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INDIA AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

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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

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.

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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), Ukranians (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 Ukranians, 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 indubitably 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,

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 intelligentzia 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 Sufiism. 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.

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 Daghesten 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 intelligentzia to find a scope beyond the barren fields of their own land, and to become the industrial

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, Enukidze, 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 Bolshevists. 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 *pronunciamento*, 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 Netherlanders 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 development 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 5½ 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 5½ crores to 17¼ 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 17¼ 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 inprovements, 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 Vasgo 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. Brenan, 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'Alboquerque 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'Alboquerque 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 anfiam 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 Sulivan 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 zamindars, 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 ½ to 1 anna, and of the postcard from ¼ to ½ 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 communications 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. 73669

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 33⅓ 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 *dâk*. He did not think that they lost a single *dâk* 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

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

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."

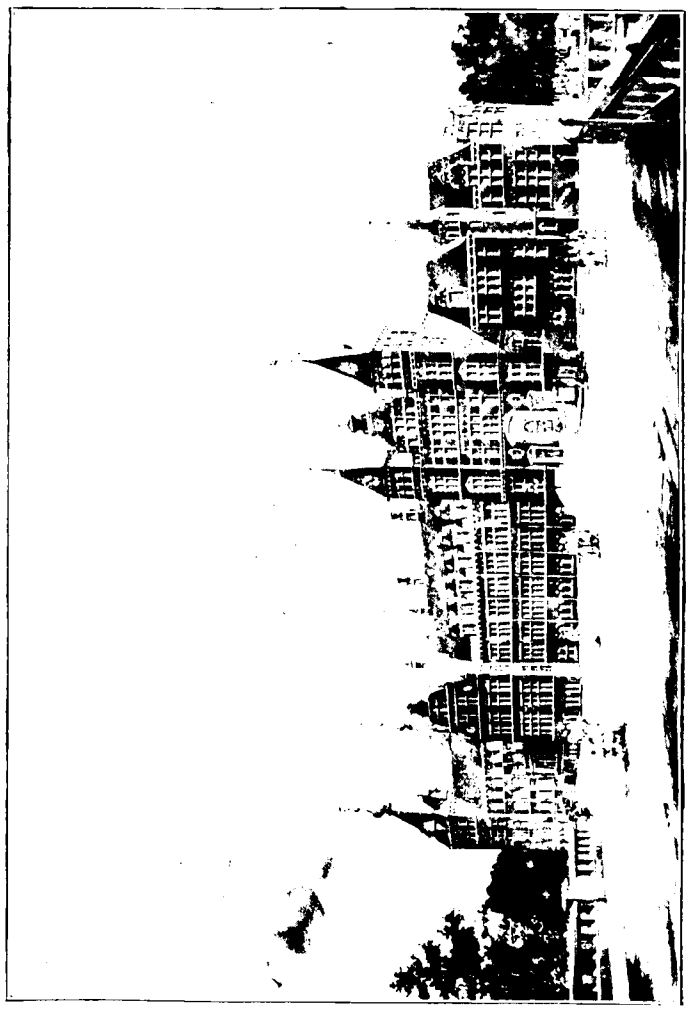
KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT.

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.

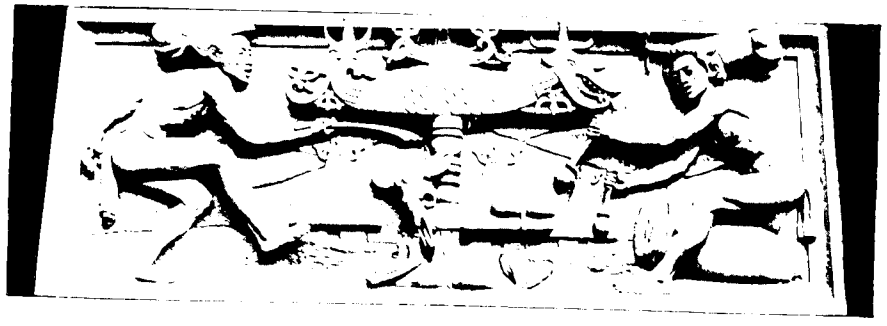
The accompanying illustrations have been specially lent for publication in the ASIATIC REVIEW.



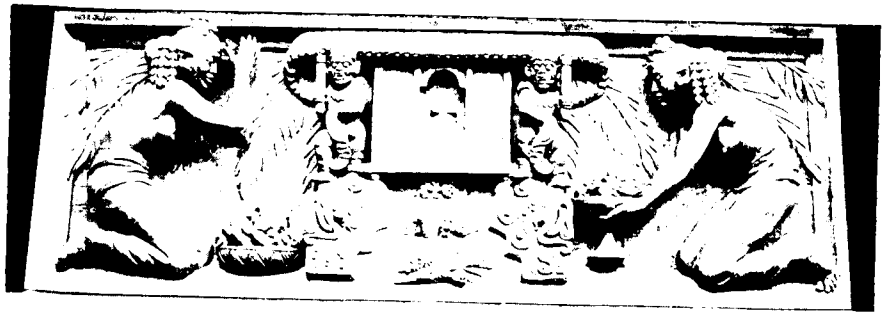
FACADE OF THE KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT IN AMSTERDAM (SEEN FROM THE MUIDERBRUG).

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

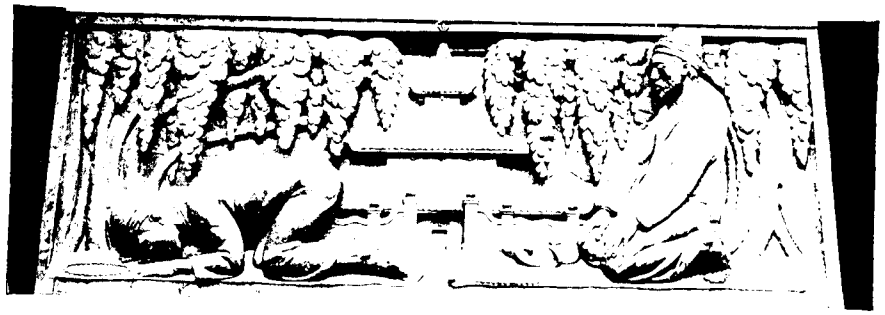
To face p. 108.



ANIMISM.



BUDDHISM.



MUHAMMADANISM.

CHRISTIANITY.

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

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

RICE.

SUGAR.

TOBACCO.

RUBBER.

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 CENTRAL HALL, KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT.
By courtesy of Messrs. J. H. de Bussy, Amsterdam

Tata e Pie

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

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 theAutonomous 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 Transcaspia, 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

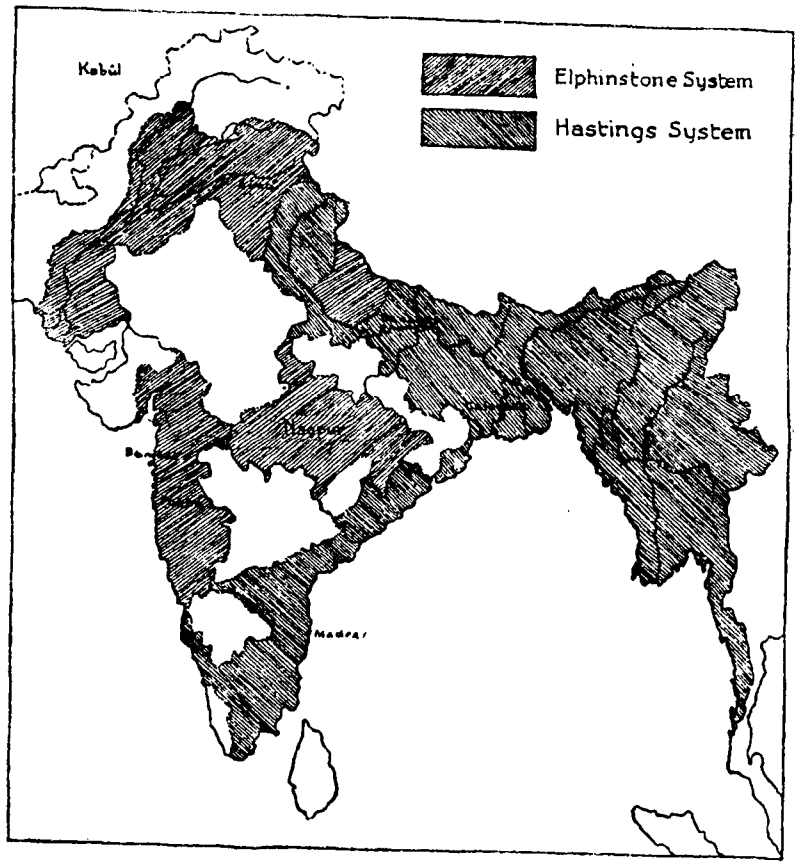
In the Malay Archipelago three men of British nationality —Marsden, Raffles (with the help of the Netherlander Muntinghe), and Crawfurd—were the first to give serious attention to the study of customary law (1783, 1814, 1820). About the same time the native customary law of India began to excite the 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

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 Peṣvâ 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 Crawfurd 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 Peṣvâ 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 administrating 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 Peṣvâ, 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 Sanskṛt as a language, Sanskṛt 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 Sanskṛt 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 Sanskṛt 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 Sanskṛt 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 look 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."

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 docoration 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

* "Relaçao 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. Felippe 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 Friers 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," *Blackwood'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 Shiraj 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 categoric 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 University 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.

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

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 Espãna 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 industrialism 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 Novelle.*) 1926. Second edition.

L'EDUCATION CIVIQUE AUX INDES. Vishnu Shivdasani. (Montpellier: *Librairie Novelle.*) 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 of 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 Encyclodædia 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 archæologists 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 Phœnicienne. 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 Djebal, 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. Mavers 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 Mycenian 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 Mycenian 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 prémiers 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 systême 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 archæological 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 archæology of the future. Even now, he maintains, archæology 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 archæological 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 tinctured 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 objective—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 employees, 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. Good-will 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 3½ 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 12½ per cent. and of the export duties on Chinese produce to 7½ 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 2½ 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 Bolshevist 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 Wanhsien 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 bogy 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 Netherlanders, 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 inacceptable 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. Ravencroft, 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

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 *primâ-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 Jeypure, 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 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

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 Nilgiries 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 sytem ; 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. Cleghorn 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 unclassed 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 standed 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.

Areas.—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 unclassed 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. 72⅔ 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

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.

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 consumption 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

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

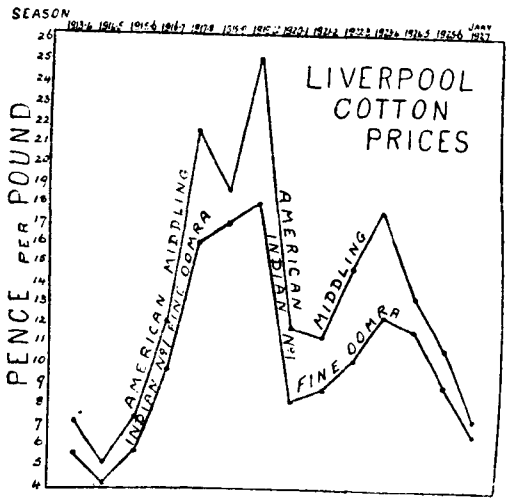

FIG. 1.

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

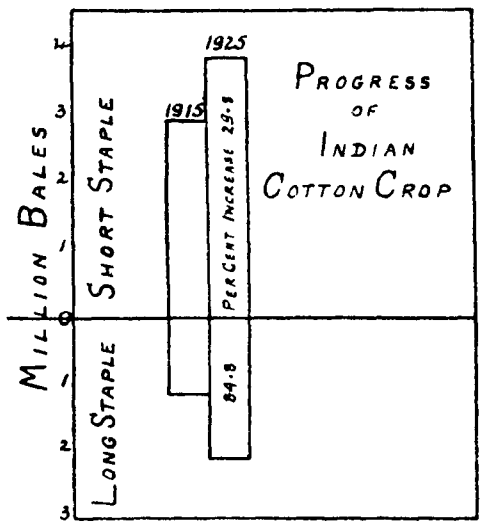

Fig. 2.

increased by less than 30 per cent., the yield of long staple cotton has increased by nearly 85 per cent. Those

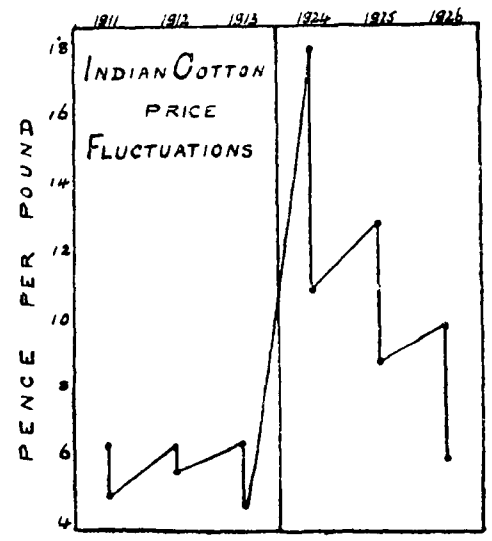

Fig. 3.

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,

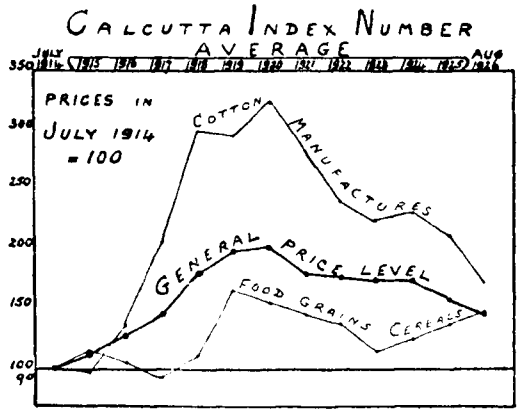

FIG. 4.

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

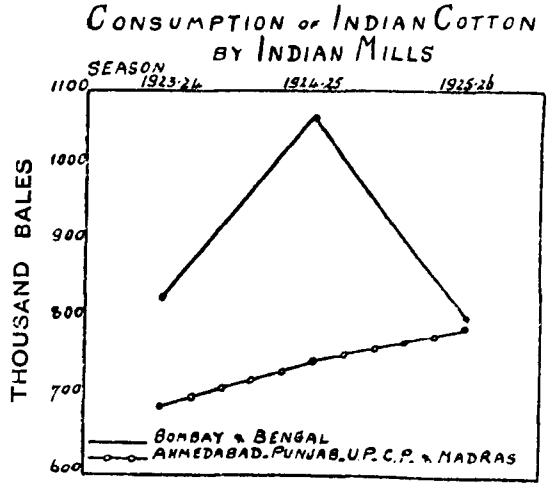

FIG. 5.

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 over-head 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

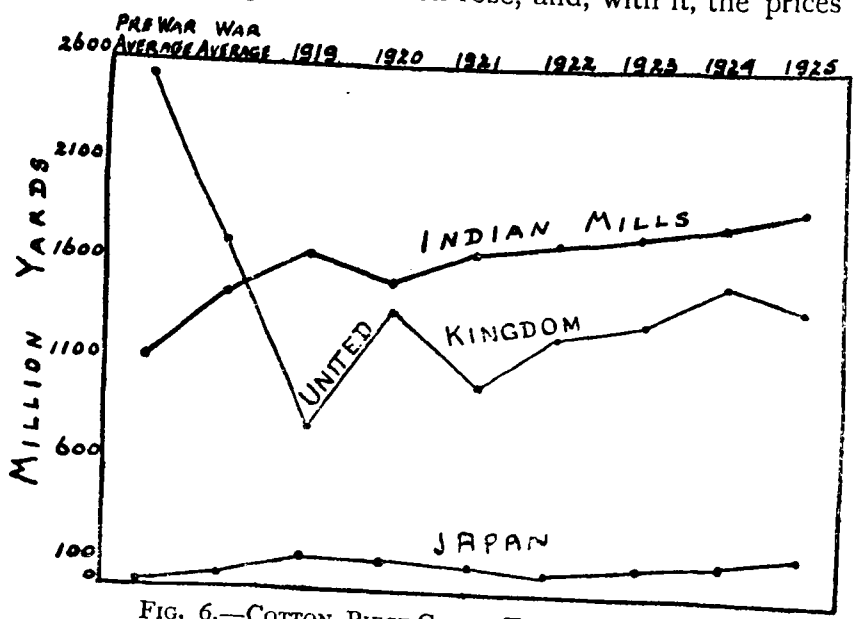

FIG. 6.—COTTON PIECE-GOODS TRADE IN INDIA.

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 Mallik, 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 Áhluwália 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 ÁHLUWÁLIA, 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

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

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 manfacture 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 3½ to 5 and 7½ 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 dis appeared. No longer did a battalion consist of ten shakoe and scarlet-clad companies, with, at least, two Britis officers per company. Their regular system wherebj Indian leaders commanded squadrons and companies in th Punjab forces raised to quell the Mutiny had swept publi opinion by reason of the success which had resulted The post-Mutiny army was to be irregular. Wings o regiments were to be commanded by British officers companies and troops of cavalry by Indian officers; unit were to have a commanding officer, an adjutant, win commanders, and two or more doing "duty" officers a assistant to the wing commanders. The staunch India Sirdar of the type who would lead and command wit vigour was to be aimed at. The regiments in Bomba and Madras were to be converted to the same system. Al cavalry, except in Madras, were further to be on th Silladar system, the European type of uniform was t disappear, and the troops would be clad in a blend betwee native costume and the uniform of a regular army. Th result for the time being was eminently satisfactory, but i a very few years the old story began again. The nev regiments found themselves up against the tribesmen an swordsmen of Umbeyla. It was found that, staunch thoug the new troops were, they were not fitted to face heav fighting without better leading; they lacked the psycho logical power and prestige that was necessary. Th demand for more European officers was unanimous. Th Afghan Wars of 1878-81 still further emphasized the poin The Frontier Campaigns of 1897 also taught the sam lesson; while, when Lord Kitchener came out with hi mandate to prepare the Army in India for a war in defen of Afghanistan and India, military opinion was universal i maintaining that still more British officers were require and the number now grew from the five or six of th

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 Áhluwália, 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 organization 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 Ahluváliá 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 Ahluváliá State. I belong to the Sikh race, the greatest martial race of Áryávart. 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 vanished 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 dfficulty 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 Pekin, 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 Bolshevist 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 villeinage 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 Bolshevist 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 Pekin 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—itself 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 Chamanlal 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 unstintin help which his publishers have given him in the production of it. Messrs Taraporevala have certainly achieved a notable success in the illustratio and printing of the book. Some of the coloured plates of Mogul mini ture paintings, which, owing to their delicate colouring and fine finish, ar always difficult to reproduce satisfactorily without prohibitive expense, wi 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 Sittannavāsal, near Pudukottai, the discovery of which was one of the great events in Indian archæological 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 archæological 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 archæological 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 Sittanavāsal 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 Sittannavāsal 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. (*Halton 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

eighteenth century; the sea of Aral seems unknown. California is shown often as an island, though Drake seems to have considered it mainland.

Next to possessing original coloured maps the coloured plates in this book are as desirable. The star-charts in plates 69 and 70 are singularly beautiful.

No collector of maps or student of cartography can neglect this book. It will remain a general standard "corpus" of old maps for a long time.

