous, advance on what went before. But these figures and much of the data are taken

from Japanese official sources, and if anyone will read the reports submitted to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, he will see that the same rosy view is presented by the various Mandatory Powers. Making, however, all allowances for the natural desire to stand well in the eyes of the world, we may unhesitatingly conclude that Japan is doing great and beneficent work in Korea, and that she is taking a worthy place amongst the colonizing, as she has already taken it among the political, nations of the world.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

MY WORKING LIFE. By Colonel Lord Sydenham of Combe, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., F.R.S. (*John Murray.*) Price 21s. net.

(*Reviewed by Sir VERNEY LOVETT.*)

"It has been the greatest ambition of my life to render service to the Empire. It is an inspiration—almost a religion." These words were spoken by Lord Sydenham on November 9, 1903, at the Lord Mayor's banquet in Melbourne, when he was about to resign the government of Victoria; and this book bears ample testimony to their sincerity. It is plain that through all the years of his varied service, in the Army, at the War Office, on the Committee of Imperial Defence, in Australia, in India, in the House of Lords, in his contributions to the Press, he laboured without stint or ceasing in the Empire's cause. In his earlier years he tried to develop a school of thought which would concern itself with the broad problems of national security considered in the light of the teaching of the past; later on he rendered valuable service to the Committee of Imperial Defence; and afterwards as Governor of Bombay he steered the western presidency through exceedingly troubled waters with conspicuous courage and success. In administrative work of whatever kind he was the sworn enemy of over-centralization, for he was thoroughly convinced of the truth of these words of Bacon's which he quotes on p. 549: "Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places, and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all." It was natural therefore that, during his time at Bombay, in spite of a previous friendship with Lord Morley, he found it most difficult to get on with that very arbitrary Secretary of State. The original cause of difference was the prosecution of Tilak in 1908. No measure was ever more justified by results; but Morley regarded it as likely to discourage the Moderates, and therefore disapproved of it while admitting that morally and legally it was justifiable. He does not appear ever to have changed his mind on this subject, and two years later con-

templated reviving an old practice which required local governments to obtain the sanction of the central government before starting "political prosecutions." Orders from Whitehall to this effect and Lord Sydenham's consequent resignation were only averted by Morley's translation to another office. The quotations in the book from Morley's letters on this subject are a valuable contribution to history, for they unveil entirely that side of Morley's mind which obstructed his success as a Secretary of State. He could not bring himself to accord to the men on the spot that reasonable confidence which they had a right to expect; and he greatly undervalued the teaching which experience only can give.

Lord Sydenham's success at Bombay was largely due to long practice in administration of various kinds. He had always given careful thought to whatever work he took in hand, and eighteen years before, as Joint-Secretary of the Hartington Commission, had been impressed by the ignorance of first principles of administration which marked all the non-professional members of that body. As Governor of Victoria, although previously a Liberal, he had become convinced of the pretentious emptiness of democratic catchwords. He was determined to do justice in India and to see things as they were. He considered that the rapid growth of the anti-Government movement was largely due to a long series of graceful concessions indicating that the future lies with the agitating classes. Of this there can be no doubt, whatever excuses or justification can be found for the agitation. Lord Sydenham, however, approved of the Morley-Minto reforms and was disgusted when they were, as he expresses it, "suddenly tossed aside." He regards the present constitution of British India as a pernicious and mischievous compromise. He is inclined to despair of the future.

To such views it may be answered justly that the Secretary of State and Government of India are, as Morley observed, in the case of "a regular Janus," regarding with one face their responsibilities in India, and with the other public opinion in England. They cannot escape from this position. They represent a restless democracy. They cannot afford for a moment to moan over the magnitude of their task, or to sit down and "tell sad stories of the deaths of kings." They *have* to endeavour to construct in a world which keeps constantly changing, in an Asia which has been moved by novel and disturbing ideas. In cheerful fortitude must be their strength, and in the firm faith that, as time goes on, the collective force of circumstances will produce solutions of difficulties which now appear almost insuperable.

Not the least attractive passages in this book are the author's impressions of distinguished co-temporaries—Wolseley, Morley, Curzon, Lord Balfour. To the last-named he pays notable tribute. "There was no question, directly or indirectly concerned with Imperial Defence, on which he did not bring to bear the quickest intellect I ever encountered, and the fact that eighty-two meetings of the Committee were held under his auspices is evidence of his unremitting care. No Prime Minister has ever given so much personal study to Imperial Defence in all its aspects. On parting he recommended me for the G.C.M.G.; but I value most the

generous terms in which he acknowledged the help I strove to give him." It is plain that the decoration was well earned, and no chapters in the book are more instructive than xiv. and xv., which describe the work of the Committee of Imperial Defence in 1904-1905. The absence of any attempt on the part of Mr. Asquith's Government later on to build up any reserve of small arms in spite of the ever-deepening German menace is, as is here pointed out, wholly inexcusable. The penalty was paid in full measure by the country.