There is little or nothing for adverse criticism. "Hecatomopolis" on p. 38 and "Hecatæus" on p. 3 are minor misprints. More emphasis ought to have been put, perhaps, on Strabo's firm assertion of the spherical nature of the earth, and it is not strictly correct to say that Portolan charts were on parchment. They were usually on complete sheepskins, with legs and necks showing, and not on any fine material.

The Argonaut Press is doing fine work in the production of books of this type. The material here given is useful to any study of early geography, particularly in Europe and Asia. The price is not high for so attractive a volume.

THE HUNG SOCIETY. Vol. II. By J. S. M. Ward, M.A. Illustrated in colour and black and white. Printed in red and black. Quarto, cloth gilt. Pp. 196 + vi, numbered and limited edition. (*The Baskerville Press, Ltd.*, 161, New Bond Street, W. 1.) Price six guineas the set of three volumes.

(*Reviewed by* N. M. PENZER.)

This is the second volume of the book we reviewed a few months ago. The first volume gave the ritual of the Hung Society, and in this second volume Mr. Ward sets out to show that the ceremony deals with what is supposed to befall the soul after death. In order to do this task thoroughly, he has collected and compared versions of the journey of the soul after death, from all parts of the world, and shows that there is a remarkable similarity between the beliefs held by such different races as the Egyptians, Australian blacks, mediæval Christians, and Redskins of America.

The author naturally starts with Chinese Buddhism and Taoism, whose direct influence on the Hung ritual is patent to every student. His treatment of the subject, although adequate for his limited purpose, is somewhat too cursory for the reviewer, who trusts that in the third volume a careful comparison will be made between certain well-known Chinese burial customs and particular incidents in the Hung ritual with which these customs clearly have an analogy.

The most interesting part of this section of the book is the suggestion that the origin of the famous "willow pattern plate" is Hung, and contains subtle reference to the journey of the Hung heroes in their boat to the City of Willows. Although a new and somewhat startling theory, it should not be rejected hastily, for the author makes out a strong case in its support.

The chapter dealing with ancient beliefs as to the shape of the earth and the underworld beneath it is important. Modern students do not always grasp what a difference it makes to them that they believe the world is

"round like an orange." Indeed, halfthe symbolism of the Middle Ages becomes meaningless until we realize that even in the fourteenth century men really did believe that the dead lived in a world of caverns underneath the earth, and that through this underground tunnel the sun passed from West to East each night accompanied by the dead.

Having made clear that this was the ancient belief, and illustrated it by photographs of two specially prepared models, the author proceeds to tell us a whole series of most interesting legends, each of which, he considers, represents the journey of some hero through this underworld.

We find gathered together a strange yet goodly company. Yoonecara, the Australian bushman, rubs shoulders with Gilgamesh of Ancient Babylon. Satni-Khamois has more than a nodding acquaintance with that stout knight Sir Owayne, who in the reign of King Stephen forced his way through Purgatory. We find Jonah and St. Brendon have much in common, while the adventures of the travellers in Lucian's "Vera Historia" are, in the author's opinion, a satire on beliefs current in Lucian's day, perhaps actually taught in some Syrian mystery cult.

In dealing with the Grail legends the author has used mainly the version translated by Dr. S. Evans under the title of "The High History of the Holy Graal." This version was probably written about 1220, and although less well known than several others, such as that of Malory, is, from the student's standpoint, one of the most interesting.

The author's theories as to the significance of numerous incidents are most interesting, but we could wish that he would have spared space for extracts from some of the other early versions. Needless to say, he argues that most of the adventures in this story take place in the Underworld, but he is careful to show that the legends have also a mystical significance, which at times upsets the "geography" of the underworld. His tale from the *Arabian Nights* and his explanations of its meaning will interest all students of that great collection of stories, if only because some commentators have dismissed the tale of the "Queen of the Serpents" as a meaningless jumble. His comparison between the journey of Yudisthira and that of the Redskin brave causes one to pause and wonder whether the similarity may not be due to some, now lost, cultural connection. The prominent part played by a dog in both stories seems too marked to be entirely accidental.

In conclusion, it will be admitted that the book makes most interesting reading and will appeal to many who have little interest in the Hung Society, since it deals with a theme which has a universal appeal—the hopes and beliefs of man as to what befalls him after death. To say this does not imply that we agree with all Mr. Ward's conclusions, but our most serious criticism is that we should have liked a few more legends such as those he has given and analyzed. We trust, moreover, that the concluding volume will contain an adequate index, in which case the book will prove a valuable work of reference to students.

ARCHÆOLOGY

TUTANKHAMEN'S VICEROY

THE TOMB OF HUY, VICEROY OF NUBIA IN THE REIGN OF TUTANKHAMUN. Copied in line and colour by Nina de Garis Davies, with explanatory text by Alan H. Gardiner. Theban Tombs Series, Vol. IV. (London: *Egypt Exploration Society*, 1926.)

(*Reviewed by* WARREN R. DAWSON.)

We have often in these pages called attention to the tombs in the Theban hills and the wonderful scenes and inscriptions with which they are adorned. We have now to welcome another volume of the admirable Theban Tombs Series, edited by Mr. Norman de Garis Davies and Dr. Alan Gardiner. The subject of the present memoir is the tomb of Huy, an important official in the eighteenth dynasty who was Viceroy of Ethiopia (Nubia) in the reign of the now world-famous Pharaoh Tutankhamen. This tomb has long been known and is remarkable for the interest of the painted scenes which adorn its walls, and although selected episodes have been published by Wilkinson, Lepsius, and other early writers on Egypt, no complete monograph has been undertaken until the appearance of the volume now under notice. Since the earlier explorers visited it the tomb has suffered grievous damage, but it is fortunate that manuscript copies and tracings of many of the now damaged scenes have been preserved, and by the help of these most of the missing portions can be restored. Especially valuable in this connection are the drawings and manuscripts of the French explorer Nestor l'Hôte, which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

The first chapter of the book deals in detail with the architectural features and decoration of the tomb, together with an account of its history and what is known of its owner. The principal episodes of his life are shown in the pictures which adorn the walls of his tomb. We see the Pharaoh Tutankhamen conferring upon Huy the appointment of Viceroy of Ethiopia, that is to say, of the Egyptian dominions south of the First Cataract. The investiture is performed by the Sovereign in person, and after its completion Huy leaves the palace with his sons and attendants to render thanks to the gods for his newly conferred honour, and he proceeds to the temple of Amen and there offers a sacrifice.

The time has now come for Huy's departure for Nubia to take up his new duties. Accompanied by his relatives and followers, he proceeds to the quay, where a magnificent dahabeeyah, or house-boat, awaits his embarkation. The vessel is depicted in the greatest detail, and a fine coloured plate reproduces the original, which, for once, is not too badly damaged. The boat is gaily painted and decorated, and on the deck in a gracefully constructed stall the Viceroy's horses are shown. Over the central cabin is an elaborate awning, and similar awnings at the bows and stern are adorned with figures of gods and decorative devices. The details of the rigging and the great steering oar are well displayed, and many other details of nautical interest.

On his arrival in Nubia, Huy is greeted by the principal personages of the Nubian capital. The deputation has not come empty-handed, for each member brings a costly present. The next series of pictures represents Huy engaged in his new duties: he collects revenues, inspects the transport boats and performs other duties. The scene now shifts back to Egypt, and Huy presents the tribute of Nubia to Tutankhamen. This last group of scenes is in many ways the most interesting of all, and contains a mass of interesting detail. The chieftains of Ethiopia come in person with their retinues to present their tribute. We can study at leisure the wealth of ethnographical detail arrayed before our eyes: the physiognomy, the costume, the ornaments, the weapons of the Nubians and the various objects brought as tribute. Amongst these are different kinds of cattle, a live giraffe, rings of gold, and a host of other objects.

Such are some of the principal episodes depicted in this remarkable tomb. They are fully and completely illustrated in a series of forty plates, several of which are coloured and show Mrs. Davies' talent and skill at its best. In the accompanying text Dr. Alan Gardiner describes all the scenes in great detail and translates the explanatory inscriptions. It would be difficult to name any single volume amongst the many sumptuous products of scientific Egyptology which could surpass, or even equal, th present work in the interest of its subject and in execution of text and plates, or which could give greater pleasure and satisfaction to specialist and layman alike.

EXPLORATION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DE DÉLOS. Faite par l'Ecole française d'Athènes. Fasicule IX: Description des Revêtements peints à sujets religieux. Par Marcel Bulard. (Paris: *E. de Boccard.*)

The results of the excavations at Delos by the French School at Athens are being published in parts, each on a different subject by a different author, in similar fashion to the *Excavations at Sardis* by the American Society. It is an eminently sensible method, for each author is an independent writer able to publish his contribution without waiting for his colleagues; and the burden of the publication of a large and important site is not put on the single shoulders of one busy director. Hence speedier work is possible. The present fascicule, number nine of the series, by Marcel Bulard treats of the wall paintings of religious character. They are in part known from the illustrated articles by the same author and by M. Plassart in the *Monuments Piot*, 1908, and the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 1916. The present publication is not only a completer presentation of these particular paintings, but lays special stress on the location of the frescoes, treating each as part of a larger whole. The paintings occur on altars, in niches, and on the walls of houses; the prevalent subjects are domestic deities and sacrificial scenes; and so they give us a highly interesting picture of the intimate, domestic religion of late classical times. They are mostly of rather cursory but spirited execution, evidently done hastily by able craftsmen. A beautiful series of coloured plates gives us a good idea of the colours employed—mostly sombre browns and purples, with occasional additions of greens, yellows,

blues, and reds. The exact date is uncertain. They appear to be slightly anterior to the Pompeian ones—that is, of the second and first century B.C., and this greatly adds to their interest, for it establishes the close connection of the Eastern and Western schools. The fine get-up of the book, with its good type, excellent illustrations, and adequate text, is in line with the former volumes.

NEAR EAST

MEMOIRS OF HALIDÉ EDIB. With illustrations. (*John Murray.*) 21s. net.

For those who lived in Constantinople some fifty years ago and remember Turkish young girls as their playmates and Turkish women as their friends (like the writer), the book of Halidé Hanum is certainly a revelation. Indeed, the reflection is forced upon the reader how much talent and usefulness has been irretrievably lost, through the Turks denying to their women a liberal education. And, again, what a great change it must have meant to recognize at last that in order to advance in the world, they must needs move with the world.

The first part of Halidé Edib's volume is the most interesting for Europeans. She describes the old régime still going on in the harems. She describes her delicate and beautiful mother with silken black hair and dark long eyelashes, lying on a couch bored with life and fading away. Perhaps it was caused by deep disappointment in having to consent to divorce an affectionate husband by whom she had a child because he was too wild in his behaviour for the distinguished family he had married into. She had simply to obey, as she had to obey also when she married him. Halidé's father (who was her mother's second husband) had some high post in the entourage of the Sultan at Yildiz Kiosk, was a kindly man and very fond of his wife, for when she died Halidé Hanum tells us that he was known to sit night after night at a little table with a single candle, tears flowing down his cheeks. Very illuminating as to how things went on in the Turkish household is the conversation that the little girl Halidé overheard when straying into the kitchen, and which she narrates as follows:

Rassim the cook, a dark, ugly woman, said to Ali, the old manservant, who inquired after his master: "He is still crying by the light of that single candle. It is the portrait of that other man they found on her breast when she died which has done the mischief." Thereupon Ali replies angrily: "Thou must have put it there, thou pig," and Rassim protests, saying: "No, vallahi! if she had not had the portrait, how could I have put it anywhere?" Then Rassim puts her arms round Ali and kisses him, looking at the same time at little Halidé and into her wondering eyes; she raises her finger and says: "Halidé Hanum, you are not to tell—never, never." To this command the little girl replied, "I will tell, Rassim, I will tell." Then followed the usual fighting between Ali and Rassim because of Halidé, whom the old servant protected. The next morning (and this shows the energy in one so young) Halidé runs down to the kitchen in her nightdress, her feet all bare, shouting defiantly on the last steps: "I will tell, Rassim, I will tell." Then she is caught by Rassim and put in the middle of the kitchen; a basket of crawling insects is poured by Rassim on the floor, but that was not enough; the cruel Rassim put pepper into her mouth, and Ali was not there to protect her. But fortunately her grandmother heard her screams and rescued her. Rassim was dismissed for her cruelty, and also old Ali left.

Another scene described is, when Halidé's elder sister arrived (the child of her dead mother from her first husband), a brilliant girl with crimson cheeks and curly black hair, who treated her as an inferior and ordered her about, climbed trees and played with dolls and balls during lessons, the very opposite of Halidé. But one day her stay with her grandmother, a quiet lady of the old régime, came to an end, because her father had married again a beautiful young wife, and she was to go back to live with him in another house, whereas she had chiefly stayed with her grandmother since her own mother's death. She tells us that she was so impressed by the looks and the dress of her stepmother that she jumped into the lady's lap and kissed her. Her father, who began by dreading this first meeting, ended by wiping the tears from his eyes and feeling happier. But in the evening, when Halidé saw that her elder sister was to go back to her grandmother and she to stay behind, the author tells us that she felt a painful pressure on her heart. But the new wife's uncle, a kind old man with a long white beard, took her on his knees and made things easier for her.

It seems that her father, Edib Bey, felt a strong admiration for everything English, and especially for the English way of bringing up their children. He believed that the secret of their greatness was due to this. It shows that he was already Westernized to a certain degree, and that he was not opposed to giving a proper education to his little girl. He wanted Halidé—she was then only five years old—to be dressed like English children: in dark blue dresses in winter and white linen dreses in summer; also that her arms and legs should be bare, and that she should only have milk and biscuits before she went to bed in the evening. Next we find Halidé very happily installed in a sort of "kindergarten" close by, which was kept by three Greek spinsters. Kyria Ellenné, the eldest, at once took a great liking to the little Turkish girl. It is interesting that Halidé, then about four to five years old, states "she felt herself no longer roaming about in Hades, dozing in a strange atmosphere, but that all at once there was a new life in her, that she felt no longer morbid. For the first time she made joyous movements and played happily. She felt a wonderful security and a nameless delight in her teacher's presence. She spoke, sang and recited, happy to be able to give herself in humble gratitude to Kyria Ellenné's warm heart."

This happiness of the impressive child lasted until Halidé contracted a serious illness and had to leave her beloved school. Subsequently her early education was taken in hand by a literary Turk, a certain Ahmed

Aga. Halidé enjoyed the fact that it was not given in lesson form, which made it all the more effective. He taught her the popular Turkish literature during three years, until she went to the American College, rightly famed for its excellency. Her father also wished her to have music lessons, so that she might not be too much wrapt up in the reading of books of history and battles, such as the heroic deeds of Battal Gazi, who fought against the Byzantines, kidnapping beautiful Greek princesses. For, although the Byzantine Cæsar built the Leander tower in the middle of the Bosphorus to hide and protect the most beautiful princess, she was nevertheless taken from him. Halidé records also another book which she read in Persian with Ahmed Aga, about the Persian hero Horssani, who took the part of the fallen house of the Abassides against the Ommiads. But she confesses that the hero she liked best was Ali, the fourth Khalif and son-in-law of the Prophet. For he was not a killer of men, women and children, but a slayer of dragons which ate people up. She compares this Arabic Ali with the Northern Siegfried and the Russian St. George. This Ali was the least successful of Islamic heroes. All his adversaries took advantage of his goodness of heart. Ayesha, the widow of Muhammad, is for ever making use of him because of his chivalrous respect for women. He lived a life that was morally pure, and he was manly and humane to his enemies, tender and good to the weak. No wonder, she argues, that so many religious sects worship him. The Westerner's conception of Christ in the highest spiritual domain, attained at the cost of suffering and a humiliating death, has its counterpart in the mind of the personality of Ali. Nevertheless she tells us that Mustapha Kemal Pasha considered Ali to be "weak and a fool" when she argued with him.

It would lead us too far to dwell any longer on incidents recorded in Halidé's early life; but we have read enough to fill us with admiration for this remarkable Turkish lady who succeeded, in spite of all the difficulties she encountered in her childhood, in developing into one of the most cultured women of her time. Her books, "Yeni Turan" and "The Turk Ayachi," have become famous. She also studied with great assiduity mathematics and algebra, and subsequently married the high official who taught her and introduced her into that science. With him she became one of the chief contributors to the *Tanine* in the early days of the Young Turkish régime. It throws a strange light on her otherwise enlightened and highly-educated Turkish husband, that one day he surprised her with the news, when she returned home with her two sons from a short visit to her grandmother, that he had married a *second* wife. "But, of course, you will always be my first wife," he added. Halidé, however, did not accept this new position, but divorced him, true to her principle that polygamy was a mistake and a source of great unhappiness in Muslim families, as is shown in her Memoirs. Her volume is divided into two parts: "Between the Old and the New Turkey" and "The New Turkey in the Making." She devoted herself assiduously to her literary and political pursuits, and was in constant touch with the public men of her time—viz., Enver Bey, Talaat Pasha, Djemal Pasha,

and others—whom she describes as much more humane also to the Armenians than we had imagined. She twice visited Isabel Fry in London, who returned her visits in Constantinople and Syria. In her last chapters she gives us most interesting accounts of the educational work she had undertaken in Syria at the suggestion of Djemal Pasha, Dr. Loutfi, and others. Orphanages were founded in those districts to receive the children not only of Muslims, but also of Armenians and Greeks, who had lost parents in the war, through deportation or otherwise. She worked miracles among those schools, and especially at Aintoura, where she introduced not only cleanliness, but drainage and electricity. She instituted the Montessori system among the younger children, and had the elder boys taught to make shoes for themselves and the other boys and girls, and the girls to make dresses and coats for the whole community. Illustrations depict them busily at work. Being very fond of music and acting also herself, she gave to these children musical entertainments, and engaged the famous Arab musician Vedi Sabra, who put one of her stories, "The Shepherds of Canaan," into a musical play, which the children subsequently acted with great enthusiasm and understanding. But Halidé had worked too hard in Syria with her orphanages: sixteen hours a day with her staff, and her health was impaired after a time. We are almost glad to see from her book that she returned to Constantinople with her second husband, who had come to fetch her. He was Dr. Adnan Bey, the valued representative at the Sublime Porte of the Government of Angora. When subsequently the allied armies entered Syria, she was able to arrange with the Americans—Mr. Dodge in Beyrouth, who with his family also had founded an excellent orphanage, and Dr. Bliss—that the Red Cross should take up the orphanages she and Djemal Pasha had founded.

The distinguished author concludes her highly interesting book, which gives us also the political outlook from the angle of the Ottomans in Constantinople, Brussa, and Smyrna, with the Armistice signed at Mudros. She promises before long a second volume, in which she proposes "to tell us a separate tale of one of the greatest epics in modern Europe."

L. M. R.

LES MERVEILLES DE L'ASIE. Par le Père J. C. de Sévérac. (Paris: *Geuthner.*) 75 francs.

Although not comparable with the famous Marco Polo, Carpiny Odoric, and even Batuta, Père de Sévérac was nevertheless a great traveller who, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, left these fragments of his travels in Asia. He was more a missionary obeying the Pope's orders, and as such he must be judged. In the notes we obtain a concise account of Armenia and missionary work accomplished during his time. His remarks on India, Arabia, Tartary, and Turkey are enlarged with notes of the late Professor Henri Cordier. The plates are good collotype reproductions, and we can but marvel at the beauty of the original manuscript. The publisher has given this work a splendid appearance, and this book should find a place by the side of the better-known mediæval travellers.

FORMULAIRE SANSCRIT-TIBÉTAIN DU X SIÈCLE. Édité et traduit par J. Hackin. (Paris: *Geuthner.*) 75 francs.

The authorship of this book is sufficient guarantee that it is a book of the front rank. The director of the Musée Guimet is well known to visitors to Paris for his excellent guide to the Buddhist collection under his charge.

LE MONDE ISLAMIQUE. Par Max Meyerhof. With 59 illustrations. (Paris: *F. Rieder.*)

Mr. Meyerhof gives us in this book a short and lucid survey of the Islamic world from its origin to the present day. As is known, the inhabitants of Arabia have been and are still called the Beduins (*Badaoui*, people of the desert), and constantly quarrelled with each other for pastures and rivers. They attained some thousand years before our era a superior culture, and assimilated later on with the Greek, Roman, and Persian civilizations. A road in the east of Central Arabia became known where a considerable traffic was carried on with Indian spices which extended to the Mediterranean regions and to South Africa; whilst Mecca and Medina was known for its commerce in dates. The author points out that until the sixth century the inhabitants of this region, called the "Hidjas," were still pagans, and venerated a sanctuary of their god "Hobal" at Mecca. According to a Muslim legend, this sanctuary, called "Kaba," had been constructed by order of Abraham and his son Ishmael, and the family entrusted to watch over it was that of "Hachim," of the tribe of the "Coraish." It was from this family that Mohammed, the Prophet of Islam, was born at Mecca. He was left an orphan at an early age. When grown up, the widow "Kadishah" entrusted him with her business, and chose him as a husband. She it was who first believed in his mission, when he told her one day, returning from the desert, where he had led his laden camels, that he had had a vision, and that a divine being—the archangel Gabriel—had appeared to him, showing to him a book, and pronouncing the following words, which are to be found in the ninety-sixth chapter of the Koran: "Read, in the name of thy Lord, who hath created all things; who hath created men of congealed blood (all men being created of thick or concreted blood, except only Adam, Eve, and Jesus). Read, for thy Lord is most beneficent. It is he who taught man the use of the pen, and who teacheth man that which he knoweth not." It is interesting here to note that these words are supposed to be a reply to Mohammed, who had declared that he could not read, being illiterate. They seem to intimate a promise that God, who had inspired man with the art of reading and writing, would graciously remedy this defect in him. It might even be suggested that he possessed henceforth the art of automatic writing. Mohammed recognized that he was chosen to reveal "Allah" (God) to the Beduin pagans. It was he who created the idea of monotheism in Arabia. But, as Mr. Meyerhof tells us, it was certainly not an easy task to propagate this new doctrine. For twelve years and more he tried to convince the people of Mecca, and left furtively one day for

Medina. He returned again in 630 with his disciples in order to destroy the idols of Kaba. Henceforth one Arab tribe after another recognized Mohammed as the Prophet of Allah, and audacious warriors became his faithful generals, advancing by his order to conquer the Byzantine Empire. He succeeded in abolishing the cruel custom the Arabs had of putting to death newly born female children, but not the strife among the various tribes and the vendetta which continued after his death.

The energetic Omar, one of Mohammed's sons-in-law, began to attack the neighbouring empires. As the author points out, it seems incredible that these badly equipped Beduins could defeat in so short a time Byzantine and Persian armies. Othman, another son-in-law of the Prophet, who succeeded Omar as Kalif in 677, favoured his own family, the Omayades, thus creating a bitter feeling between his adherents at Mecca and those of Ali, the husband of Fatima (the eldest daughter of the Prophet), at Medina. It was the cause that henceforth the Arabs began to massacre each other, which interrupted the conquests that they had begun so successfully.

In the succeeding chapters Mr. Meyerhof describes the faith and law, the civilization and the present state of Islam. The Arabs in the eleventh century produced historians and translated Aristotle into Arabic. In fact the Persian philosopher Ibn Sina was much influenced by Aristotle; so was the famous Averroes of Cordova in the twelfth century. In chemistry and mathematics they even surpassed their Greek masters; they cultivated zoology, mineralogy and botany, and discovered medical plants and precious stones. We owe to them the introduction in the West of sugar, coffee, tomatoes and artichokes. The wonders of the astral world had a special attraction for the Arabs, and some of their works on astronomy have been translated into Latin. Astrology and mysticism were greatly cultivated too.

In conclusion the author treats extensively of the more recent state of Islam down to the present day. It would lead us too far to follow him here, through the forty and more pages he dedicates to this part of his interesting book. But the reader will find a lucid account of the happenings before and during the Great War.

A word of praise is due to the numerous and very fine illustrations, showing the stately architecture of the mosques (amongst which, however, we miss the green Mosque of Brussa which Loti so much praised), public buildings and palaces, the cemeteries, and last, not least, the men, women and children of the Islamic world, which, owing to Mustapha Kemal Pasha, is now undergoing a remarkable evolution.

L. M. R.

VOYAGEURS EN ORIENT. Par Henry Bordeaux, de l'Académie Française. (Paris: *Plon.*)

M. H. Bordeaux, who undertook a voyage in 1922 to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, accompanied by his courageous and charming daughter—a second Lady Hester Stanhope—has had the happy thought to bring before us together with his own reminiscences and impressions those of many illustrious travellers before him.

As one of the first, the author names the veteran of those soldiers, archæologists and writers, whose real name has been as yet unrevealed, but who is known as that famous pilgrim of Bordeaux, who, as early as A.D. 333, travelled from Europe through Asia Minor to Jerusalem. His guide-book is a valuable geographical document of the time. In his descriptions of Jerusalem he mentions the Basilica of the Resurrection built by order of the Emperor Constantine, "a temple of great beauty and surrounded by water." Of the Dead Sea he tells us that the water is bitter and does not contain any fish nor carry any ships. He certainly is the first traveller in those parts who kept a diary, and he has contributed much to encourage pilgrimages to the Holy Land. After him M. Bordeaux cites Michaud, the famous historian of the Crusades. It was certainly he who first brings before us the Crusaders of the Middle Ages, those penitents, one of them Robert of Normandy—the father of William the Conqueror—who had killed his own brother Richard. In order to secure pardon he undertook to walk bare-footed to the Holy Land covered by a sack. He fell ill when reaching Asia Minor and was subsequently carried about in a litière by Saracens. When he met a Norman compatriot he said to him after making himself known (for his humour never forsook him); "Tell my people that you have seen a Christian prince being brought to Paradise by devils."

The author regrets not to be able to devote a whole book to those early Crusaders who were at the same time the defenders of the Holy Cross and also of a united Europe—*united* long before "Locarno"—giving an example to our diplomats of to-day. In this connection he comments on Godfroy de Bouillon, "great in war and in peace and humble in victory;" Saint Louis, who, although defeated, dominated nevertheless over the Saracens, inspiring them with respect. But, alas! their efforts and successes were ephemeral; it was in Antioch, that second town of the kingdom of Jerusalem, that subsequently was prepared the loss of Palestine for the French. The struggle over Antioch and Jerusalem between Saladin and Renaud de Chatillon, who had married the fair widow of Raymond d'Aquitaine, is recorded at some length by the author, who follows in his narrative M. Gustave Schlumberger, who attributes the ultimate loss of Palestine to Renaud de Chatillon, who was as incapable as he was rapacious. In comparing him with Godfroy de Bouillon he tells us "that we can easily understand how we founded and how we lost within a hundred years the kingdom of Jerusalem."

During the renaissance the thought of Palestine did not so much occupy Europe, being much more interested with Greek and Roman antiquities. But in the seventeenth century the curiosity and the taste for the East came again to the fore; but it was no longer an act of piety like that of the early Crusaders.

The author now proceeds to cite the "Itinéraire" of Chateaubriand as the most important book at that time written about Palestine, and refers the reader to Strabo, Pliny, Josephus, Diodorus of Sicily, and Tacitus. Nobody, he says, has described with more emotion than Chateaubriand the impression that the Holy Land made upon him: "Je restai les yeux fixes sur Jerusalem, mesurant la hauteur de ses murs, recevant à la fois tous les souvenirs de l'histoire depuis Abraham jusqu'à Godfroy de Bouillon, pensant au monde entier changé par la mission du fils de l'Homme, et cherchant vainement le temple dont il ne reste pas pierre sur pierre."

Maurice Barrès, to whom Bordeaux devotes the last chapter of his second volume, is more impressed, he says, by the memory of those French Crusaders who lost their way in the Lebanon and finally installed themselves in Greece. But his book "Une Enquête aux Pays du Levant," where he describes so eloquently Homs, Aleppo, and Antioch, Taurus, and the Sarcophagus of Alexander at Constantinople, sufficiently depicts his enthusiasm for what he has seen during his travels in the Levant. He had reserved Jerusalem for later—but, alas! death overtook him before he could realize his project.

Lamartine's well-known "Voyages en Orient" are also commented upon at length by M. Bordeaux. He tells us that touching story of the Cedars of the Lebanon, on the oldest of which has been inscribed the name of "Julia," the daughter whom Lamartine lost in Palestine.

Renan, with his sister Henriette, whose grave was visited by Maurice Barrès at Amchitte, Flaubert, and the romantic Princess Belgioloso, so much admired by Heine, are not forgotten, nor the archæologists, Burton, Drake, Wright, Sayce, and Davis. The author describes Mariette who, when attached to the Louvre, received a mission to go to Sagguarah, where he stayed three years without sufficient money, ill, and threatened with assassination by the Arabs. But at last, in 1851, his excavations were crowned with success. He discovered a door which opened into a space where there were numerous sarcophagi. "A dead people arose at his orders." But Abbas Pasha put his hands on the treasures and forbade the exportation of these antiquities. Mariette, however, succeeded subsequently in bringing at least a few of these treasures to the Louvre, thanks to numerous devices, and finally founded at Cairo the museum of Boulaq.

It is in the home of Mariette that M. Bordeaux with his daughter takes a long rest after a ride through the desert, where they pass unforgettable hours. But not the least attractive and interesting are the author's own impressions. The descriptions he gives us of the castles that the Crusaders had built, and of which he visited five: one of these the famous so-called Château de Beaufort; the fortress of Tartous; the so-called Kalaat at Homs, which still has its towers and its dungeon; the "Markab," high above the sea, now a formidable conglomeration of stones, which once could contain a garrison of 15,000 men. Their dimensions, their massive architecture, remind him of M. Emile Mâle's famous works of the religious art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, asserting that Arab, and also especially Syrian, influence made itself felt on European architecture after the Crusades. The proportions of these châteaux, he concludes, indicate that our ancestors, in visiting the Holy Land, wished also to make themselves a home there. They certainly formed a bulwark for some time against the invasions of Asia; but unfortunately their divisions finally undermined

their plans. M. Bordeaux, like Maurice Barrès before him, is glad that the French language is spoken and so well known in most of the towns of Syria and Macedonia, owing to numerous religious institutions which spread French education. These have greatly contributed since many years to bring a higher standard of civilization into those countries. He pays also a great tribute to the French Consuls of those parts, and names Henri Pognon, who discovered the *stele* with Aramean inscriptions, now in the Louvre. He also recalls the American Consul Johnson, de Laborde, and the Marquis de Voguë, who gave M. Bordeaux valuable advice before he started with his daughter on his expedition a short time before the war. Was it not this old veteran who brought us from the East whole cities with their streets and tombs, their churches, comparable to the wonders of Pompeii, giving us back a destroyed civilization—that of the Hittites.

But lack of space prevents our accompanying any further M. H. Bordeaux in his interesting accounts of his "Voyageurs en Orient," which I highly recommend to all those who entertain the idea of travel in the East, and no less to those who, being unable to undertake any more such a journey, wish to dwell on happy reminiscences of the past, like the writer of this review.

L. M. R.

RISSALAT AL TAWHID. Exposé de la Religion Musulmane. (Paris: *Geuther.*)

The above is a translation from the Arabic, with an Introduction to the life and teachings of Sheikh Muhammad Abdou, by M. B. Michel and Moustapha Abdul Razik. This is intended as a manual for the general public, and the translator in his Preface declares that the notes are simplified so as to appeal to those who have not made a study of Islam. Muhammad Abdou, though naturally a strict Muhammadan, shows a somewhat liberal spirit in his teaching. There is perhaps no work on Islam that has received such a wide circulation throughout the East, and for this reason alone a translation was imperative, and we congratulate the enterprising publisher on his initiative.

TURKEY. By Professor Arnold Toynbee. (*Benn.*) 15s. net.

The three parts of which this work is composed deal with the historical background up to 1918—the Revolution and the New Turkey respectively.

The first is an interesting study; the second and third parts are of so recent happenings as to be in most people's minds in a general sense, but deserve deep attention.

From the joint authors' intimate knowledge of Turkey and the Near East this book is, as might be expected, a masterly survey of the subject. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that in a work which professes to be a historical narrative, nothing should have been said of the Armenian question. That no mention should have been made of the dispersion of nearly a million alien subjects of Turkey is a serious

omission, and detracts rather from the value of the book. This question is all the more important from the fact that from 1896 onwards the position taken up by the British Government in regard to Turkey's treatment of Armenians was one and perhaps the greatest cause of England's declining and Germany's ascending influence at the Porte. This German influence was predominant in 1914.

In the first part, the authors make an exhaustive study of the Turkish mentality, which differs completely from that of the Western peoples, and which is aptly termed "Nomadic"; it is safe to say that until that mentality is studied, the West will never understand Turkey.

The chief assets of this mentality are mass-docility and an unquestioning obedience to what, in the opinion of the masses, is properly constituted authority in the person of an individual able to command it. The two momentous occasions on which these characteristics saved Turkey were in the years after 1401, when the empire was dismembered by Timur, and after 1918, when Turkey lay helpless at the feet of the Allies. In both these cases the necessary leaders were forthcoming. The successful leader of the Nomads, besides being an outstanding personality, has always been an able diplomatist when dealing with foreign policy. It should not be forgotten that the Turks effected their first landing in Europe entirely, and their last return to Europe in a very great measure, by the skilful art of taking advantage of their adversaries' dissensions. One can only form opinions on what has actually happened, and history has shown that, from Osman to Mustapha Kemal, the successful leader of the Turkish nation has never tolerated the least presumption in his subordinates.

The Turkish Constitution was framed in 1923 on Western lines, but when the drawbacks of constitutional government became manifest to the ruler, the Tribunal of Independence was set up, with the results of which we have become familiar during the last summer.

Who, it may be asked, do the bidding of the ruler? The answer is, the army. And what class forms the overwhelming majority of the army? The peasantry, and there is nothing to show that this class has begun to think for themselves.

The authors of "Turkey" do not apparently consider that the nation possesses these ancient traits mentioned above to the same extent as their forefathers had; that is to say, that it is beginning to develop individuality, especially in political matters, which, of course, was the very thing the Turk of old did not do. We have just seen how freedom of thought amongst a minute fraction of the nation is treated, and it seems fairly safe to conclude that it will be so treated for many years to come.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha took a minor part in the revolution of 1908, and he then learnt, if he did not already know it, the value of the army in Turkish politics, and he takes care that he has the army behind him.

It may be assumed that if Abdul Hamid had been a more virile personality such as appeals to a nation of sturdy primitive nomadic instincts, he would never have been dethroned by his own army.

The chapter of Turkish relations with Russia will cause the reader to speculate on Turkey's future foreign policy. At the present moment she

appears to wish to hunt with the Western hounds and run with the Russian hare, and it will be a bold man who asserts which side she will eventually take.

The Mosul Boundary question, so important to England, has a chapter to itself, and Turkey's attitude towards this country is sympathetically set down.

But the book was in the press when the dramatic change of front of Turkey took place, from intransigeance to reason, and this point remains to be dealt with by future historians. "YOLJU."

LA GUERRE TURQUE DANS LA GUERRE MONDIALE. By Commandant M. Larcher. (Paris: *Etienne Chiron*, 40 Rue de Seine.)

(*Reviewed by* LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN.)

"The Turkish Share in the World War" is one of those complete and painstaking books which a certain type of French author turns out with a completeness and lucidity, and with a power of research, to be met with in no other language. It has the *cachet* of an Introduction by General Franchet d'Esperet, and is based on a consideration of the racial, political and religious conditions which made the Turks and their actions in many ways such a distinct part of the World War. It reviews the Pan-Islamic movement, and the rise of the Young Turk party, in their just proportion to the picture as a whole. The British campaigns in Mesopotamia and in Palestine are reviewed from a somewhat different aspect from that which is habitual, though somewhat tainted with the ineradicable habit, so ingrained in certain French schools of thought, of seeing the deepest designs in the most stupid and short-sighted Anglo-Saxonisms. Especially is this so when dealing with the British policy in Mesopotamia. The chapter on the operations against the Russians in the Caucasus throws a light on a phase of the war concerning which the popular knowledge is less than in the case of most other theatres. Chapter IX. treats of Pan-Islamism in Africa, a movement with which both British and French, and to a lesser degree Italy, were concerned, especially in the form which eventually involved the British in the difficult operations against the Senussi. The Pan-Turanian movement, that attempt to bind the Tatar element in the Prussian descent into a brotherhood with the whole of the Turk and Tartar races from Constantinople to Peking, comes in for its due meed of consideration. This again was one of those side-issues which involved Great Britain in the costly operations in the Trans-Caspian countries, owing to the need for putting a barrier in its way. The League of the White Horse is for the moment dead, but no doubt some enthusiast will try to revive it as the years roll by. Commandant Larcher has also a good deal that is interesting to say regarding the collapse of the Russian Imperial Forces in the Caucasus, to which region the Bolshevist disruption came somewhat later than in Russia itself. The military expansion of India in 1918 is written of in an interesting manner.

"Les classes combattantes seules fournissaient des contingents: Aryens Hindous de la caste Kchatria (Sikhs, Mahrattas, Radjpouts, Brahyans); Aryens Musulmans (Pathans, Pundjabis, Baloutchis, Brahouis); Mongols Montagnards Nepalese, (Gourkhas, Dogras [*sic*]) soit le 1/7e de l'Inde."

The general account of the Frontier Defence and operations is considered as part of the whole concept of the War, which, while essentially right, is a treatment not often accorded, though much of the difficulty with which the Government of India was confronted was undoubtedly due to "La Guerre Sainte." The Commandant's book is certainly a very useful addition to the literature of the Great War.

CE QUE L'INDE DOIT À LA GRÈCE. By Comte Goblet d'Alviella. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner*.)

(*Reviewed by* STANLEY RICE.)