Lord Sydenham has reason to be proud of a long record of loyal, devoted service, and has written a book which will be valuable to historians.

LA CIVILISATION RURALE DU BENGAL OCCIDENTAL. By Arthur Geddes, D.LITT. (Montpellier: *Librairie Nouvelle*, 1927.)

(Reviewed by Dr. GILBERT SLATER.)

Of recent years much useful work in the detailed study of particular districts and single villages has been done in India, one fruit of these enquiries being the appointment of the Commission on Indian agriculture now at work. Dr. Geddes's valuable and interesting monograph occupies an exceptional position, being the first of such surveys undertaken by a trained geographer, his predecessors having been either students of economics, administrators, or (in the case of Dr. Mann and his colleagues) agriculturists. He is weak where his predecessors have been strong, and strong where they have been weak. His book is practically destitute of economic statistics. He seems to have made some attempt to get at family budgets of landless agricultural workers, but to have abandoned it in view of the resentment of such a stimulus to dissatisfaction shown by the ryots who employed them. On the other hand, he attains a new breadth of treatment in his endeavour to discover how the existing agricultural, social, and economic conditions were brought about, how they affect the moral and intellectual life of the people, and what is the constructive policy called for.

The area dealt with is that surrounding Sir Rabindranath Tagore's *Ashram* and Institute at Santiniketan, where Dr. Geddes worked in a professional capacity. Santiniketan is some ninety miles N.N.W. of Calcutta; the surrounding district, of old alluvium, slopes down from the plateau of Chota Nagpur towards the western branch of the Ganges, known in its lower course as the River Hoogli. Formerly this branch was the main channel of the great river, and as ancient trade routes and imperial highways also traversed the district from the twelfth century onwards it far surpassed the rest of Bengal in wealth and culture. But the recent history of Western Bengal, as worked out by Dr. Geddes, is singularly melancholy. The forests are mostly destroyed, the zemindars "knew how to fell, but not how to preserve." The heavy monsoon rains then washed down the humus from the slopes, leaving the subsoil of laterite exposed. The increased load of silt largely deposited in the western channel of the Ganges forced that river eastwards, so that its main

stream now joins that of the Brahmaputra, and "the prosperity of the port of Calcutta hangs by a thread." Subsequently the silt brought down by the streams from the plateau has been mainly sand of no manurial value, but sufficient in quantity to silt up the tanks, so that they become completely dry in many cases in the weeks preceding the monsoon. These processes had been going on for an indefinite time before the railway era, but then were accelerated. Between 1850 and 1870 virulent forms of malaria became epidemic, for these conditions favoured the breeding of mosquitoes, while the reduction of the area under cultivation, and of the fertility of the land cultivated, impoverished and weakened the population. The disastrous blunder of Permanent Settlement put all the powers and privileges of landownership in the hands of zemindars, so depriving the villagers of the resources and courage needed to take measures for mutual self-protection. Further, owing to the competition of machine products, the hand-loom weavers have almost disappeared; cotton and the mulberry are no longer grown, without jute, as in Eastern Bengal, coming in to take their place. The one new industry that has appeared to compensate for the loss of the old handicrafts is that of the steam-driven rice mill, which pays only miserable wages. Hindus suffer more from malaria than Muhammadans, who are not debarred from eating meat and eggs. The impoverishment of the soil is aggravated by the neglect of the use of cattle urine, by using much of the dung as fuel, and the refusal to use any manure of human origin. In normal years, in spite of the absence of birth control, deaths exceed births; when the crops are exceptionally good there is an immediate excess of births, showing how hardly population is pressing on the means of subsistence.

Only quite recently have the "germs of hope" appeared. Gandhi's non-co-operation and C. R. Das's nationalist movement have fortunately died down, but not without having stirred Bengal to fresh thought and spirit. Hence a realization of the fact that, not the Government, but agricultural deterioration and malaria are the real enemies, and "a true co-operation, at first between the Hindus themselves, afterwards with the Government," for tank restoration, better drainage, distribution of quinine, and purer water-supplies as first steps towards social reconstruction; of which movement Tagore is an inspirer, G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., and Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterji practical leaders. Dr. Geddes's last words are: "To save its noble inheritance of culture and moral civilization, to save even its life, Bengal must act without delay."

MOTHER INDIA. By Katherine Mayo. (*Jonathan Cape*) 10s. 6d. net. (Reviewed by Professor L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Those who have read Miss Mayo's book dealing with the American attempt to introduce democracy and self-government—the two things are far from identical—into the Philippines will be prepared to vouch for the fact that she does not lack courage either in thought or in expression. But I am afraid that in attempting to resolve the problems of India within

manageable compass she has essayed a task for which courage alone is an insufficient equipment.

Unlike the majority of her countrymen, Miss Mayo regards democracy with little favour. So far from considering it the panacea for all ills, whether social or political, she seems to be an upholder of the heretical doctrine that it is a highly specialized form of government, depending for its success upon certain factors that are by no means universally present. Her examination of the Philippine problem would seem to have convinced her that the "national aspirations" of non-European races under the tutelage of Anglo-Saxondom are for the most part the expression of a desire for place and power by those elements which have little claim, beyond a capacity for clamorous outcry, to be considered leaders of the "nation" in question. In this disillusioned mood she has approached the problem of British India; and when, in addition, her strongly feminist bias be taken into account, it will be realized that she displays little patience with the claims, mentality, and aspirations of the "politically minded" classes of British India.

But she is not content merely to rebut those accusations against the British Raj which supply, in the eyes of the nationalist politician, a complete explanation of all the ills from which his oppressed Motherland is suffering. She carries the war into the opposite camp, with a tremendous attack upon the entire Hindu social heritage. To her, the explanation of the woes of India is both obvious and terrible. These woes, she says, rest upon a "rock-bottom physical basis." Poverty, sickness, ignorance, political minority, melancholy, ineffectiveness, the subconscious conviction of inferiority manifesting itself in a morbid searching for social affronts—all these are attributable to one far-reaching factor—the Indian's manner of getting into the world, and his subsequent management of his sex-life.

Miss Mayo supports this assertion with a reasoned and powerful indictment, which is all the more effective because it deals with problems and with conditions which are rarely discussed save by psycho-analysts and doctors. Her charges will prove enormously embarrassing to sentimentalists; and for this reason, "Mother India" is likely to mark a turning-point in educated American thought. Incidentally, it seems more than probable that the British authorities in India will shortly be confronted with a demand for the exclusion of the book, on one pretext or the other, from the country in which its perusal is most necessary.

That the author has emphasized an aspect of the Indian problem which is too frequently omitted or slurred over, I should be the last to deny. My single criticism against the book is that she has fallen into the common fault of undue simplification. In her anxiety to reveal to Indians the utter impossibility of realizing their political ambitions so long as their dysgenic customs persist, she has omitted a number of factors from her calculations, each one of which is at least as important as the one she stresses. Among these may be mentioned climatic conditions, physical configuration, and political history, all of which deserve an examination as meticulous as that which she devotes to the factor enjoying her exclusive attention. But even granting her own premises, she displays certain

weaknesses in treatment which are likely to detract from the influence, if not from the fundamental soundness, of the book. Admittedly, the statistics of India are not what they ought to be. Hence their employment requires particular care. This care, as it seems to me, Miss Mayo has not displayed. She reminds me of a mathematician who attempts the hopeless task of calculating to seven places of decimals, on the strength of data which are correct only to the nearest unit. In other words, she seems to me to generalize from inadequate data. The population of India is so large, and exhibits such local variety, that figures which might under Western conditions warrant a given deduction, here prove utterly inadequate as a guide. Where Miss Mayo cites chapter and verse for her statements, she proceeds to generalize from a few dozen examples, and to apply this generalization to hundreds of millions. For some of her most startling assertions, she cites no statistics at all. How does she know "that from one end of the land to the other the average male Hindu of thirty years, provided he has means to command his pleasures, is an old man; and that from seven to eight out of every ten such males between the ages of twenty-five and thirty are impotent"? I am quite at a loss here. I should have thought that the decennial statistics of the population, to say nothing of common observation, would have sufficed to give the lie direct to any such assertion. Miss Mayo may have unchallengeable authority for her statement. If so, she should surely quote it.