The question of Greek influence in India is one that has attracted many scholars, notably the German savants Windisch and Weber. The invasion of Alexander and the long occupation of the North-West by his successors naturally suggested that the Greeks, who have left such a profound impression upon European civilization, could not have failed to leave their mark upon India, and this hypothesis was to some extent borne out by the distinctive Hellenic elements which have been traced in the architecture and the coins of India, as revealed by patient archæological discoveries. Nevertheless when we survey the sum total of the conclusions and weigh the arguments that have been put forward for and against the various theories, there is very little that can safely be said to have been established. That Greek influence affected such comparatively lasting and material things as coins and buildings is, of course, indubitable; what is perhaps more remarkable is that after a time it seems to have died out completely and left the native Indian arts in full possession of the field. These discoveries, however, suggested further to ingenious minds that Greece might be detected in other fields, in philosophy, in astronomy, in mathematics, in the drama, and even in religion. M. le Comte Goblet d'Alviella discusses these various aspects of the question in a series of lectures which were originally published some thirty years ago in Brussels, and in the reprint of 1925 he has found no sufficient reason to change his opinion. The conclusion at which he has arrived is that of direct Greek influence there is very little, but that contact with the classical culture did, in fact, quicken and to some extent modify Indian ideas without destroying their fundamental originality. He considers that Indian philosophy ran its course without Greek aid, and on the whole agrees with M. Sylvain Lévi that Windisch has by no means proved the theory that the Indian drama owes much, if not everything to the later Greek comedy. Much of this as well as of other theories depends upon a variety of resemblances, but as the Count justly observes and as M. Lévi has also remarked on the question of the drama, it is necessary carefully to distinguish between those peculiar similarities which

suggest at least a common origin and those universal characteristics which may be said to belong to all races and all times. In discussions of this kind it is necessary always to bear in mind, as it would seem some scholars, obsessed with Alexander and his expedition, are apt to forget, that Asia Minor intervened between Greece and India, and that there was considerable contact between the various nations inhabiting these regions by reason of trade and travel. The Count has recognized this in more than one place. He reminds his readers that the "Aryans of India and of Greece are descended from a common stock," and that both were in contact with a superior civilization, that of Mesopotamia. In regard to fables, he points out that the Assyrians and the Lydians played the part of intermediaries. It is this that gives its special interest to the question; if the various analogies and resemblances can be definitely traced to an intermediary source, we should be able to establish a much closer relationship between what we call the East and the West than any which is based upon definite importations due to Alexander and the Greek occupation. Even in religion, in the analogies between the stories of Buddha and those of Christ, as well as between various passages of the Bhagavad Gita and the New Testament—analogies which are well worthy the attention of theologians—the same question arises. No doubt the spread of Buddhism to the West and of Christianity to the East—both being eminently proselytizing religions—had much to do with the striking identity both in doctrine and in ritual, but we are still left wondering whether, after all, both do not owe much to the intervening territory. The Count has not allowed himself to be stampeded into any theory, however plausible; and although the book is short, it is well worth the attention of those who are interested in this fascinating problem.

RELIGION AND ETHICS

THE DOCTRINE OF THE BUDDHA: THE RELIGION OF REASON. By George Grimm. (Leipzig: *W. Drugulin.*) Cloth, 12s.; stitched, 10s. net.

(*Reviewed by* W. F. WESTBROOK.)

The learned author surveys our present age, and sees that it is irreligious, and engrossed in the enjoyment of the present fleeting existence, and given to the exploitation of the weak. He sees that the prevalent condition is one of social class-war, and that we are heading for *red world revolution*, the great danger of the future. He sees, as do so many of us, that we shall have to restore religion, as offering to mankind other and future life, and as repressing self-seeking. But he decides that (*a*) the leaders, such as there are, of mankind are not awake to this need, and (*b*) there is no religion available, as Christianity has exhausted its mandate. And so mankind threatens to go under in the morass of so-called civilization.

He believes that what is pressingly needed, and what the world awaits, is a philosophical religion or a religious philosophy, which may, with good-will, be grasped by any average mind; and he does not see one readily available in the Occident. (We would suggest to him Auguste Comte's "Positivism and the Religion of Humanity.") He therefore deems it best to hark back to ancient India, and to turn to the ancient doctrine taught by the Buddha. But he would sweep aside many of the Buddhist documents as being non-original, belated, and unauthoritative in compilation, incoherent and trivial in teaching—"they almost make one forget there was once a Buddha!"—and imposed by inadequate authority. He makes an earnest, honest effort throughout this book to get at and expound the original and essential teachings of the Buddha—the *dhamma anitiha*, the truth that carries its confirmation within itself. He first summarizes, in a practical way, the theme and basis of the doctrine; and then, in four solid chapters, freely discusses and illustrates "the four most excellent Truths"—suffering, the arising of suffering, the annihilation of suffering, and the eightfold path to the annihilation of suffering, Nibbana—covering in these the whole field of Buddhist thought and conduct; and further, in an interesting appendix, deals with (*a*) the doctrine of the Buddha as the flower of Indian thought, (*b*) the metaphysics of the Buddha, and (*c*) right cognition. "Suffering" seems difficult of precise and settled definition; all activities of life, all clinging to life, are suffering; it is disharmony and it is lack of equilibrium; and "the real ultimate criterion of suffering is transitoriness" or impermanence.

The book, well and attractively printed in Leipzig, is large and full, and, though perhaps "not everybody's reading," must strongly appeal to men and women of broadly religious mind. It requires and deserves leisurely and thoughtful attention, and this it amply repays. The plain and cogent reasoning and clear statement of the friendly author one cannot help admiring, and his sweet reasonableness: he deals in keen analogies and in apt illustrations, and he has some fine prose-poetic passages. He keeps close to the actual life of men (chiefly men!) and applies throughout the tests of right feeling, right thought, right conduct; he is generous in good and useful footnotes and *obiter dicta*. And as he takes his leave of us he says: To be sure, also after this exposition thereof, the doctrine of the Buddha will remain for the majority of men an entirely inaccessible realm; and even those who may divine its immense depth . . . may only praise it, not subscribe to it, and may withdraw to other systems more within their scope. . . . But, on the other hand, there are also minds which only need instruction in order to recognize the doctrine of the Buddha as "a lotus pond, with a clear, mild, cool, glittering surface, easily accessible, refreshing, and with deep forest-groves near the water," and who thereupon, "scorched and devoured by the fiery summer sun, exhausted, trembling, athirst," bathe and drink in this lotus pond, "and after having assuaged all the pains and torments of exhaustion, sit or lie down in the forest-grove, filled only with delight." These, too, at one time may have taken their refuge in other systems. None the less, now they say: "Certainly there were many columns

standing there, and the selfsame sun shone upon them all, *but it was only Memnon's column that sang.*" For such as these the foregoing expositions have been written.

THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA, ON THE STUPA OF BARABUDUR, according to the Lalitavistara text. Edited by Dr. N. J. Krom. Pp. viii+132. With 120 reproductions. (The Hague: *Martinus Nijhoff.*)

(*Reviewed by* W. F. WESTBROOK.)

Dr. Krom has been for the last seven years Professor of Javanese Archæology at the University of Leyden: from 1910 to 1915 he organized the Archæological Survey of the Netherlands Indies and published some remarkable papers thereon; his handbook of Indo-Javanese Art appeared in 1920; and in the same year, in collaboration with Captain (now Colonel) Th. van Erp, R.E., he published the "Archæological Description of Borobudur," with 444 excellent plates. His present handsome volume is another valuable addition to the rapidly growing Hollander and other literature on the archæology and history of Further India; and it should appeal not only to Buddhists and to the many lovers of Java herself, but to art-lovers generally.

Over that pleasaunce of the Eastern seas must have flowed many tides of human migration. We know of the migration from India, of the Muslim invasions, of the Christian conquest by the Portuguese, British, Hollanders, these last remaining still in power. The immigrants and colonists who, nineteen or twenty centuries ago, went from India into Insulinde—Dekker's name for Java, Sumatra, Bali, and the other islands of the East Indian Archipelago—carried with them their civilization, and especially their religions, Buddhism and Brahmanism. The former creed was at first of the older Hinayana, but this was some centuries later replaced by the Mahayana. During the seventh and eighth centuries of our era, under the rule of the Buddhist kings, there were built in the island of Java its famous Mahayanistic monuments—Borobudur and other stupas for the preservation of sacred relics—and other symbolic sanctuaries of the Faith. With the passage of time they fell into sad neglect, more especially after the adoption of the religion of Islam in the fifteenth century. They are now being drawn within the modern world-movement in archæology, and are being increasingly recorded and studied and conserved. As regards Java, plans of Borobudur were made during the short British occupation a century ago; and during the last twenty years the Hollanders have made a complete photographic survey of it. Colonel Th. van Erp has won deserved recognition by his skill and efficiency in this duty.

Many of these Buddhist shrines, the stupendous works of great master-builders, are matchless in their grandeur and in their detail. The most important and famous of them is, by common consent, the stupa of Borobudur, built about A.D. 800 on a hill in the plain of Kadu, which is the garden of Java. This *chef-d'œuvre* of Buddhist architecture

ranks among the supreme art works of the world. It is impressive by the vastness and harmony of its complicated design and the delicacy and excellence of its execution in detail; and by its spiritual quality also, for it expresses in its static beauty the supreme calmness of the Buddhist religious ideal. Built on a great square ground-plan, it rises in terraces to the sacred number of nine, forming circular galleries round the summit of the hill, each enclosed by walls; these galleries are connected at the four cardinal points by staircases, and are surmounted by a great dagoba (now restored), and spaced on the outside by 432 niches for statues of the Buddha. Inside the galleries, on either hand, are multitudinous bas-reliefs, representing and illustrating sacred and profane legends and traditions; of these reliefs there are altogether about two miles!

Of these reliefs, Dr. Krom in this volume deals with one complete series, which is of surpassing interest, and is also the best preserved. These sculptures, 120 in number, form the upper tier of the carvings on the inner wall of the first gallery, and are haut-reliefs in contradistinction to the rest. They illustrate in detail the early life of the Buddha, beginning before his birth and ending after the first Sermon in the Deer Park; they follow very closely the entire text of the "Lalita Vistara"; hence nothing later of the Buddha's life, nor of the Parinirvana, appears on the monument. They were described by Dr. C. M. Playte in 1901, but, since his book appeared, much new material has become available and a better Sanskrit text, practically as it was used for the monument. These sculptures are extraordinarily beautiful and detailed, with the Indian inspiration modified somewhat by the Javanese environment of the artists. Their subordination to the general decorative scheme of the whole stupa, while retaining individuality and vividness in the figures, raises them to a very high place in world art. The composition by volumes gives harmony and avoids any distraction of variations in bulk. For each of the 120 plates, crowded with figures, Dr. Krom gives from the "Lalita Vistara" the material parts dealing with the incident or combined incidents; then the description of the sculpture and a careful comparison of it with the text and with other sculptures, together with his comments and notes of variations. To this work he has brought great learning and much labour of research, as may be gathered from his references. The way of the student and of the reader is thus made easy and entertaining. We incline to think the reproductions might have been bettered by using a finer screen, giving less granulation. A glossary, too, would have been useful. The whole book is finely produced, and the author and his publishers are to be congratulated on it.

FURTHER DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA. Translated from the Pali of the Majjhima Nikaya by Lord Chalmers. Vol. II. (*Oxford University Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

It is a pleasure to see a book of this quality and on this subject sold at such a low price. This important work has now been completed. As may be expected from the translator, the style is dignified, and the version is a close rendering from the original. Students of Buddhism who have the previous volumes should not fail to acquire the present work. There was a previous translation of the first fifty discourses, whilst here we have the hundred and fifty-one complete.

CHINESE RELIGION SEEN THROUGH THE PROVERB. By C. H. Plopper. Vol. I. (Shanghai: *The China Press.*)

This work shows considerable scholarship. It contains a treatise on religion under proper and selected subjects, such as the survivals of ancient nature worship, magic, animism, Buddhahood, the Pantheon, etc., with adequate references. In addition, the Chinese Proverbs are given in the original with faithful renderings into English. There are quite a number of books on Chinese Proverbs, such as Smith and Scarborough, but here we have for the first time a collection, and a fairly complete one, dealing exclusively with religion. The book, therefore, serves two purposes: it deals with the past and present forms of religious worship and doctrines in a very thorough manner, and also it is a textbook for the student who wishes to follow the Chinese religion in the original. The illustrations show temples, Buddhist priests, gods, and temple-life.

CHUANG TZU, MYSTIC, MORALIST, AND SOCIAL REFORMER. Translated from the Chinese by H. A. Giles. (Shanghai: *Kelly and Walsh.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The above is a second edition and revised. The first edition has been out of print for years, and copies changed hands at a very high figure. This new edition is now accessible to the numerous admirers of Tao-ism. It can safely be stated that this is the chief work on Tao-ism, and that most treatises and translations have been based on this monumental work. Not the least useful portion of the book is the commentary explaining all the abstruse doctrines of this mystic.

WHICH HATH BEEN. By Mrs. Jack McLaren. (*Cecil Palmer.*)
CHILDREN OF THE BORDER. By Mrs. Theodore Pennell. (*John Murray.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* F. R. SCATCHERD.)

"Which Hath Been," "a novel of reincarnation," is based on the text:

> That which hath been is now; and that which is to be hath already been; and God requireth that which is past (Eccles. iii. 15).

Patricia Leigh, a struggling artist, is on the eve of a great adventure. She is to dine with an old man whom she met at the British Museum while she was staring at a tiny ruby-handled dagger among other objects in a case. The old man was staring too, and then spoke to her. "The dagger," he declared, "was found in the ruins of Pompeii, that it had belonged to Salome—

> that Salome whose dancing was the indirect cause of the beheading of John the Baptist; that it was the facsimile of another dagger which nearly two thousand years ago was the property of an Assyrian maid, one Karan.
>
> 'And you were Karan,' the old man added, looking at Patricia penetrating."

Patricia thought he was mad until she discovered that he was Professor Alwyn Terrington, recognized as the greatest astronomer and the most learned Egyptologist living.

That day, too, her little consumptive sister Amy is to leave her in order to be taken care of by Lady Crane, who had bought up Patricia's pictures when the critics were scoffing. But Amy did not want to go with Margaret Crane. Kind as she was, Amy felt repulsed at the way she claimed affinity with Patricia the moment they met. Patricia explains that Margaret, whom she has met exactly four times, is closer to her than other women whom she has known for years!

> "Affinity is something you have got to admit because it *is*. When one meets an affinity, there is no time wasted in formalities. One simply goes on where one left off. My soul, instinct—call it what you will—feels terrifically that Margaret and I have been linked ever since Time was. We have met again to carry on. So *that* for your suburban sentiment that a vital thing is offensive!"

And Patricia snapped her fingers defiantly.

The old man died that night, having given to Patricia a manuscript revealing her past experiences and the dagger that had belonged to Karan, whose weird and tragic history is unfolded in the manuscript and forms the greater part of the story, which will make its own appeal to those who are not on their guard against the obvious and doubtful of its too facile solutions of the problems of existence.

"Children of the Border" is one of the best-informed and most sympathetic accounts of those lawless mountaineers inhabiting the Afghan frontier that we have chanced upon. Mrs. Pennell has dedicated her book to her husband, a well-known English doctor, and every page reveals an accurate knowledge of the localities and people dealt with. Not only is the story of Little Pearl and her kindred of enthralling interest, it is also a psychological study of a high order, revealing the effect of the contact of the West upon the East in telling and graphic fashion. Mrs. Pennell is to be congratulated on a notable and finished piece of work.

ARCTIC SWALLOWS. By Swami Sriananda Acharya. (*Gaurisankar Math.*) Published by the Brahmakul, Scandinavia.

(*Reviewed by* GWENDOLINE GOODWIN.)

"Sweet is the evening hour when the cows come home from pasture." A picture of English rural life? No. Let us hear further:

"Sweet is the sky when the sun shines after rain,
Sweet is life when one obtains what one lives for . . . the greatest one,
But life and time and space become unreal
When from these the soul is liberated."

It is the Swami Sriananda Acharya speaking. He is an Indian living in Norway, who has accomplished the uncommon feat of reconciling Scandinavian and Indian (Hindu) thought, resulting in the production of a combined mentality of vision hitherto very rare. Saki evokes memories: the Ego must be crushed, the soul is a restless dove; life, uncomplaining, goes on her burdened way. The philosophic basis of all human existence is apparent in an amalgamated symbolism that is both Oriental and Occidental. The mystic-allegorical use of flower and tree and bird and human life is all here. We have the interrogative note which answers itself: "Who has lived and truly known himself?" (know thyself). We have the invocation that defies optimistically the weakness of human nature, the brute that lies in the heart of man. "Seek peace! Seek salvation! Enter Nirvan!" The "elephant of fortune" strides along indifferent to the howlings of the "wolves of fear." Desert-imagery and Arctic blizzards, begging bowls and ice-dunes, all drift into the melting-pot and become one to the glorification of the All-One. "To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow, creeps on this petty pace from day to day," cried Macbeth. "Let us . . . wish each other as the darkness of night deepens, happiness and peace along the many paths of endless to-morrows," cries Acharya. Well, we of the West have not attained fully to the blissful state that lives only in the eternal, in a future compared with which this present life is but as one berry on a laden currant tree. "Autres continents, autres pensées." If writings reflect personality, which is a point that will never be agreed upon, then we have in Shakespeare a man of so complex a character as to be, paradoxically, thoroughly understandable because thoroughly human, and in Acharya an exponent of optimism, because his human side is so strongly tinged with spiritual fervour.

He sees death in the lovely demonstrations of Nature, but it is a death that is almost attractive, like a sad, slow smile on an aged face.

"There is epic poetry in the eyes of animals." There is a brimming cup of epic history in India and in Scandinavia. The Swami has achieved in simplicity a rare theosophical combination. One word, however. I would suggest a more practical form of binding in future books; more on the lines of those already published by the Brahmakul.

FAR EAST

THE MARCH OF THE SEVENTY THOUSAND. By Henry Baerlein. Illustrated and with a map. (*Leonard Parsons.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* F. P. MARCHANT.)

This thrilling work, by the author of several novels and a prolific journalist, tells the story of the exploits of the Czechoslovak legions in Asiatic Russia, which the former French President, M. Poincaré, said was vaster and far more glorious than the Retreat of the Ten Thousand under Xenophon. The Greeks withdrew from a Persian expedition, but this modern anabasis was no retreat from enemies, but a consistent plan of campaign by the Czechoslovaks when the Russian resistance to the Central Powers collapsed and former allies proved hostile.

Mr. Baerlein opens with an account of the Czech secret service in America, but the summary of the previous history of Bohemia is too compressed to be intelligible. The Habsburgs did not overwhelm the Czechs "in spite of the heroic resistance of Jan Hus, who was burned by the Pope, and Zizka, the blind leader of the troops." Bohemian independence was not lost until after the White Mountain disaster, two hundred years after the days of Hus and Zizka. It is ludicrous to read of an American comic opera writer creating "the Crown Prince of the Czechoslovaks, a Siberian people." Professor T. G. Masaryk, with his colleague the future foreign minister, Dr. E. Benes, and the Slovak astronomer, M. Stefanik, were at the head of the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris, and after strenuous efforts obtained for their countrymen recognition as allies against Germany and Austria. There was difficulty in distinguishing among "Austrian" prisoners, many of whom were pro-German and Magyar, and, until the collapse of the Habsburg empire, Czechoslovaks were *de facto* "Austrians." The Tsarist officials were opposed to the idea of a Czechoslovak national army in Russia, since their example of secession might be contagious among their own subject nationalities. The Czechoslovak Brigade covered itself with glory at Zborov, when Brusilov telegraphed to Masaryk that he bowed low before those who gave their lives for Russia and freedom.