With all its weakness and of scope and method, this is a notable book. No critic can fail to pay his tribute to Miss Mayo's fearless honesty, or to her courageous endeavour to apply cold logic to a problem which is overmuch obscured by sentimental disinclination to face facts. She has laboured industriously to collect her material; she has omitted no factor that seemed to her important. She has made certain errors of detail, natural to the foreign observer, which should be corrected in a subsequent edition, lest they detract from the force of the book by inviting criticism irrelevant to the main purpose. But she has illuminated one side of the Indian problem in such fashion that it can hardly succeed for the future in evading the attention which it deserves but does not invite.

THE OCEAN OF STORY. Edited by Mr. Penzer. Vols. VII., VIII.
(Charles J. Sawyer.)

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

In the Foreword to the Seventh Volume a very distinctive note is struck. Professor Bloomfield discusses the question of "Recurring Psychic *Motifs* in Hindu Fiction" and discloses an extraordinary vision of interest and shows how vast are the regions of knowledge which have yet to be explored. In his opinion, great as Somadevi's *Ocean* is, it yet by no means contains "a complete expression of what we might call the fiction genius of India." The Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jain collections are also of great importance in fiction literature, and from the latter we can obtain more real knowledge of Hindu life than from "schematic treatises" which deal with more technical matters. The Professor has elaborated

the subject of "Pyschic *Motifs*" at great length in his article in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXXVI., 1916. Assisted by his school, he has already compiled a list of papers bearing on that subject, preparatory to issuing an Encyclopædia of Hindu Fiction, which in modern times has been considered as folklore. In that article the Professor reiterates what other writers have emphasized in the Forewords to the earlier volumes of the *Ocean of Story*—viz., that the Hindu tales have travelled far beyond the confines of India and "Hindu narrative is now almost synonymous with Asiatic narrative" owing to Buddhist propaganda. It is wisely suggested that each country should prepare its own encyclopædia of fiction, since by that method it would be possible to trace the evolution of the stories, how they have formed an integral part of each local history of literature, and whence they derived their origin. Professor Bloomfield points out in the Foreword the manner in which the various stories and *motifs* could best be studied and their origins traced, with the view of forming in the future a possible encyclopædia of fiction. He further dwells at length upon the question of "Minor *Motifs*" and explains that the adventures coming under that heading are not "mere accidents of narration" or "the devices of a given story-teller," but that "nearly all these adventures, which seem at first sight flowers of the imagination, prove in the end to be stencilled, pigeon-holed *clichés*." It is a very difficult task to trace the original sources of fiction, as the existing "so-called folklore books of India" contain stories not only from the *Pāñchatantra* and *Jātaka* but from foreign sources.

Mr. Penzer concludes his criticisms of the *Vetāla* tales in the Appendix to this volume. He traces the parallels of Madanasenā and her Rash Promise, and relates how the story spread far beyond India and through Turkey into Europe. It was quoted by Boccaccio and Chaucer and appeared also in numerous French versions. The origin of the term *Sybarite* is discussed at length. It has become a well-known synonym for luxury and riches, and, as such display is more conformable to Asiatic habits than to those of Ancient Greece, it is more probable that such *motif* stories originated in India than that they were imported from the West. It may perhaps be a question of which no definite solution is possible. Mr. Penzer gives also much interesting information on other *Vetāla* stories—the beautiful Unmādeni, the Brāhman's son and the boy who offered to save the King's life. The tales referring to *sex-changing* deal with the phenomenon, not only in human beings, but also amongst Babylonian, Assyrian, Canaanite, Hebrew, and Phœnician deities. The account concludes with the apt remark that such changes are not unknown in the present day and that unscientific minds might be ready to accept the miracle!

We do not know what surprises may be in store for us in the next volume (IX.) of the *Ocean of Story*, and whether the coping-stone of all the preceding Forewords will be laid by an Indian expert on Hindu folklore. Be that as it may, Professor Halliday's Foreword to the present volume is perhaps one of the most suggestive of these, and forms a fit successor to that written by Professor Bloomfield to the preceding volume, in which so

much emphasis is laid on the need of an encyclopædia of Hindu fiction. Amongst Professor Halliday's very suggestive remarks is his warning to enthusiasts not to let zeal outrun discretion. For research purposes it is just as important to note "differences" as "similarities" and to distinguish carefully between "similarity" and "identity." There are certain conditions common to humanity all over the world, which give rise to the same problems, which are not necessarily derived from a common origin. In addition there is the "vicious reasoning" which takes one particular incident in a story and arbitrarily connects it with the same incident in other tales with which it has no real connection. The Professor instances the familiar story of Wilhelm Tell, which has been grouped with similar incidents in Greece and Persia and even with happenings amongst the Mississippi keel-men.

In tracing the relative parts of any given story it is important to remember that such stories may be made up of parts which appear in different combinations. As the Professor truly remarks, this would produce "a group of interconnected stories" presenting a condition of complexity and one exceedingly difficult to unravel. A story might be compared to "a kind of composite pattern of coloured bricks," each related to the other and in which the "smallest effective unit" is important. Continuing the simile with regard to regional specialization, we realize the importance of local colouring and of alterations made to suit local customs and regional fairy-tales. It is necessary, therefore, to note carefully all such variations.

Mr. Penzer has inserted two Appendixes in the present volume, which provide material for much interesting study. These deal with the Swan-Maiden *motif* and the Romance of Betel-Chewing. As regards the former, much learning has been brought to the elucidation of the story generally, and more especially to the question how the *motif* eventually found its way from India to Europe. In tracing the history of such a well-known myth, we are at once confronted by the difficulty suggested in the Foreword—that the myth, while known in northern, is unknown in southern and eastern Europe. The idea is suggested that the same *motif* might have occurred independently to minds in both continents. The story of the Swan-Maiden is familiar to Western readers from childhood, and many readers will find great pleasure and profit in studying the early history of this favourite fairy-tale. As regards Betel-Chewing, to those who are acquainted with its outer manifestations it will come as a surprise that the habit is itself of venerable antiquity, and is practised by many millions of the human race, from the East to New Guinea and to part of Melanesia. The place of its origin seems difficult to determine; so far as it has been traced it appears to have arisen in an Eastern Asiatic country.

Our readers have by this time become so accustomed to the copious and accurate Indexes placed at the end of each volume, that perhaps they need reminding of the enormous labour involved in collecting the details and of the amount of time thus saved to students. Professor Halliday pays a well-merited compliment to Mr. Penzer in this respect.

INDIA'S PAST. By A. A. Macdonell. (Clarendon Press.) 10s. net.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS.)

This admirable summary of India's contribution to the civilization of the world presents to English and Indian students the history of ancient India in a comprehensive form. We have rarely met with such an illuminating exposition of India's early history as that which the Professor has given in those chapters dealing with the ancient and the earlier and later Post-Vedic periods dating from the first to the eleventh century A.D. The bibliographies appended to each division will prove invaluable to the student as well as to the general reader. The subject is treated in such a way that one easily perceives the course of India's progress along the path to knowledge; and the account of technical literature will be a rare boon to scholars. In this the value of the old Vedic learning is emphasized, and it is explained how the study of the Vedic hymns led to the founding, in India of "phonetic, grammatical and metrical investigations." Astronomy, too, owed its inception to the requirements of Vedic ritual. Indian philosophy has existed for more than two thousand years and has never lost its connection with theology. The doctrines associated with it appear to be divided amongst six particular sects or schools of thought, each having its own central work or sacred book with special commentaries upon each. To the original six sects were added in course of time the philosophic teachings of Buddhism and of Jainism, and to these further systems were added, which were critically described in the "Compendium of all Philosophical Systems" by the great Vedantic scholar Madhava, who lived in the fourteenth century of our era.

The next most interesting chapter is, we consider, the one referring to the "Recovery of India's Past." That recovery was mainly due to the enthusiastic co-operation of European orientalists with Indian savants, who gradually reconstructed the History of India on the basis of their archaeological studies, whose subject-matter is afforded by temples, rock-carvings, coinage and other records. In reviewing the results of their labours, it is to be regretted that the Professor has given neither his estimate of their achievements nor his own conclusions about their general merits.

Besides a detailed Index, this work includes a number of beautiful photographs illustrating various types of architecture and sculpture, and specimens of the Brāhmī script—features which add much to the value and attractiveness of the volume.

STUDIES IN INDIAN RURAL ECONOMICS. By S. Kesava Iyengar, Professor of Economics, Nizam's College, Hyderabad. (P. S. King.) 15s. net.

(Reviewed by P. PADMANABHA PILLAI.)

The present volume is a *recueil* of articles on the Indian rural problem contributed by the author to various Indian newspapers. These articles must no doubt have been very useful in stimulating and maintaining public

interest in what is obviously one of the most important problems facing India at the present day. Signs are fortunately abundant that the matter is everywhere receiving increasing attention, and the appointment of the Economic Enquiry Committee and the Royal Commission on Agriculture go to show that the Government of India is quite alive to the issues involved; for, even though a strong case can be made out for an industrialized India, it is at the same time perfectly clear that, now and for a long time to come, agriculture is and will be the one staple industry of the vast majority of the people, and that all prospects of industrial advance are closely bound up with the prosperity of agriculture. Any effort, therefore, towards enlightening the Indian public as to the real need of the hour, and furnishing them with correct data on which to base all programmes of rural reconstruction, must necessarily be welcome.