It is not until 116 pages of the book have been passed that we hear that the anabasis began with the attempts of the Bolshevists, instigated by Mirbach at Moscow, to disarm the legions, whereupon they decided to cut their way to the east. These attempts, and the obstructions caused by German and Magyar prisoners of war, compelled the legions to fight their way through. They conducted a peripatetic newspaper (*Denik*), established a bank and a post-office, and floated a "revolution loan," refusing Russian contributions, since Masaryk said, "We will not make our revolution with foreign money." While halting at different Siberian towns the legionaries turned to manufacture of munitions, soap, and cigarettes. "The members of the expedition were, in fact, like so many Robinson Crusoes." An important charge was the custody of the Russian state treasure, a consignment of gold transported from Kazan to Samara,

thence to Omsk, and finally to Irkutsk. It was delivered intact, though false accusations were made that the guards helped themselves to it.

But we must leave the reader to study for himself the fascinating story of the prowess of the descendants of the Hussites and the patriots who resisted Ferdinand II. and the Jesuits. The excellent illustrations include portraits of the leaders and aspects of the campaign under Arctic conditions. The map at end shows the position of the forces at different stages until their repatriation in 1920.

LA CHINE CONTEMPORAINE POLITIQUE ET ÉCONOMIQUE. By Georges Dubarier. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner.*)

EXTERRITORIALITÉ ET INTÉRÊTS ÉTRANGERS EN CHINE. By Georges Soulié Morant. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner.*)

(*Reviewed by* DR. J. PERCY BRUCE.)

In the present crisis in the affairs of the Far East, China's recent history, her political and economic development during the transition stage now in progress, and her relations with foreign countries, are matters of intense interest. Most of us are keenly conscious of our ignorance on these very subjects, and at times it is a matter of the utmost importance to have accessible sources of information, not merely of a cursory sort, but exhaustive, detailed, and, above all, reliably accurate. Such sources will be found in the two volumes published by Paul Geuthner.

"La Chine Contemporaine Politique et Économique" gives, in Part I., a history of the political development of China from 1898, the year of the abortive effort at reform by the hapless Kuang-hsü, until 1925. Of its five chapters, the three entitled "China under Yüan Shih-kai," "China the Prey of the Military Governors," and "China at the Washington Conference," are packed with valuable information—valuable because the sequence of events is apt to become confused even in the minds of those who have closely followed the events as they occurred. Part II. will be even more valuable to those interested in commerce; it contains in seven chapters exhaustive and systematic information regarding finance, commerce, development of industries, communications, and other important subjects. Not the least useful portions of this volume are the Annexes to Part I., one of which contains "The Constitution of the Republic," and the charts in Part II. illustrating the economic conditions of the country.

"Exterritorialité et Intérêts Étrangers en Chine" devotes a whole volume of 500 pages to a detailed account of the one subject which has been perplexing most readers of the daily papers for the past two years—namely, "Extraterritoriality." The subject is treated from all points of view. Its history is given fully, yet concisely, and the reasons for it as well as the fruits of it, both for China and other nations, are exhaustively treated. In particular, the different classes of tribunals, whether foreign or mixed or Chinese, are described in detail. The meaning and content of the now familiar term "Concessions" is also explained, and the different classes of ports, whether open without concessions, or open ports containing settlements which are not concessions, but, if we may use the term, quasi-concessions, are carefully defined.

Those mystified by the controversy regarding Tariff Autonomy will find many of their questions answered in Chapter XX.

In fine, the two volumes constitute invaluable works of reference which should be on the shelves of every student of Chinese affairs.

FOREST STEPPE AND TUNDRA: STUDIES IN ANIMAL ENVIRONMENT. By Maud Haviland. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

This is an authoritative work on the animal life of the desolate regions in Northern Russia and Siberia, including specially the insects. It should be mentioned that the Tundra is the vast expanse in Northern Siberia, extending from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific, and the Taiga, the largest forest in the world.

ANTIQUITIES OF INDIAN TIBET. By A. H. Francke. Part II.: The Chronicles of Nadakh and Minor Chronicles. Text and translations, with notes and maps, edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas. (Calcutta: *Government Press.*)

This volume is most welcome from several points of view. The first is that we have now before us the continuation of the work which began in 1914, and which was unfortunately interrupted by the war. If the first part gave us a complete account of the author's journeys through Little Tibet, the second volume is now devoted to the historical and at the same time philological side. After an able Introduction, there is the Tibetan text and subsequently the English translation of the chronicles of Ladakh, which are edited and translated for the first time. It is hardly necessary to remark that most valuable notes are interspersed in the translation.

Among the minor chronicles the most interesting sections are the genealogies of the chiefs of the various tribes.

There are, in addition, several accounts of the Dogra Wars, which should be important as giving us an interpretation of the Tibetan psychology.

We now come to another reason for congratulation, which is that the book has been arranged and printed in a truly masterly manner. It is a pleasure to look at the volume and to read it. The Tibetan text is, of course, very clear, and pleasing to the eye, whilst the five maps are beyond reproach. It reveals sound scholarship; and we do not wish to conclude without referring to the same author's "History of Tibet," which was written in a popular style and is almost impossible to obtain.

POETRY

CANTABILE, SONGS AND POEMS. By John Caldwell-Johnston. (*East and West, Ltd.*) 5s. net.

(*Reviewed by* W. F. WESTBROOK.)

A collection of pleasant verse in varied metres on many subjects, by the author of the "Book of the Beloved." They are largely impressions and aspirations roused in the poetic mind by rural sights and sounds and seasons. The author is a lover of flowers and trees, of birds and fishes, and of gardens, and, he sings too, the hills and the dales, and the winds, and something of the sea. There are several not unsuccessful onomatopoetic efforts—of bird-songs, bells, rivulets, storm. He has love poems here and there, and some gentle reminiscences of places—Colonsay, Corsica, Greece; and memories of China move him to the pretty poem "The Garden of a Thousand Waterfalls," which he contributed to our January issue.

We quote the following:

CAIRN GORM

Scarred and riven, the granite cliff drops sheer,
  Lipped with the red and purple of the ling,
Porphyry-bright in the clefts where juniper
  And crooked pine-roots cling.

Upward the pines curve like a massive roof,
  Dark-green, the roof-felt of some giant's tent.
Who pastures wild things, huge and sage, aloof
  In self-sought banishment.

Still doth the raven build among the crags,
  Still rings his *cra! cra!* through the lonely fells,
And where the last rude fissure juts and jags,
  The golden eagle dwells.

Upward the pines curve, down the great cliff swoons,
  As one who downward tumbles on for ever,
While through the sloping pine-wood whines and croons
  The unseen, hungry river.

We like the get-up of the volume, and the printing has been excellently carried out.

INDIAN POLITICAL PROGRESS AND THE NEW DELHI *

BY SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.

IN this small book the eminent and successful President of the first Legislative Assembly of British India gives us some conclusions which he has drawn from his official experiences. "The present Indian Constitution," he writes, "attempts to transplant Western institutions to an Eastern soil. The difficulties to be overcome are: (1) India is not really a political country. Politics are, no doubt, the all-absorbing interest of the educated classes, but even those classes are not politically minded. They are quick to learn the forms and phrases of political life, but have shown little aptitude for politics on a large scale. Throughout the ages India has been accustomed to accept government imposed from above; and the mind of the people has never been stirred till recently by political ambition. . . . The rich soil of political theory in which the Greek states grew, and the massive work in political administration which gave Rome new predominance, provided Europe with a prepared field of statecraft which is almost wholly lacking in India. India has no such harvest of political experience."

Sir Frederick Whyte mentions other difficulties: the weakness of a sense of responsibility in politics, which we may observe, by the way, is by no means peculiar to India; and the lack of commanding personalities, which he ascribes partly to the fact that until lately Indians have shared too little in the administration of their own country. We remember, however, the careers of Saiyid Ahmad and G. K. Gokhale, who lived their lives before 1920 and were

* "Asia in the Twentieth Century," by Alexander Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.I., LL.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, London, 1926.

outstanding and courageous political leaders of their co-religionists. He notices the obstacles to harmonious political progress offered by India's variety of races, by Hindu-Muslim feuds, and by the fact that nine-tenths of the population of India live and labour as they lived and laboured two thousand years ago. He sums up with the words: "Until the development of the country is brought more nearly abreast of the normal needs of a modern state, the Indian Government, whatever its complexion, will be seriously hampered, especially in Finance. In a word, India is trying to run a twentieth-century Constitution on the resources of the Middle Ages."

At the same time Sir Frederick considers that, in spite of all these difficulties, in spite also of the puzzling federal aspect of the Indian problem—the question what should be the relation between the provincial Councils and the Central Government—the present Constitution, "as seen in operation in the Legislative Assembly and in the Legislative Councils, transitional and therefore unsatisfactory as it is, possesses great power for good and presents to Indians opportunities of doing things themselves, as well as of influencing the way in which the Government of India does them, which are so much greater than anything they enjoyed before, that it deserves at least the benefit of doubt in their minds."

So much for India to-day! But our author also carries us for a few moments to Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Siam, China and Japan. The unchanging East, he says, is in throes of change. But "is it indeed a new Asia? Is it more than a passing fever due to the alien virus of Western ideas? Who shall say? In no Asiatic country has the process been at work long enough to give clear results. In some, dictators have merely taken the place of the deposed monarchs, and in others, chaos is the only visible result of democracy; and nowhere has the new era any firm foundation in the habits and character of the people." However this may be, the East has given the

world its religions. "No guess at the final truth of things ever made by a European mind has satisfied the soul of man; the most we have ever done in religious thought is to adopt beliefs of Asiatic origin to suit our own temper. While we Westerners try to work out our salvation by facts, the East teaches us that our view of truth is too limited, and that in the effort to gain time we may sacrifice those qualities of the human spirit which ought to enable us to use our time to the best advantage. In a word, the East teaches us the value of eternal things." It does this at the very time when Science, the handmaid of Western power, has shown conclusively that our whole existence is not founded on the visible world, but that invisible forces are supreme.

This thoughtful book does not in any way profess to solve the complex problem which will present itself to Parliament when stock is finally taken of Indian conditions before the present transitional Constitution is converted into something more lasting. But it does effectively put forward some prominent considerations. Others will no doubt be taken into account by the coming Commission, such as the great defence problem and all the conditions and processes which catch the eye of a provincial governor and of those among his officers who are constantly in touch with the masses and know that there in the provinces, in the towns, but far more in the districts and villages, are the vital problems of India.

The only other Asiatic country which contains vast populations is China. While China continues to be torn to pieces by rival ambitions and rival armies, India is progressing steadily towards a more general recognition of her moral, intellectual and material resources. China is falling; India is rising, partly because she has what China has not, a practical political ideal and an effective central government. The latter is essential, for without it she would certainly relapse into division and confusion. Both the ideal and the central government are dependent on her connection with England. On January 18, in opening the new Delhi

Council House, which holds within one circle the Chamber of Princes, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, Lord Irwin asked his audience to pray that the new building might endure throughout all the centuries, and that through all the differences of passing days men of every race and class and creed might here unite in a single high resolve to guide India to fashion her future well. We will also pray that through all the difficulties and perplexities of this twentieth century England may never cease to stand by India.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1927

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

WHEN in the last number of the ASIATIC REVIEW Sir Richard Dane discussed the causes of the troubles in China, it must have occurred to many readers that he was dealing, as was obviously his intention, with only one aspect of the question. The various grievances, real or imaginary, which the Chinese, or such of them as are vocal and articulate, have against Great Britain, may explain at

least partially the peculiar intensity of their hostility, and even their apparent rejection of the policy of conciliation, but they do not explain everything. And that for two reasons. The injustices of which complaint is now made, the so-called "imperialism," the "unequal treaties," the points of policy to which attention has been drawn, are no new things. They have been in existence for years. They may even be said to have originated in the cession of the barren rock of Hong Kong, and the concession of the unpromising swamp on which now stands Shanghai. The policy of penetration by the West, not of Great Britain alone, but of France, of Germany, and—most important of all—of Japan and America, has been going on ever since the East India Company first traded to China. It is not therefore apparent why this particular outburst of hatred should have been staged for 1925 and the ensuing years. And again, while the hostility to Great Britain may in some measure be explained by her predominance in trade and by her mistakes, if you will, in the past, such things do not explain either the general hostility to foreigners or, what is far more important from the point of view of the world's peace and stability, the internal conditions of China, which are affected only to a very slight degree, and that indirectly, by the presence or the doings of foreigners upon her coasts and along the banks of her great rivers. No apology, then, is needed for reverting to a subject which is apt to be treated too lightly, but which is in fact the most important of the questions of the day.

It will, perhaps, tend to clarity if we cast a preliminary glance over the existing situation. After a brief rule in Canton and a successful advance through the provinces of Kwangtung and Kiangsi, the extreme or Communist party, armed, financed, trained, and directed by Russians, became masters of a good half of China proper, including the important places of Hankow and Shanghai. Chang Tso-lin, the "war-lord," according to the somewhat affected term borrowed from Germany, bided his time in apparent

inaction in Peking, while his lieutenants were either deserting him themselves or were being betrayed by their troops. Wu Pei-fu had lost power, and was submerged somewhere in Ho-nan; while, after his repulse from Peking, Feng Yu-hsiang was hovering in the neighbourhood of Honan in the province of Shensi, thus threatening the flank of any army which should advance south from Peking. The British concession at Hankow had disappeared, and other foreign nations held theirs on a precarious tenure; while the great international Settlement at Shanghai was reinforced by British troops assisted by drafts from America, Japan, and to a smaller extent from other countries.

Suddenly there was a revolution. Chiang Kai-shek and the Russians had been playing a game of duplicity. It had always been a question whether the Chinese Nationalist party was merely using the Russians as tools in order to obtain something of the efficiency and capacity for organization which comes from the West, perhaps, too, something of the money and material without which war is a farce. It is of course possible that the Nationalist party had in fact surrendered itself, body and soul, to the Soviet, believing that thereby alone could the aims of Nationalism be achieved, and that they became alive to the fact that they were exchanging one tyranny for another, the very restricted tyranny of the "imperialist" nations (including, be it well understood, America) for the unlimited and universal tyranny of the U.S.S.R. Whatever may have been the motive, it is clear that the Chinese Southerners are at any rate alive to the danger, though from the conflicting accounts furnished to us it is not so clear that they have ceased to toy with the unnatural alliance, and it may be even now that hostility to the North will prove stronger than fear of the Bolshevists. The aim of the Russians was never doubtful. It clearly was to obtain such a mastery in China that the whole Chinese policy could be directed from Moscow, and the hope was that as the result

of this philanthropic movement for the emancipation of oppressed peoples a serious blow would be dealt to the imperialist nations, and particularly to the arch-enemy, Great Britain. But the game was played, and Chiang Kai-shek won. With unexampled treachery, as Russia would have it, he declined to put his neck under the yoke of the great Liberator, or to establish the world's peace by Soviet methods. He cut off the heads of many of the Communist party, an operation which appears to move wrath when the victims are on the favoured side, whichever it may be; but which would probably be employed by any Chinese general because it is in accordance with national custom. The result was that Communism collapsed. Russia foamed impotently at the mouth; Canton and Shanghai became Moderate, and Hankow alone remained the nucleus of the extreme party, with her trade ruined, her bankers and merchants forced to flee, and her finances on the verge of collapse.

After a transient gleam of success, the Northern armies are now again retiring. The military leader in Shantung, Chang Tsung-chang, appears to be eliminated, and, it is rumoured, has been abandoned by Chang Tso-lin, to whose party his intense unpopularity is a source of weakness. Feng Yu-hsiang, who had retired to the districts lying north-west of Peking, may yet be the deciding factor. The Northern armies were always hampered by this force on its flank, but it was suggested that Feng, with his base in Shensi, adjoining the deserts of Southern Mongolia, was badly equipped with supplies of all sorts. It seems to have been overlooked that he had been stationary at his base for many months, during which only conjectural reports could be made about him, and that during those months it was possible to collect supplies which would at least serve for a forward movement with the hope that an initial success would open up the country to him. If that be so, the hope seems to have been justified. The Tu-chun of Shansi has declared for the Nanking

Government, and though Feng has not yet declared himself openly, the signs indicate that he is more likely to join hands with Chiang Kai-shek than with Hankow. Wu Pei-fu is still in being, though the jack-in-the-box appearance and disappearance of the Marshal do not inspire confidence, and his previous differences with Fengtien suggest that at any moment he might desert the cause of the North. The tide has, for the moment at least, set strongly in favour of the South. The situation is still obscure because it is difficult to determine whether the leaders are acting upon any broad principle which might serve as a basis for negotiation, or are simply playing each for his own hand. Chinese tradition would suggest a struggle for an individual mastery; Chinese psychology indicates that the bewildering changes are brought about not only by propaganda and bribery, but also by the feudal spirit, which puts loyalty to the master above loyalty to the nation. Before these lines are printed, it is possible that affairs will have taken another unexpected turn, for what China does on Monday is no guide to what she will do on Thursday.

Meanwhile, the rivalry between North and South continues unabated, and the parties have again resolved themselves into two. The Communists are for the present eliminated, although, having regard to the excitability of tropical peoples, an equally sudden revolution might see their resurrection. Shanghai is an armed camp. Hong Kong is secure in its island position with its base upon the sea. The pacification of China thus depends upon the complete victory of North or South, or upon a stable compromise between them, and in any case upon the elimination of the Russians.

We may now go back to consider the causes of the present position and the possibilities that lie ahead. With the final collapse of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of the so-called Republic of which Sun Yat-sen was the sponsor and high priest, China entered upon a new phase

of her history. A kind of Nationalism was born, which in its desire to get rid of the foreign yoke (and the Manchus were foreigners) and to substitute a popular government showed plainly the influences of Western doctrines. But you cannot put on democracy as you would a new coat, and the Chinese soon found out that they could not so easily discard their inbred traditions. It was not merely that Yuan Shi-kai when he came into power tried to snatch at a crown, nor that since those early times one military dictator after another has struggled to power. It was far more that the Chinese, who are not alone in their mistake, did not realize that popular control and democratic institutions, whatever their merits and demerits, involve something much deeper and more far reaching than an alteration in the machinery of government. The conditions of society remained the same. The mandarins still lorded it with all the ostentation and arrogance of a European twelfth-century bishop, the merchants still made fortunes in the great centres, and the remainder of the population—the Tiers État—were divided between the ignorant small farmers and the landless coolies who live on the verge of starvation. The farmer, it would appear, has been content to till his farm, for it is necessary to remember that out of the reputed 400,000,000 of Chinese the great majority are agriculturists, and that the armies—soldiers, irregulars and brigands—who are keeping the country in chaos are only a small fraction of the people. But the existence of a small and arrogant class together with a rich and prosperous bourgeoisie side by side with a poor and oppressed town proletariat has always constituted a condition favourable to revolutionary propaganda.

The ancient ideas of education were violently uprooted and gave way to ultra-modern notions. The Chinese went abroad to study the political wisdom of the West. They found what they wanted in Europe, but chiefly in America, which, with characteristic self-complacency and indifference to any conditions of society but its own, taught them to

worship its own special and peculiar idols. Communist Russia very naturally saw its opportunity. If commercial rivalry was going to divide the once Allied and Associated Powers, if International trade jealousy was going to do its utmost to sow discord among the Western "imperialist" peoples, it needed only Russian energy, Russian gold and Russian arms to drive the Chinese into revolt against the foreigner, and particularly against England, since the ground had been so conveniently and obligingly prepared for them. The hatred of the foreigner is always latent; it arises no doubt from the contrast between the theory of Celestial supremacy and the fact of Celestial impotence, partly too, one fears, from an almost universal assumption, not always concealed, of European superiority. The attacks made by America and Russia upon Great Britain as the obviously predominant Western nation in the Far East were reinforced by reference to the special misdeeds of the English, as was suggested by Sir Richard Dane, for of course it was conveniently forgotten, as it nearly always is, that values and ideas have changed and that the sin of Great Britain in the past is in having done what any other nation—Russia, America, France or Germany—would have done at that time, if it had had the opportunity. One result of the war has been to create a new feeling of hostility to aggression in arms, to divert the war spirit, which is itself ineradicable, from the nations to the classes; there is no reasonable doubt that those men—Communists, Pacifists, Labour leaders—who now so vehemently denounce the wickedness of England in the past, would, if they had lived in that past, have as vehemently trumpeted her praises. England then had the chance; that is what the Pharisees of today lacked.

That Soviet Russia saw a God-given opportunity for a severe blow against Britain is sufficiently clear. For all her fine talk of world revolution and earthly Paradises, the aim of Moscow is to dominate the world, and if imperialism covers anything wider than the notion of an Emperor and

an Empire, other, that is to say, than territorial aggrandizement, Soviet Russia is imperialist to a degree perhaps never known before, at any rate since Alexander. But China herself, though always showing clear signs of nationality, has never been welded together as, let us say, Scotland has become one with England or Burgundy with France. The North and the South have always been rivals, and the defeated dynasties have generally sought refuge from their conquerors, who always came from the North, in the country south of the Yang-tse. Mongolia and Manchuria do not form part of China proper. As Aquitaine, Maine, Poitou and Guyenne formed part of the dominions of Henry II. of England, so Mongolia and Manchuria formed part of the dominions of the Manchus, but were not China, with this difference, however, that while the dominions of the English king were separated by the sea and the French provinces were exposed to attack by a powerful continental neighbour, the two Chinese provinces were geographically attached to China and were safe from any attack until the coming of the Russians and the establishment of Soviet imperialist influences in Mongolia. Even now, however, the Feng-tien or Manchurian forces are regarded with some suspicion, and it is the weakness of Chang Tso-lin that while there is good reason to think that the Northern forces are man for man very much more than a match for anything that Canton can produce, the latent jealousy between the leaders in Northern China may at any time break out and, in concert with propaganda and the hope of loot, may cause those remarkable defections that make it so unsafe to prophesy anything in Chinese affairs.

European attention has been to a large, even to a disproportionate, extent focussed upon the foreign Concessions. Hankow fell, was looted and is now reduced to a state of financial ruin. Shanghai the prosperous, the proud city on which so many millions of European capital have been lavished, is even now, in spite of the presence of the troops, feeling the pressure of the unrestful elements, and Chinese

merchants in the Settlement are reported to be unsafe from exaction and tyranny. But Hankow and Shanghai, Shameen and Tientsin, are not all China, and it is of the first importance, not only to China herself but to these foreign settlements, that some kind of order be established and a stable government set up. It is of little use to cry impatiently that these Chinese leaders, Chiang Kai-shek, Chang Tso-lin, the Suns and the Changs and the Fengs, are all tarred with the same brush; still less does it show foresight or any real grasp of the situation to say that they may all cut each other's throats so long as they leave trade alone. It is something that the Communist party has received a blow, but accounts from China leave the impression that Chiang Kai-shek is still coquetting with Russia and is at heart in sympathy with much that Communism stands for.

The riddle of the whole situation lies in the personality of the leaders. What do they really mean? And what is their policy? If it be true that each is playing for his own hand, then it cannot matter much whether victory goes to Chang, or to Chiang, or to Feng. With the elimination of the ultra-Reds, it seemed at one time as though the solution lay in a frank rapprochement between Chiang and Chang, if the initial difficulty of the supremacy of either could be surmounted. Now, however, it seems that the rivalry of North and South is undiminished, and that Chiang, while getting rid of his Red tyrants, has only done so in order to carry out his own National policy, if he has any, by Chinese methods alone. And having regard to his manifest predilections for the doctrines of Moscow, if they can be practised without Moscow, it might be that the greatest benefit to the country would come from the ultimate victory of the North. But whether Chang Tso-lin would use such a victory wisely is doubtful. It is manifest that China is not ready for democracy or any other form of popular government, if that is a desirable end. What she needs at the moment is a benevolent autocrat, a dictator of the type of

Mussolini or of Mustapha Kemal. Dictators there are in the making; of the benevolence and the wisdom one does not feel so sure. The root of China's troubles lies in the constitution of her society, which, after existing peacefully for centuries, has been so violently disturbed by idealism made in America upon the Yankee* pattern, and by the sentiments—one can hardly dignify self-determination and pacifism and kindred ideas by the name of doctrines—that have arisen out of the Great War. Before there can be any stable government in China, the Chinese must set their house in order, and that can only be done by a willing and loyal allegiance to the strong dictator. No constitution, however pretty on paper, no machinery, however carefully devised, can stand the strain; such things would only result in a further scramble for power, and the constitution would be burst in pieces, the machinery jammed beyond hope of repair. The mistake made by all Asiatic nations is to suppose that if you set up democratic machinery over a society constructed on monarchical principles the machine will work. And that is the reason why Japan has been so successful; in introducing her new doctrines she undertook at the same time the alteration of her social structure. To get an idea of what democracy means in China today we must draw a little upon our imagination. We must imagine Mr. Jack Jones pouring out impassioned oratory in a Parliament composed of business men, newspaper proprietors, lawyers, retired naval officers, and manual workers, while the Earl of Warwick is marching about the country at the head of his feudal retainers and Thomas à Becket is fulminating anathemas against all and sundry from the pulpit of the Abbey.

The worst thing China did was to expel her Manchu Emperor. Kings may be of small account in these days, but they form a rallying-point, and by the gradual withdrawal of power a government of unselfish and really patriotic aristocracy can be formed. Without such a rally-

* In the technical sense.

ing-point such a government can hardly be expected in a country where patriotism in the Western sense is unknown. Machinery can do but little; what is wanted is the gradual reformation of society, the removal of glaring inequalities, the reduction of privileges, and the eradication of corruption. This can only be undertaken by a dictator; and if such a programme could be even imperfectly realized, we should hear little more of foreign devils and of dwindling trade and unequal treaties. If there is one thing that is patently clear, it is that China is not yet ready, has not even begun to be ready, for responsible government of any sort; for centuries she has known nothing but autocracy and the divine will of the Son of Heaven. All authorities agree that the Confucian conception of the family has prevented the growth of what we call patriotism. If she must be modern, then the dictator must be in advance of his time, but even then it is doubtful whether he could achieve the superhuman task of entirely changing the spirit of a nation.

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

THE Armenian question has long had a sinister implication for students of Middle Eastern affairs: three generations of European statesmen have attempted a solution, and their efforts have not only failed, but have inflicted sufferings on the Armenian nation such as no minority in the world have suffered in the past two hundred years, for it is undeniably true that every catastrophe in which they have been involved has been due to their having become implicated, by the political intrigues of European nations, and by the unwisdom of their various advisers, in an attitude of hostility to Turkey.

Provisions purporting to safeguard the rights in Turkey of Christian minorities are to be found in almost every treaty or similar document between Turkey and European nations since the twelfth century. Until the nineteenth century, when Turkey became, in common parlance, "the Sick Man of Europe," the lot of Armenians in Turkey was at least tolerable; but the missionary zeal of American Protestants, of French priests, and of the Russian Orthodox Church, the appointment of numerous European consuls at remote points, such as Van, Bitlis, and Erzeroum, combined to arouse hopes and ambitions in a race naturally adscissitous, religiously schismatic, and politically fissiparous, with the result that "the Sick Man," with the unreasoning hate that is born of fear, fell upon the Armenians, who had hitherto shared his couch in happy commensalism.

But until the Great War the idea of deportation of Christian minorities was not entertained, for they were universally recognized as useful and indeed irreplaceable: industrious cultivators, skilled workmen, patient traders,

they were a standing example amongst human beings of symbiosis in the lower orders of creation. But the fierce animosities, religious and secular, of the Great War overwhelmed them, and they are now a race without a country, unless indeed they can look to the Republic of Erivan, under the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, as their future home.

The Great War gave birth to a bountiful crop of pledges for their future. Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson, Monsieur Clémenceau, and Lord Curzon pledged their respective countries in no uncertain terms to secure for the Armenians a national home and freedom; whilst the League of Nations in September, 1921, urged the Supreme Council of the Allies to provide them with a national home "entirely independent of Turkish rule."

But nothing happened, and today, of all the minorities whose claims were the object of President Wilson's special solicitude, the Armenians alone have been abandoned by the Allied and Associated Powers, mainly because, by the time their cause came up in concrete form, the U.S.A. had abandoned President Wilson's schemes, which included the assumption by the U.S.A. of a mandate for Armenia chiefly, if not entirely, because the Harbord Mission had reported that American troops would be required in the early stages.

But though the Senate threw overboard President Wilson's schemes, they did not jettison his ideals, and the fact that, within the last few months, that body has declined to ratify the treaty between the U.S.A. and Turkey hastily made a few days before the meeting preparatory to the Lausanne Treaty, is the best testimony to the strength of American convictions, and to the fact, which those who know America have never doubted, that the motives which inspired the U.S.A. in entering the Great War still appeal to large numbers of her citizens.

The League of Nations has given its blessing to a

scheme, sponsored by Doctor Nansen, which has for its object the settlement of Armenians in the Erivan district under the authority of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. For this scheme Great Britain accepts no responsibility, and has felt unable to give financial or other assistance, an attitude which has been adopted, it is understood, by most if not all the Powers concerned. The political objections are obvious, and the scheme is not favoured by leading Armenians, who see little prospect of cultural advancement under such auspices, and until a Government representing Russia takes its seat at Geneva it is unlikely that the scheme will be very seriously considered.

Another scheme, which has already been attended by very considerable success, and has received the unqualified support of the French Government, seeks to settle the Armenian refugees, now in camps at Beyrout and elsewhere, in selected areas at Alexandretta, in the Lebanon, and at a few other points, as agricultural colonists, self-sufficing and self-supporting. From this scheme also His Majesty's Government have withheld financial support, but private persons have contributed liberally, though much more is still needed, and the French and Syrian Governments have virtually promised to double all sums received, in addition to contributing £25,000 towards the Alexandretta settlement, together with free grants of suitable land, now vacant.

"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes." The old tag inevitably comes to mind when considering the probable motives and the possible results of such a policy. French policy in Syria has hitherto tended to accentuate rather than to lessen religious and racial divisions in Syria. Is there not a danger that the Armenians, thus settled in compact colonies in Northern Syria, will again fall unwilling victims to racial antipathies and religious bitterness? The writer believes that such fears are no longer well grounded, and that the new orientation of French policy in Syria will prove effective in allaying the violent passions which have been evoked by past errors. The attempt is, in any case, worth making, for it is certain that the Armenians cannot be ignored, nor exterminated. Like the Jews, they are a race without a country; like them, they cannot be assimilated, nor induced to abandon their faith. Like the Jews, the Armenians can live and thrive by industry and pertinacity where other races can scarcely eke out a penurious existence: unlike the Jews, they readily turn their hand to agriculture and to every form of skilled work, as well as to commerce. Such men, proud, handsome, brave, devoted to their race as other races to their soil, have earned for their nation a title to international recognition and to the rights of nationhood which compels attention, and deserves at least as much support as has been accorded to that of more vocal minorities.

If the Great Powers, including the U.S.A., choose to ignore their responsibilities to the Armenians, the latter will be forced to rely more and more upon the U.S.S.R., which already includes within its orbit an Armenian National Home on the slopes of the Caucasus. The wheel of fortune may have fresh surprises in store for us, and if the Armenian race as a whole is forced to accept Russian nationality, and the readjustment of mentality and of political outlook that this involves, the cause of tranquillity in Asia would receive a very grave set-back. For no race is as well fitted as the Armenian to act as intermediaries between Russia and the East.

The constitutional changes of 1909 in Persia were brought to fruition primarily by a small group of Armenians in Tabriz; Armenians were prominent in almost every important Government office in Constantinople before the war, and are scattered over the civilized world at the principal trading centres almost as widely as are the Jews. They would be invaluable allies as propagandists, and though they have hitherto with very

few exceptions turned a deaf ear to Soviet blandishments, it would not be a matter for surprise if, despairing of help from Europe, they turned to the Power that has given them some degree of autonomy in their home lands.

(*End of the Asian Circle articles.*)

INDIA AND THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN STATES

By Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E.
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It is satisfactory to notice, in recent discussions concerning the future of India in the public press of England, a growing realization that the basis of consideration cannot safely be limited to British India alone, and that the Indian States constitute a factor that ought not to be omitted from reckoning. This is no more than just, since the States, both from their historical tradition and their political importance, have the power of becoming either the main bulwark of the future Indian Commonwealth, or the rock upon which British policy and Nationalist aspirations may alike suffer shipwreck.

Considerably less than two centuries ago, the British power in India was itself reckoned among the Indian States —and by no means among the greatest. History can show no parallel to the dramatic story of the rise of the Company's dominion; and it is among the most curious features of that story that the passage from commerce to empire was in the main involuntary. Many volumes have been written to exhibit the operation of the tendencies which forced the Company to depart from the policy laid down by Sir Thomas Roe; but it is undeniable that the dominant factor was the strength and turbulence of the "Country Powers" which flourished beneath the dwindling shadow of the Mughal Empire. Having taken up arms in the first instance for their own protection, the British were led insensibly to employ their growing authority for the extension of trade.

The duel with France served to mark another stage; and from this time forward the Company could never claim to be a body of traders pure and simple. But almost to the close of the eighteenth century the territorial acquisitions were considered as something almost secondary, essential doubtless to the proper conduct of trade, but nevertheless embarrassing. This fact serves to explain, if it fails to excuse, some of those dark periods in the history of British rule which follow shortly after the grant of the *diwani*. The Company's officials did not realize that their new power entailed corresponding responsibilities, and the unfortunate inhabitants of their territories suffered accordingly. Even when Wellesley and Hastings had made the Company incomparably the greatest of the Indian powers, the reluctance of the authorities—particularly in England—to countenance territorial extension remained as a heritage from earlier conditions.

Like the scriptural grain of mustard-seed, the British power in India has grown from small beginnings until it has overshadowed those polities which were at first its superiors and for no short period its equals. One by one they agreed to find shelter beneath its far-flung branches, until even the greatest admitted the supremacy of the British. The compacts uniting them with Britain have been loyally observed; and in times of stress the Empire has no more staunch supporters than the Indian States. This fact is worthy of note; for the States have from time to time had some reason for dissatisfaction at the treatment they have received. At certain periods in the last century it was seriously suggested that advantage should be taken of every possible opportunity to "absorb" the States into British India. The Mutiny gave the deathblow to Dalhousie's policy of Lapse, which was regarded even by the States excluded from its scope as the beginning of the end; but at a considerably more recent date it was the declared policy of certain high officials to impose, at any cost, what the optimism of the age deemed to be "British Standards

of Administration" upon the indigenous Governments. Fortunately for all parties, wiser counsels at length prevailed; and we now neither suspect the States of a desire to evade their treaty-obligations, nor thrust down their throat with quite the old complacency our own example. After all, the States have lasted a long time. Many of them existed before the British power had been heard of in India. It is conceivable that many of them will survive it, at least in its present shape. Had the British not acquired dominion, the map would doubtless have been different; but it seems probable that there would still have been a Scindia at Gwalior and a Gaekwar at Baroda; while the smaller States would have owned an Indian, instead of a British, emperor as their suzerain. To represent that the Company saved the States from inevitable destruction is true only of the smaller and the weaker. Many even of these, if they had not discovered protection under the shadow of "the powerful British Government," would have sought it and found it elsewhere. For the history of the country shows that Indian empire-builders, except in the rare instances when they have been swayed by personal animus or religious fanaticism, generally have preferred rather to content themselves with obtaining from a conquered dynasty an acknowledgment of vassalage, than to adopt the more drastic method of displacing an ancient royal house.

It is thus among the States that we must look if we would find the oldest political units in India; and when all circumstances have been taken into consideration, their wealth of experience and tradition entitles them to respect. But it would be a mistake to imagine that the States are only interesting historical survivals—relics of a bygone age constituting a kind of political museum. The fact is, they do more than exist: they flourish; they develop; their population increases; more people—as our own Census reports show—come from British India to live in the States than go from the States to live in British India. So much

so, indeed, that there seems some evidence for believing that their inhabitants are increasing proportionately more rapidly than the inhabitants of British India. It would appear that the States can boast not only the antiquity of many of their number, but also a certain stability and cohesion.

So far we have been speaking of the States as a whole—that is, the entire territory of Indian-ruled India. But it should be remembered that to generalize usefully is not easy, if only because the individual States differ so greatly in power and resources. In all there are more than 700 princes and chiefs in India; but while some are great rulers, whose population and territory exceed the standard of many countries who are members of the League of Nations, others are merely petty landowners with jurisdiction over their own manors. Even the States, 108 in number, whose rulers enjoy the title of "Highness" from the British Government, display great differences in wealth and importance. Concerning these, however, it is possible to make some useful general statements. Their inhabitants are not subjects of His Majesty the King, but owe allegiance to their own ruler. The law of British India does not run in them save in so far as it happens to have been adopted by their own law-making machinery. They maintain their own armed forces. In brief, their rulers are sovereign within their boundaries. Further, they have all surrendered to the British the control of their foreign relations, and they have undertaken, by the terms of their treaty or engagement, to contribute their quota of men or of money for the defence of India against foreign invasion or domestic rising. In return for this, the British have undertaken to protect the rulers in the same contingencies.

In their domestic administration these more important States present wide divergencies. Some are progressive, others conservative. Some have representative institutions, some have not. Some have thoroughly modern systems of administration, with all the paraphernalia of cabinets,

Government departments, law courts, banks, and colleges. Others carry on their business of State in the simpler fashion of times past. But there are two interesting things which are broadly true of all. In the first place, there is a Government which really governs—in other words, there is no doubt where authority, both immediate and ultimate, lies. In the second place, there is a very close tie between the ruler and the ruled. In the States, laws are simpler than in British India, and hence perhaps better understood, but also in certain respects behind the times. Justice is cheaper, speedier, and on the whole as reputable between subject and subject; but more difficult to obtain, in some cases at least, between ruler and ruled in the more conservative States. The level of taxation in many of the larger States is rather below than above that obtaining in British India, partly because the land of many States is less fertile than British territory, partly because the State administrations, being staffed by natives of the soil, do not pay such high salaries to their officials, are less elaborately equipped and maintained, and do not employ such armies of experts. Further, the States as a whole have engaged more cautiously than ourselves in costly modern experiments with local self-government. They employ for the most part the traditional machinery of the Panchayat, and municipalities or district boards, where they exist, are held more strictly accountable, both as to the raising of funds and the spending of money, than is general in British India. On the whole, the Governments of the Indian States, with rare exceptions, do not attempt to do as much for their subjects as the Government of India tries to do. Benevolent activities exist in plenty; there are many States which in educational machinery, medical relief, and similar directions, feel that they have nothing but satisfaction to encounter in the event of a comparison with British India. Almost every State has some particular hobby or other—a free first-grade college; a scholarship scheme; a women's hospital; a system of village libraries; a telephone system; a road

network; a banking organization; thickly sown village dispensaries; flourishing, because intelligently nurtured, cottage industries, and the like. But the States do not as a rule attempt to do all these things together. The upshot is that, while State subjects do not receive as much from their Government as the subjects of British India from theirs, they are expected to give less, and they are let alone more. And it seems to be an Oriental characteristic to like being let alone.