On a perusal of this volume, one might well ask whether newspaper articles, however wise and sensible, aimed more or less at propaganda, deserve to be perpetually enshrined in book-form. Mr. Iyengar's book suffers from the very qualities which won for his articles the approbation of daily journalism. But the insistent reiteration and the superficialism which are overlooked in scattered articles become wearisome in collected form. With a little more of pruning and a little more of rearrangement, we are sure Mr. Iyengar would have been able to produce a volume of much greater utility; for it is clear that he has mastered the essential facts of the situation, and his personal experience, gathered during the course of his intensive survey of rural conditions in the Mysore Malnad, adds a special value to his suggestions for improving the hard lot of the Indian peasantry. There is hardly any aspect of rural life that Mr. Iyengar does not pass in review. Agricultural holdings, cattle, forest, transport, trade, capital, labour—on all these points he has some very sensible things to tell us. But, naturally enough, he is most instructive when he gives us details of the economic life of the Malnad. Ardent advocate as he is of an accurate economic survey undertaken by trained experts, he feels bound to admit that an economic survey of the *whole* of India is beyond the pale of present endeavour, and therefore, for the time being, we have to content ourselves with regional surveys such as those of Jack, Calvert, Darling, Keatinge, etc. It is for this reason that some of Mr. Iyengar's Appendixes, giving us accurate information about the Malnad, are far more interesting than the text itself. His vignettes are good; but when he passes to generalizations, the picture becomes blurred.

But whatever the professional economist may think of the book, to the layman who is not an adept in the dismal science it will prove a store of useful information.

FAR EAST

CHINA AND BRITAIN. By R. O. Hall.

(Reviewed by BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.)

There have been few more sympathetic or more enlightening attempts to portray one side of Chinese character than that of Mr. R. O. Hall in

his little book "China and Britain" (pp. 31 to 45). Unfortunately for the value of the book, Mr. Hall does not tell the whole story. There is a much less ideal and more sinister side of the Chinese character that is persistently kept in the background.

It may be, as the author of "China and Britain" remarks in his Preface (p. iii.), that he has "endeavoured to be as fair and accurate in the presentation of facts as very limited experience in China makes fairness and accuracy possible." But surely the omission of various facts which have vividly exposed the barbaric and brutal element in Chinese national character during the last few years is hardly being either fair to the rest of the world, or accurate.

To select and classify the component parts of the character of any nation is, we know, a very difficult task. When such a classification is applied to the character of an Oriental nation it is immeasurably more difficult. But even allowing for this, are there not well-known and competent judges of "things Chinese" from Sir Robert Hart downwards who would hardly recognize Mr. Hall's portrait?

That the Chinese character is no worse than was that of Europe or the West in the same relative stage of civilization is probably true. But so far as concerns character are we not bound to judge by results? "Thou hast faith, and I have works: show me thy faith apart from thy works, and I by my works will show thee my faith."

In his chapter on "Significant Trends" (Chapter VIII., p. 140) Mr. Hall writes: "Surface observers, scanning China from club-windows, or from the indolent aloofness of the house-boat and the traveller's chair, see the surface things and speak truly of them." He continues to quote these same observers upon "militarism" and other disruptive happenings, and he says the Chinese do not "get excited about them as we do" (p. 141). Are we to believe, then, that Chinese in the Yangtze Valley to-day are calm and collected? That all the horrible and uncivilized proceedings of these last few years in China were done in cold blood, with no particular aim or object? Do men like J. O. P. Bland, Putman Weale, and Rodney Gilbert scan their China only "from club-windows or from the indolent aloofness of the house-boat"? Yet would any of them agree that the Chinese do not "get excited" about driving out the foreigner, or that they do not take their strikes seriously? Again (p. 154), Mr. Hall makes the unqualified statement that "corrupt officials are a survival of the past," but entirely omits to explain how he arrives at this amazing judgment.

Such misstatements as these may seem matters hardly worth calling attention to, but even after-dinner discussions (p. 71), if published, must be taken seriously.

Quite lately (1927) sixteen leading British and sixteen leading American missionaries in China strongly condemned the political activities of the National Christian Council. They collectively published a manifesto in Shanghai to this effect. The N.C.C. was formed in 1922, and it has a joint Chinese-foreign executive.