Some observers believe that the inhabitants of many States look more cheerful and care-free than British-Indian subjects. This may possibly be explained by the fact that the State subject retains his old-time garb, with its gay colours; so that a bazaar crowd presents a thoroughly holiday appearance. Again, in most States the average man often wears arms; not because disturbance is more rife than in British territory, but because it is the tradition to do so. Firearms are far more frequently carried by the subjects of Indian States than by their fellows in British India; so while many States have game-laws and an arms-licensing system, there is no set policy of disarmament, such as has long obtained outside. All this lends to the State subject, whether in appearance or in reality, an air of independence, a swagger, if one likes to call it so, rarely encountered in British India.

To represent the Indian States as an earthly paradise is as foolish as to depict them as the home of unimaginable darkness and oppression. There are States which are badly governed, just as there are States which are well governed. But in every case the machinery of government functions, and there is an increasing tendency to make it function well. On the whole, the remark of Bryce, in a letter to his mother dated January 19, 1889, is as true today as when it was first written: "It seems odd and hardly consistent with what we claim for our civilized government; but all the evidence goes to show that the ordinary man, peasant or townsman, is just as well off materially, and probably more

happy and contented, in a Native State than he is in the dominions of the Empress."

It may seem strange to Western eyes that this should be the case. But it must be remembered that in the Indian State the average man finds the kind of government which he understands, controlled by an individual whom he has been brought up to revere. As a result, there is very little trouble. Serious breaches of the peace are remarkably rare; and at an era when in British India communal disturbances are lamentably frequent, all creeds and castes contrive to dwell in amity under princely rule. This fact is not to be explained merely by the circumstance that every ruler belongs himself to a particular creed, and can thus sympathize with the susceptibilities of his subjects. In reality, it depends upon an identification of interest between ruler and ruled. To find a Hindu prince partaking in the particular festivities of his Muhammadan subjects, and *vice versa*, is the rule, and not the exception. Why are religious disturbances so rare in the States? Most princes are very tolerant—but so are the British. The difference, perhaps, lies in this, that in an Indian State, Hindus and Muslims are first of all subjects of a prince, accustomed to respect his government and to live in amity under his rule. Only secondarily are they conscious of communal differences. In British India the exact reverse is often the case.

On the whole, then, the Indian States may be described as a going concern, with plenty of vitality and with deep-planted roots. At the present time they are displaying marked symptoms of adaptability to new conditions; for under the ægis of the Chamber of Princes, administrative reform and a steady pursuit of efficiency have become the order of the day. The process will take time; but it is already commencing. It is not everywhere easy; for some of the States are so small that they cannot really afford to maintain an administrative machine of the complexity which modern conditions demand. And even in the majority of States it is not unfair to say that much still remains to be

done. But there are two things to be noted. In the first place, the will to do it is becoming daily more manifest; and in the next place, the foundation upon which the new structures are to be erected is not only ancient and time-honoured, but also massive and solidly grounded.

For all of which reasons it is the height of folly to exclude the Indian States from our reckoning when we attempt to plan the future, immediate or remote, of the British Dominion in India.

SERVICE IN THE INDIAN STATES

By Colonel Kailas Narain Haksar, C.I.E.
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If in India the British official ever becomes a specimen of a more or less extinct order, his disappearance, so far as it is brought about by extraneous circumstances, will be at least as much the work of his own non-official countrymen as that of the people of India. Admitting that he is too often wrongly vilified by the vernacular Press, his actions to-day are very commonly misunderstood and misrepresented by members of his own race who stand outside the magic circle of the civil and military services.

For example, at the moment the Scotch banker, the English *box-wala*, or the European or American missionary grumble about the "sun-dried bureaucrat" just as often as the delegates of the Indian National Congress did in those happy days when that body was conscientiously preaching an already effete, doctrinaire liberalism as the panacea for all the political and economic woes of India.

But assuming that the cap fits and that the British-Indian official is a bureaucrat, whether sun-dried or otherwise cured, it is still unfair to him to imagine that he is happy donning such a headgear. If he is a bureaucrat, he is a made bureaucrat, not a born one.

Three, even two, decades ago, before the workshop-management of the Indian Provinces became so specialized or so efficiently organized, there was ample room in ad-

ministrative posts for the long men and for the short. Work was not so minutely subdivided, occupation was more varied, and the rules of service were not so strictly applied as to preclude, even in official matters, countless opportunities for the display of personal originality that was commonly dictated by humanity and instinct rather than by precedent. To-day such opportunities are more rare, and in consequence the English official gets less pleasure out of his work. He plods on philosophically because it is his duty to do his best, but the exacting toll which the modern machine demands is calculated to take the heart out of him and to make his best less good than it was of yore.

This, however, must always be borne in mind. There were giants among the Indian officials of the "seventies," no doubt, but if those giants were reborn to-day with all their recognized ability they would not be able to play their parts on the political stage of India in 1927 with the same applause that they reaped fifty years ago. The conditions under which they would have to act would be different, and the taste of the audience has altered.

In India, at first, the individual Englishman, whether good, bad, or indifferent, ruled as a master; then he was a servant as he ruled. He is still a servant, but can hardly be said to rule, for any ruling that is done (and there is more of it than ever there was) is done entirely by the administrative machine and not by any individual.

India may or may not be getting so many of the right type of Englishman as she did, but, if there be any truth in the adage that every country gets the government it deserves, India has no right to complain. In any case, as has been said before, it is the machine, and not the man who tends the machine, that now rules.

It might be possible to put up a good case for the Indian

official and to show him in a better light by developing the thesis that, since the Great War at all events, India is not attracting as good a non-official class of Britisher as she used to do, but such a digression would be out of place here. In these hard times, when the honest Englishman with a fair education often finds it difficult to earn a proper wage, it may be more to the point to emphasize the fact that a part of India, a full one-third of the whole, is still crying out for the services of the old-fashioned Englishman of personality whom his more astute compatriots and contemporaries may regard as a back number.

At the present moment the Indian States generally are seriously intent on modernizing their administrations. They are now giving to their subjects (comparatively speaking) such benefits in security of life and property and in speedy justice as the latter never enjoyed before; they are working to raise the moral and material condition of their peoples, and generally are striving amain to transform themselves into worthy partners in the Empire to which they are proud to belong.

They are making no great parade of their endeavours—indeed, British India, wrapt up now in parochial politics, now in communal squabbles, is hardly aware of the real progress being achieved by the States—but they are trying to do in one generation the work of two generations or more.

This task they show no sign of trying to accomplish through the specious aid of democracy: the political ideals of the most thoughtful of the Indian Princes in many ways resemble rather those preached by Bolingbroke in his "Patriot King" than the tenets of Burke or Mill, but along certain lines the Indian States are already setting the lead to the British Provinces, though the latter do not as yet recognize that lead.

The States are doing things for the first time and so are

finding joy in their work. They feel that the morning is before them and that their wings are strong. Within their territories communal dissensions are practically unknown, and so at least one vile hindrance to general social, political, and economic progress is absent. Already their peoples are following along the path the Princes are pointing out, for personal veneration for a ruler will be one of the last sentiments that India will let die. If the Englishman loves a lord, the Indian loves a Prince, despite his occasional vagaries.

Yes, if things are to be done in a hurry there are distinct advantages in personal rule, even though the age of the benevolent despot who for all his benevolence was only a despot, has passed in India as in other parts of the world, now that mankind, rightly or wrongly, for their weal or woe, are consciously seeking material civilization.

But again, if things are to be done in a hurry in any quarter of the world there is a great opportunity for the services of Englishmen of the right type.

We have come back to the hackneyed phrase "Englishmen of the right type." For the next generation, at least, and probably for several generations, the Indian States will need a modicum of such Britishers as a leaven in their own indigenous administrations. They need such persons as their own officers rather than the loan of the services of officials from British India. For all their ability, the latter can seldom adopt the point of view of the Indian State that pays their salaries, salaries which are as a rule far larger than those they would be drawing in British India. The lent officer too often is inclined to be unsympathetic towards what he considers the backwardness of the State for which he works, and of the small scale on which things have to be done. Not having started his official life in a particular State, he may be ignorant of local sentiment, and run counter

to local prejudice, and then be surprised that his best laid schemes go agley.

After all, he can hardly be expected to identify himself fully with the interests of the State when he is perhaps just biding his time until the moment when an opportunity may offer for his reversion on promotion to the British Province whence he came.

The States need English officials of their own who if not brilliant are at least men of honesty and character, the equals in those qualities of the officials of British India.

Honesty is requisite if only because in the past the States too often have been exploited by civil as well as by military adventurers, and character too, since in the territories of the Indian Princes the personal equation counts for so much, both with the ruler and the ruled.

Why with the ruler? Because perhaps the Horatian tag, "Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt," hardly applies to the Indian Prince who takes his passage to England. From his position and wealth the Indian Prince is able to mix freely in the best of English society. He can meet the best class of Englishman in the best environment, where the Englishman feels and behaves his best—*i.e.*, in his home.

Whatever good or evil the Indian Princes have brought back with them from the West, they mostly have developed with little trouble a faculty for discrimination such as the average Indian visitor to Europe too often fails to acquire even after conscious effort. Even if they may consider it policy sometimes to employ the second best —it is usually a false policy if only because of his presumptuousness—they still recognize clearly that he is not (forgive the dreary repetition) the Englishman of the right type.

The personal equation, we repeat, counts much with the ruled.

In any Indian State, and especially away from its capital, the Englishman is inclined to be looked upon with awe as a strange being; but for all his inexplicable oddness he can quickly get affection, sometimes even veneration, if he be frank and straight. He would not perhaps be flattered if he realized how in the Indian State the people as a whole consider all Englishmen to be very much alike. If he combine directness of speech and action with a modicum of sympathy, he can get much done and speedily create a tradition for sane progress in spite of being regarded as a queer person if only because to Indian eyes his nature appears so contradictory. It is indeed in his contradictoriness that the family likeness is always discernible.

To those Indian eyes in nearly every case his nature seems composed of a queer mixture of practical, often brutal, common-sense and constitutional unimaginativeness and so must remain a paradoxical enigma.

In the Indian States the average British official happily has no need to be a diplomat or to pose as such. There his downrightness, with all its virtues and faults, is exactly what is needed to get solid work done quickly. There he may be the servant of the people for whom he works, but at least he is not the servant of the machine which his official forefathers in British India have brought to such perfection.

Kipling foresaw this coming nearly thirty years ago when he concluded "The Mosque of Plenty" with the words "From Adam's Bridge to Peshawar the much administered Man.

But if it be true that the English Public Schools and Universities are not showing their old interest in British India, is it necessary that the Indian States should share in

this neglect? In them the individualist can get his chance to use his special talents for the benefit of those among whom he works, and incidentally get credit and happiness while doing so. For all that there is so much to be done, the nature of the work is such as also to foster the formation of warm friendships between Englishman and Indian.

More and more the States are recruiting Britons for their service direct from Britain, and even if that service may not mean great riches, it is nowadays not the precarious existence it once was in the days when the States were so much exploited by the unscrupulous adventurer. The stage on which such an Indian State official will play his part will be smaller than that in a British Province, but, as a whole, the spectators will be more friendly, and even if they miss the finer points of the drama acted, will still be ready to applaud what instinctively they feel is for their benefit. And if he have a modicum of mental balance (he hardly needs histrionic sense), the player by his words and actions can wield an influence which will react for good on his own personality and for happiness in his life and in the lives of others.

Such is the sort of Englishman that the Indian Princes feel that they want as an official in their dominion, not the clever administrator from British India who is a bird of passage, nor the retired civilian whose best work has already been given to a British Province years before. They recognize the need of the Briton who, if sympathetic to caste prejudices, is at least uninfluenced by them, who can show a general breadth of view acquired under other skies than Indian, and who can by his deeds not merely show affection for the State for which he works, but can give sane counsel if the Bolshevik menace to India develops.

And what will be the guerdon for such an Englishman of

the right type? He must not expect to be a ruler. He will be a servant—a servant of his mother country and a servant of the Indian State in which he will find an admirable field for the display of his individual talents and his sterling qualities.

THE RECENT COMMUNIST DISTURBANCES IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

By A. J. Lievegoed
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Last November the world learnt that disturbances had interrupted the even flow of life in Java. Last January there was a new crop of telegrams about disturbances in Sumatra. The outbreaks were sudden and brief, like tropical storms. Yet it ought to be of interest to English readers to enquire into their causes and to attempt to understand their nature.

It is essential, then, first of all to realize that the Dutch East Indian Archipelago is not a quiet paradise in a backwater, where primitive peoples live on sweet-smelling fruit and meditate on the immortality of their souls. The Dutch East Indies are situated on the ocean routes that lead from West and South to East and North Asia, and from Asia to Australia. They are situated close to the ocean trading to the New World, and are in close touch with world traffic, open to all social, religious, and political movements that spring from the world's centres of civilization. Java and Sumatra have an increasing share in the world's production of important raw materials and foodstuffs. They are in many respects thoroughly modern countries, inhabited by peoples who promptly reacted to the Asiatic revival caused by the Russo-Japanese War, and which take a keen interest in world events. Their press, even the papers published in the various vernacular languages, keep them as quickly informed by cable and wireless of what goes on in distant countries as is the case with other nations.

The recent history of these peoples, too, has assumed almost film-like rapidity. Its principal features are a

quarter of a century of educational development, two decades of gradually increasing local autonomy, a dozen years of party politics, and some eight years of the growth of a parliamentary system marked by the transition of a central representative body with advisory powers (the *Volksraad*) into a body with budgetary powers. The European "masters" of these islands, who discarded the last remnants of the old exploiting system as long as half a century ago, not only try honestly to govern them for their own benefit, but have shown themselves willing, at the first signs of the awakening of national consciousness, to meet reasonable desires for a participation in the government. In a political sense this Dutch-Indian society displays all the impetuosity of youth. It has, moreover, a typically "colonial" character in more respects than one. During the last few years big industry, growing ever more important than agriculture, is creating a new contrast between "rulers" and "ruled." Problems abound in this country. In Sumatra there is the problem of preserving an equilibrium between antiquated *adat* (native customary law) and the requirements of modern life; in Java there is the problem of over-population, which has not been completely solved by encouraging the emigration of Javanese labourers to economically active regions elsewhere; the problem also of the transition of the primitive economic system of a conservative agrarian community based on the exchange of produce to the more complicated *Geldwirtschaft* created by increasing trade. And added to these are all the problems of a political, a nationalist, a religious, a social nature immediately connected with the awakening of a population shaken by the new ideas and slogans of the West as well as of the East.

The Dutch have done what they could to pilot these movements through lawful channels by a liberal régime, varying in detail no doubt, but always aiming at the systematical development of land and people. They have improved education, which now extends from elementary

village schools to university education ever growing in thoroughness; they have given a share in local administration, spread useful information about agricultural methods, improved hygienic conditions, organization of a credit system, etc.

Since a few years, however, a new factor has come into play, disturbing the relations between Government and people. Propagandists of Bolshevism, pursuing their plan to hit the European Powers in all their colonies producing for the world market, have introduced their doctrines to the Dutch East Indies also. Fortunately the authorities were able to put down the attempt before much harm was done. Although they were not warned in time to prevent the shedding of blood by arresting the plotters before they revealed themselves, they could quickly concentrate a sufficient force of police and military to overawe the Communists completely and make prisoners some thousands of them, including all the principal leaders.

The most spectaclar success of the Communists was the capture, for a few hours, of the Central Telephone Office in the commercial quarter of Batavia. For anyone acquainted with the circumstances, that success was more spectacular than real; the commercial quarter is almost deserted at night, and a surprise must always remain a possibility. In the provinces of Java, too, the attempts never attained more than the initial success which plotters can generally score. As for Sumatra, a country as large as Great Britain, there Communism has succeeded, in some districts on the west coast, in establishing, with the help of bandits and desperadoes, a terrorism over the Malay population, by which the inhabitants of the least protected regions were cowed into screening the action in secrecy or even into active co-operation. Mutilations of cattle and similar methods proved to a certain extent successful with this prosperous agrarian population.

No doubt there were natural conditions both in Java and in Sumatra—in what living and moving community

would that not be so?—which in certain respects favoured the organization and the action of a Communist party. In enumerating some of the problems engaging the attention of the Dutch East Indian Government the principal ones have already been mentioned. One more should, however, not be overlooked—viz., a certain loss of contact between the chiefs and the population. Indeed, this factor is closely connected with the development of the Indies in accordance with modern principles of administration. It arises out of the transition of the simple society of the past into the complicated conditions of the present and of the future.

The Dutch have always tried to rule the populations through the medium of their own chiefs. But as the technique of administration became more refined, and it was decided to make the people participate more and more, this system met with even greater difficulties in practice. A certain amount of experimenting is inevitable, and it is now pretty generally agreed that an administration which is too exacting with regard to the work of its officials has resulted in these officials—that is in this case the native chiefs—having become bureaucrats, tied to their offices, immersed in papers, and out of contact with the community which they administer. In Bantam, the most western district of Java, for instance, Communism was able to work in the *desas* and incite the fanatical instincts of the Muhammadan population against their chiefs without these being any the wiser. In West Sumatra there was an exceptional state of affairs. An old-fashioned *adat* régime, under which power rested with certain families of the original settlers, whose interest lay in the perpetuation of old customs, had here been replaced by trained native officials selected by the Government outside these privileged families. This was a reform which was clearly dictated by care for the people's welfare, but which inevitably caused many to feel sore.

That reforms of this kind and mistakes resulting in

"loss of contact" offered opportunities to Communist action needs no argument. The Communists have given close attention to these natural difficulties. It is a most gratifying sign that the people, as soon as the authorities showed themselves to be able to deal with the Communist plotters and to support the loyalist, gave indubitable proofs of having no interest in Communism. Whoever asserts that the troubles were the spontaneous rising of an oppressed people does not know the facts.

The Dutch East Indian Government are in possession of abundant material from which it is possible to study in detail the subtle and typically Bolshevist methods by which the outbreaks were prepared.

All European Governments with colonial interests in Asia may well be grateful for the energetic manner in which those of the agitators who have been caught red-handed have been convicted by the Courts, which passed many death sentences, and condemned many others to imprisonment up to twenty years. In some special cases Communists have been pardoned by the Governor-General, who exercises this prerogative only after hearing the advice of the High Court at Batavia.

Government this time refused to allow Communists sentenced to be interned to leave the Dutch East Indies to stay abroad during the term of their banishment. By allowing this on previous occasions, Government appeared to have acted against the interests of social order, for the infringing of which the said Communists had been banished. Several prominent Communists, in former years allowed to leave the Netherlands Indies, have joined the headquarters of the party, whence they started with fresh instructions to Canton and Singapore. From these places they then proceeded to act against the Netherlands Indian Government, abusing their acquaintance with internal affairs and people as much as they could. It is for this reason that the privilege of living abroad was no more granted to any of them.