Far from "throwing themselves right across this movement (*i.e.*, the

anti-foreign movement) and standing courageously for a nationalism based on service and devotion to the needs of China, . . ." as Mr. Hall writes (p. 163), the N.C.C. have brought on themselves severe condemnation from the well-known missionaries already referred to. In spite of this, however, it is to be hoped that the seed sown by the Christian Church in China will eventually be found to have fallen upon "good ground."

THE HUNG SOCIETY: OR THE SOCIETY OF HEAVEN OR EARTH. By J. S. M. Ward. Published by the *Baskerville Press*, 161, New Bond Street, S.W. 1. Vol. 3, printed in black and red and illustrated in colour and black and white. Limited and numbered edition. Price per set of three volumes, six guineas.

(Reviewed by N. M. PENZER.)

We welcome the appearance of the third and concluding volume of the Hung Society by Mr. Ward, and have previously drawn attention to the two earlier volumes. The latest volume deals mainly with the magical and mystical aspects of the Degree, and the author shows clearly the difference between the two.

Turning to the magical section at once, the book contains most useful information not only on the magical elements in the Hung rite, but also gives numerous parallel examples which explain the origin and the meaning of the magical formulas which still survive. Perhaps one of the most interesting chapters is that dealing with the Palladia of the Hung Society, wherein Mr. Ward gives numerous examples of the fetish nature of Palladia in various parts of the world, and even suggests that there are remnants of this superstition in England up to quite late in our history. The author then goes on to give details of the old Chinese Palladia consisting of nine brazen tripods or censers, and suggests that the precious censer of the Hung Society was supposed to be one of these lost tripods.

We then turn to the consideration of magic swords, of the use of scales for the weighing of souls, and obtain much interesting information on the burial customs of the Chinese which throws a flood of light on certain incidents in the Hung ritual. The chapter on the sacred trees of the Hung Society is particularly interesting, showing, as they do, remnants of the Vegetation Cult. The chapter on the oath of blood brotherhood is valuable, but we should like to have seen it considerably longer. Despite the amount of work which has been done on this subject and to which more copious references might have been given, there is still much to be disentangled, and the form of the oath in the Hung Society, namely the drinking of blood, is such a primitive form that we should have welcomed more examples of its use in other parts of the world.

When we turn to the mystical side we come, perhaps, to some of the best chapters of the book. So often mystics seem fated to use rambling and mysterious language which renders it impossible for the ordinary man to understand what exactly they wish to teach. Here the author is at his best, making the subject of mysticism intelligible for those who are not intending to be mystics themselves, but are interested in the lines of

thought of those who follow this school. As the author points out, there is no doubt that the Hung ritual is largely based, so far as the mystic side is concerned, on the meditations and experiences of the Buddhist monks, and it is surprising to find how similar these experiences seem to be to those of Western mystics. The various stages indicated by the ritual are also found in the writings of most Christian mystics, and, despite the foreign imagery, it is not difficult to follow the allegory of the development of the mystic in the Hung ritual, once the main stages have been indicated.

In conclusion we are glad to find a good bibliography and index. It is, of course, difficult to make a perfect index, and we are not prepared to say that the author has been entirely successful in this task, but nevertheless, the one he has produced greatly increases the value of the book, enabling the student to find those passages which interest him easily and quickly.

IN MEMORIAM

FELICIA RUDOLPHINA SCATCHERD

Obiit xii^{mo} Die Martii, 1927.

OF life and death, of sleep and waking, pain
And joy, the alternates, thou, dear friend, art free,
Who hast thy barque launched out on the great sea
Of Life Eternal. We that here remain
Bid thee God-speed, O little, faithful friend,
So filled with dreams and schemes and innocence,
So purposeful in thine inconsequence,
May we, like thee, stand faithful to the end!

There are some hearts, whom sorrows do not chill,
There are some minds, that keep their childlike state,
And these are they whom Love delivereth.
To hold the good, to reckon not the ill,
In mean things to seek high, in small seek great,
Purgeth man's soul, and bringeth not to death.

JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.

THE BAGH CAVES IN THE GWALIOR STATE

CONTENTS

PREFACE, BY LAURENCE BINYON.

THE CAVES OF BAGH, BY SIR JOHN MARSHALL.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES, BY M. B. GARDE.

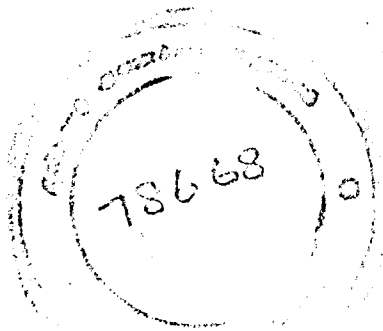
SCULPTURES, BY DR. J. PH. VOGEL.

PAINTINGS (ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION), BY DR. J. PH. VOGEL.

NOTES ON THE PAINTINGS, BY E. B. HAVELL.

ÆSTHETICAL, BY DR. JAMES H. COUSINS.

TOPOGRAPHICAL, BY DR. JAMES H. COUSINS.



SHORTER NOTICES

LA PHILOSOPHIE DE HERMANN KEYSERLING. Par Maurice Boucher.
(Paris: *Les Editions Rieder*).

(Reviewed by JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.)

Readers of the well-known *Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, which first appeared in English a matter of two years ago, will welcome this interesting and intelligent résumé of Count Keyserling's doctrine and teaching. Half Socrates and half Sophist (we use the word in no derogatory sense) half heaven-born teacher, half professional wise man, Count Keyserling has opened at Darmstadt his strange School of Wisdom, where Wisdom is to be taught, or the Way thereto, at least, as we teach the mundane arts and this book, *La Philosophie de Hermann Keyserling*, may be taken in a sense for a reasoned prospectus and syllabus of the School, the only school known to the Western public of to-day, which professes to teach wisdom.

"C'est la première école où l'on ait songé à donner un enseignement sans contenu. . . . Les auditeurs et les adeptes y viennent travailler leur âme et la qualité de leur pensée. Peu important leur métier ou leur condition sociale. A ceux qui veulent devenir 'des philosophes' et demandent ce qu'il convient d'apprendre, Keyserling répond qu'ils doivent continuer à faire ce qu'ils ont fait. La philosophie n'est pas un savoir, mais un certain niveau de l'être."

All this sounds strangely familiar to the student of Oriental philosophy, and of course Count Keyserling has travelled widely, as well as deeply, in the East. Moreover, he has in his veins, so they say, royal Tartar, as well as old German aristocratic blood. Into what steppes and Mongol uplands would this descendant of Genghis Khan lead us? To what old Prussian word of command? At least has the School of Wisdom at Darmstadt been started. At least we have all read, in its English dress, the famous *Travel Diary*. To those who would explore further the recesses of this Tartar-Teuton mind, here is M. Maurice Boucher, an apt and intelligent, as also compendious, guide. Certainly *La Philosophie de Hermann Keyserling* is a book worth reading.

AFGHANISTAN. O von Niedermayer. (Leipzig: *Hiersemann*.) 1927.
Price 80 marks.

This work is the only one which deals with present-day Afghanistan. The author was able to take a large number of photographs of Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Bamian, and other places, as he was during the Great War in that country. The illustrations, 243 in number, are exceedingly beautiful and in quarto size so that they stand out very distinctly. Besides views of the country the volume embodies chiefly samples of Architecture, and it must be admitted that no finer specimens could have been reproduced. Other plates of interest are those dealing with the life of the

people, probably the first which have been allowed to come to Europe. Of special interest are a few reproductions of Buddhist antiquities at Bamian.

The text of 70 pages contains brief, though accurate, information regarding the people, the country, its Government and Institutions, and an account of the Buddhist and Muslim Art monuments, thus explaining the Illustrations.

This is a beautiful book which should find many buyers amongst people interested in Afghanistan and Muslim Arts.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock. Vol. I. of Plates. (*Cambridge University Press*.) 25s. net.

This volume of plates supplies the illustrations which were lacking in the first four volumes and which are so necessary for the study of the historical portion. It is needless to say that the illustrations are exceedingly clear and well executed. They are in keeping with the text itself. These volumes, it may be remembered, deal principally with ancient Egypt, Babylonia, the early Aegean civilization, the early Greeks and the Hittites, together with ancient Persia. Every reader of the History will therefore welcome the present volume, and will in fact find it indispensable.

CHINA AND THE OCCIDENT: THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOXER DEVELOPMENT. By George Nye Steiger, Ph.D. (*Yale University Press*.) 16s. net.

Dr. Steiger is a serious student. The bibliographical note shows him to be familiar with the literature concerning the Boxers. He opens his book with the Chinese State and Western relations, and follows it up with a chapter on the Opening of China. The change that has recently come over China is of course largely due to the introduction of Western political ideas, but this book shows how the Boxer movement was a kind of prelude of the revolution. Among the Appendices is a remarkable "Ode" by Yuan Shih-Kai against the Boxers.