The Dutch authorities have acted by interning a large number of Communists in New Guinea.

The Government of the Straits Settlements is now actively co-operating with the Dutch authorities in order to suppress, in the interests of both, the centre of propaganda at Singapore, one of the most important traffic centres in the East.

The Dutch East Indian Government is no more without shortcomings than any other Government. It honestly attempts, however, to solve its increasingly difficult problems in the light of modern principles of Colonial administration. It may always be possible for a Communist organization to score a short-lived success by some reckless and irresponsible attempt. The double experiment tried in the Archipelago, however, has made it quite clear that the Indian community itself is altogether alien and even hostile to Communism. The other day the Dutch East Indian Government declared emphatically that it will not allow itself to be pushed by Communism either to the right or to the left from its course of a liberally-minded administration. It is a statement eloquent of quiet strength and which finds firm support in the facts.

Once more the risings have proved the imperative necessity of maintaining the army and the police force on a basis sufficient to meet any emergency of this description. Had the Communists been in a condition to start rebellion in many more places at a time, the instruments of power would have had a hazardous task. It cannot be denied that the financial depression which befell the Dutch East Indies after the year 1920 has induced Government to accept a scheme of economies in administration which has materially affected the preparedness of the army. It is acknowledged now that this weakening of the instruments of power, which could not be hidden from the eyes of the Communists either, may have had some influence on their aims. Government has taken the lesson to heart and the latest budget projects, laid before the legislative powers,

reveal a firm intention to restore the strength of the army and fit it out with all it needs to fulfil its task. The same may be said about the police. Elaborate measures have also been taken to prevent the forbidden import of arms, whereas the control on the immigration of undesirables, especially from China and from Arabia, has been tightened up.

On the other hand, Government has ordered an investigation into the political and economic conditions in the districts where the extent to which the disturbances have spread show that there might be local circumstances of a specific character which favoured the spread of Communism. It commissioned officials with special knowledge of native life with this delicate task, thus showing once more that Government is willing to meet the wishes of the population wherever and whenever it can do so.

The Government has laid before the *Volksraad* a report of the available information regarding the organization of the Netherlands Indies Communists. It appears from this report that it was a decidedly ingenious scheme of revolutionary action, framed in such a manner as to take the utmost precaution for keeping its objects secret. It was modelled upon the revolutionary organization in Russia in 1917. It acted as a "double" organization, one half being the brains and the leaders, whilst the other half merely had to obey the instructions without even having any notion of their real purpose. Several notorious Communists, banished from the country on previous occasions, succeeded in re-entering the Archipelago without being noticed by the immigration officials and in travelling from one end of Java to the other, instructing the subordinate officers in the new methods. Particular care was taken by them to link them up with the native trade unions in order to effectuate an infiltration of Communism in labour circles and educate people in strike tactics. Many of the unexplained "wild" strikes during the years 1925 and 1926 appear now to have resulted from this revolutionary origin. They were intended to form so

many preparatory "skirmishes" for the big decisive battle which it was hoped would put a final end to Dutch rule in Java. The rank and file of the Communist army was in no way initiated in the scheme of action, nor did it know even the names of the leaders. The only thing they knew was that they had to be prepared at a moment's notice to mobilize a certain number of soldiers for immediate action. It is a matter of fact that this organization was growing into a most dangerous revolutionary army under the very eyes of Government without the latter being fully aware of it until a short time before the reported disturbances. The Political Intelligence Service of the Netherlands Indies Government, of course, possessed various sources of information concerning Communist activities, gathered from different sources, and it was even quite near to tracing the secret of the revolutionary scheme, but for some missing links in the chain of investigations. Thus it was that it could occur that the authorities were informed about the exact date of the revolutionary effort without having the slightest notion as to the centres of action and the numbers of the forces the Communists disposed of. The full information, now to hand, shows that the Communists varied their methods with great skill in accordance with local conditions. They stirred up the ill-feeling of the population in the plague-stricken districts in Central Java, occasioned by the medical prescriptions for improvement of native dwellings; they associated themselves with Muhammadan fanatics in Bantam, with discontented taxpayers elsewhere—always changing their slogans and conforming to local needs. It is this art of transformation by which a widespread conformation to the Bolshevik doctrine was suggested, whereas, as has already been mentioned above, the population proved not at all eager to adopt the new ideas. It simply lived temporarily under the suggestion of skilled and indiscriminate ringleaders, who professed to know a remedy for all their daily grievances and were exceedingly talented in giving to modest popular wishes the garb of tremendous mass claims.

SYRIA AND THE LEBANON

By J. L. Gheerbrandt
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[It will be recalled that Colonel Amery delivered an important address before the Union Coloniale Française in Paris on June 3, in which he described Anglo-French collaboration as the natural and inevitable consequence of the histories of the two countries, and of the problems which awaited them in the future. M. Raymond Poincaré, the French Prime Minister, in a cordial speech of welcome, paid a tribute to the Indian troops in France during the war, and added that thanks to a far-seeing and generous policy, and the liberties Great Britain had accorded, the descendants of former French colonists had become the inspirers of concord and the messengers of peace between the two countries.

The present is the first of a series of articles, chiefly informative in character, by authorities with first-hand knowledge, upon the French possessions and mandated territories in Asia.]

That part of Syria which has been placed under French mandate is only a part of historic Syria which used to have territories to the east of the Euphrates that have now been awarded to Mesopotamia. The present frontiers have been fixed by the Anglo-French Convention of December 23, 1920, and the Franco-Turkish agreement of October 20, 1921. To the north, Syria is separated from Turkey by a line which commences at Payas on the Gulf of Alexandretta, follows the railway from Bagdad to Nissibin, and reaches the Tigre at Djeziret Ibu Omar. In the east, the country is bounded by the Tigris for a distance of thirty miles, reaches the Euphrates at Abou Kemal, and cuts across the desert as far as Djebel Druse. On the south it is bounded by Transjordania and Palestine. There are two rivers of minor importance, the Nahr Litani, or Leontes, 85 miles long, and the Nahr-el-Asi, or Orontes, which is 220 miles long, besides the multitudinous number of streams which assist the irrigation. The Euphrates, the great river of Syria, 250 miles long, is the only one that is navigable.

The population of Syria and Lebanon is estimated at 3,000,000; 2,500,000 are settled in the country, 400,000 are nomads, and 100,000 Christian refugees from Turkey. They are very varied in race. Peoples of very different temperaments live together there, and the East and the West clash everywhere. Franks, Genoese, Romans, Venetians, Egyptians, Arabs, Jews, Persians, and Circassians have contributed to the formation of the present population. It has, however, remained chiefly Arab in character, though the Beduins have greatly modified this strain. It is they, however, who have remained nomad, whilst the remainder of the population have become settlers. As practically everywhere in the East the real division is a religious one, and there are between eighteen and twenty sects, a detailed account of which is not necessary for the purposes of this article. There are still representatives of the old Sun worship, and the Christians and the Muhammadans live side by side. The Christians can be divided into Maronites, Greek Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Protestants, Latins, Armenians, Jacobists, Nestorians. Then there are the Jews and the Muhammadans, who are divided into Sunnites and Shiites, and the Druses. The distribution of religions is as follows: In the interior the Muhammadans are in the majority; in the principal towns the Christians are an important minority; on the sea-coast and in the Lebanon the Christian element is about equal with the Muhammadan; among the Alaouites the majority of the population is Ansar—that is to say, in disagreement with Islam, and in marked opposition to the Sunnis.

In accordance with the terms of the mandate, the status of Syria has been defined in collaboration with the Syrian Authorities. The great Lebanon is acknowledged to be independent. Considerable progress has been made in the organization of the Syrian States, the federation of which is only a first stage. In order to avoid the economic disadvantages of the territory being divided into independent States a system of collaboration between the States has

been worked out to cover commercial transactions, customs dues, post offices, etc. It is unfortunately true that owing to the differences and rivalries of the various races and their sense of independence one from the other, and also in many cases the absence of any sense of civic duties, the political problem has become a very difficult one and a solution can only be found gradually. Perhaps thirty or forty years must elapse before the populations of Syria can learn to govern themselves.

The French mandate extends over four States.

1. *The Lebanon*, which has been most in touch with Western civilization and was, therefore, fitted to be the first to receive a Constitution. It now governs itself, has a President of the Republic, aided by Ministers and a Parliament.

2. *The Federation of Syria*, which comprises the old States of Aleppo and Damascus, and is separated from the mountains of the Lebanon. It is more backward, and, therefore, poor and lacking in men of education. The creation of this federation was due to the wishes expressed by the representative assemblies that have been regularly elected since 1923.

3. *The State of the Alaouites*, which has also a Constitution, and has elected an assembly passing laws through the *mutessarif*, who is the responsible officer and intermediary between the Assembly and the High Commissioner.

4. *The Government of Djebel-Druse*, which has not yet been organized into a proper State on account of recent troubles which have now been completely ended. It remains for the present under the direct administration of the French Authorities.

Each State is divided into préfectures and subpréfectures called *sandjaks* and *cazas*, which represent the Provincial Authority. Each State has attached to it French Technical Advisers. The financial situation of all the States is excellent. In every case the Budget shows a

balance, and the credits which have been made for the development of the country since 1920 have become smaller every year. Thus, whilst in 1920 the credits from the Mother Country amounted to 185,000,000 francs, they fell to 20,000,000 in 1922, 10,000,000 in 1923, and 8,000,000 in 1925. The Syrian Budget, taken as a whole, amounts to 8,514,407 Syrian pounds, to which must be added 4,000,000 for Customs Receipts—*i.e.*, 12,500,000 pounds in all, which amounts to 240,000,000 francs. The military expenditure does not exceed 8,000,000 francs.

The number of French inhabitants is now 2,500, compared with 300 in 1914. The capital invested in local commercial, industrial, and financial undertakings exceeds 200,000,000 gold francs, of which French capital represents two-thirds.

This is only natural, since France has accepted the heavy burden of the mandate. She has been responsible for the building of the railways of Syria and Lebanon, of Cilicia and Northern Syria towards Mosul; 1,250 miles of roads for motor traffic have been opened, the port of Beirut has been built, those of Tripoli and Alexandretta modernized. These towns have been furnished with street lighting. Beirut, Aleppo, and Latakia now have general stores, the first-named also boasting of refrigerating installation and cotton-mills. The Djerabline bridge has been reopened and wireless introduced.

The schools have 40,000 pupils; and the three colleges of Beirut, Aleppo, and Damascus, which furnish secondary education, prepare students successfully for the liberal professions, which are greatly held in honour in Syria, which can boast of numerous clever doctors and lawyers. The College of Beirut had, in 1926, 860 students. Hospitals with from 80 to 250 beds have been opened in Beirut, Saïda, Tyre, Tripoli, Medj-Ayoum, Baabda, Bel-Eddine, and Zahlé. At Damascus there is a civil hospital, and that of Saint Louis, belonging to the Sisters of Charity, at Homs. There are several hundred dispensaries and

maternity homes, which have 50,000 cases per annum and give 200,000 consultations.

The geographical position of Syria is that of a land of transit between the Mediterranean and the interior of Asia. The commercial advantages of this favourable situation are being successfully developed.

The statistics for imports (in 1924) show Great Britain at the head of the list with 140 million francs, then France (114), Italy (78). The total imports amount to 800 million francs.

Exports amounted to 340 million francs (in 1924); 77 millions worth were imported by Turkey. The province of Aleppo is resuming more and more its pre-war rôle of supplying Anatolia, Mosul, and Cilicia. There follows Palestine (55)—cloth, oil, olives, fruit, soap, and cattle—France (53), Egypt (42), U.S.A. (25), Italy (15), Great Britain (14), Mesopotamia (12).

Europe imports from Syria silk, wool, cotton, hides, gut, pistachios, almonds, etc. The silks nearly all go to France: 233,500 kilograms of cocoons, 127,000 of silk, 125,000 of waste. The wool amounts to 600,000 kilograms, the cotton 3 million, leather and hides 2 million.

The ports share this traffic in the following proportions:

Damascus ...	32 per cent.	Tripoli	10 per cent.
Alexandretta ...	26 ,,	Aleppo	4 ,,
Beirut	25 ,,	Latakia	3 ,,

The ports of Saïda and Sour (Tyre and Sidon) are unfortunately not practicable for navigation as far as steamers are concerned.

The agricultural position may now be described. The most favoured districts lie between the Lebanon and the sea, in the State of the Alaouites, and its continuation to the south as far as Beirut, the plateaus of Bekao, between the Lebanon and the anti-Lebanon, between Damascus and Aleppo.

On account of the great differences in altitude, climate,

and the nature of the soil, there is also a great variety in the produce.

Corn occupies the largest area, but the 500,000 tons that are grown are reserved for local needs.

Fruit-growing is very successful, and resulted in 1925 in the export of 15,000 tons of fresh fruit, 2,000 tons of dried fruits, 3,000 tons of fruit-paste, and 700 tons of jams.

Market-gardening is carried on along the coast, in the valleys of the interior, and particularly in the vicinity of large towns.

The olive-trees have been a special care of the French administration, and are now much improved: 1,400 tons of olive-oil were exported in 1925.

Vast tracts still lie fallow, though in the plains as well as the mountains irrigation is practised, and the water of the rivers and streams can be diverted. Remains of aqueducts, reservoirs, and canals seem to show that in former times the science of irrigation was better understood than now. But the present-day Syrians irrigate their land with *norias* and hydraulic wheels.

One hundred and fifty thousand acres are under irrigation, 95,000 of which lie in the State of Damascus, 20,700 in Aleppo, leaving the rest to be spread over 500,000 acres of cultivated land. This is little, bearing in mind that, according to M. Hurelin (Professor at Lyons), 12,500,000 acres still lie fallow for lack of workers. The applications for concessions are, however, encouraging.

The raising of cattle and sheep is still in the primitive stage. Efforts are being made by the Mandatory Power to modernize methods; 285,000 head were exported in 1925 out of a total of 3,000,000 sheep, 1,200,000 goats, and 500,000 oxen. There are also 100,000 donkeys, 50,000 horses, and 50,000 camels.

Mention must also be made of Syria's resources in timber, which are now only in the mountains. In Northern Lebanon several thousand acres are covered with pine, worth about 100 million francs. The famous cedars are

chiefly in the same district. They form a wood of 400 trees of all sizes, eight of which attain gigantic proportions.

There are chestnut-trees and beeches, and the forests of Amam in the Sandjak of Alexandretta contain 3,250,000 black pines for export, and 12,000,000 which form a valuable reserve. The juniper also flourishes. But the timber of Syria really stands in need of conservation, a task which is being fulfilled by the forest service.

There has been much glib talk of Syria's mineral wealth. Though it is permissible to suppose that in the mountains minerals may be found, it cannot be affirmed that up to the present any really exist. The High Commissioner's service for the study of the minerals has revealed their presence to a sufficient extent to justify the hope that at some future date the State will derive profit from their exploitation. Not one of the six concessions granted by the Turkish Government before the war is being worked; no ancient permit has been renewed, nor has a fresh one been granted.

From the point of view of tourist traffic Syria is in a very favourable position on account of the excellent climate and the air-routes that link the country with Europe and the Far East. The roads are nearly all in excellent condition, and the sightseer can view the Frank and Byzantine architecture of the cathedrals, castles, and convents that recall the Crusades and feudalism. Recently the *George Washington* landed 300 American tourists.

The task of France may be thus summarized:

Political.—A constitution for each State, duly confirmed by the vote of that State; a conference of the States to settle common interests, with the High Commissioner as the final tribunal.

Economic.—The development of agriculture, commerce, and industries of the country.

The honest fulfilment of the mandate—i.e., France will assist the evolution of the Syrian people until the moment

comes when she recognizes that they can govern themselves, when her mandate will be considered accomplished. It may be that there are some divergences in the almost unanimous opinion that France is in honour bound to the League of Nations to carry out her educational mission, social and economic, to the Syrian people; but the depth of this sentiment has been well expressed by the Foreign Minister, M. Briand, when he declared in the Chamber: "The bare suggestion of abandoning the mandate would be a betrayal."

RURAL INDIA AND THE ROYAL COMMISSION

By Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

(Late Financial Commissioner of the Punjab. The author was one of the witnesses who were called to give evidence before the Commission in London.)

The recent publication of an interim report by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India serves to remind us that there is proceeding at the present moment a systematic and comprehensive enquiry into the rural conditions prevailing in our great Eastern Empire which is likely to be fraught with consequences of the most far-reaching and momentous importance. It is by this time a more or less trite commonplace that 90 per cent. of the population of British India is rural and lives in small villages, while three-fourths of it derives its daily livelihood from agricultural occupations. The investigations of the Royal Commission thus embrace in their scope economic interests which protrude themselves insistently into every nook and corner of the Indian sub-continent. Such an occasion seems not inopportune for attempting, however imperfectly, a brief sketch of some of the more salient features of the Indian rural problem.

It is in the main a problem concerned with a vast mass of peasant proprietors and peasant tenants cultivating small, and in many cases minute, holdings under an agricultural technique which, while it has shown itself to be capable of progressive improvement, is on the whole the outcome of comparatively primitive economic conditions adapted to extensive rather than to intensive cultivation. It is perfectly true that in many parts of India, and indeed generally,

agriculture is carried on with assiduous labour, often of the hardest and most exacting description; but there is not that profitable combination of vegetable and animal products which forms so marked a feature of the mixed husbandry of the small farm which is to be found in Western countries. The normal growth of population under settled political and progressive economic conditions, combined with law and custom under which the land of a deceased proprietor passes to all his agnatic heirs and not to one of them, has necessarily resulted in an increasing subdivision of holdings. With little or no diversification of industrial openings the growing rural population has had to trust to a comparatively simple form of agriculture for a livelihood, with the result that the mass of manual labour seeking to live by, and in fact dependent on, cultivation is in the more densely populated tracts, where the agricultural problem is most pressing, in excess of the quantity which can be utilized profitably in a comparatively primitive type of non-diversified husbandry unaided by adequate capital. In short, the law of variable proportions, which governs the application of the factors of production in agriculture no less than in other industries, is being transgressed in varying degrees, while the diminishing return to labour under existing conditions is making itself more or less acutely felt. The redundant labour, if fully employed, as it not unfrequently is, yields no adequate additional product; otherwise it works for less than full time. In either case the product per man tends to be deficient.

Why, then, it may be asked, if the above diagnosis is correct, is not the Indian cultivator less prosperous—or more depressed—than he actually is? How is it that his standard of living is generally higher than it was half a century ago, and that he displays a notably greater power of resistance against occasional famine and the lesser but more frequent adversities of season? The question is not an easy one. The answer, it is suggested, is that the average product per working cultivator is greater in quantity, certainly in money

value, than it was at the previous epoch, though the limits of its increase under the prevalent conditions of redundant labour applied to land deficient as regards both area as well as the amount of capital applied to it has been nearly, if not quite, reached. At the same time, improvement of the cultivator's environmental conditions, due mainly to the action of the State in providing public services—such as roads, railways, irrigation, post offices, medical relief, and so forth—has afforded him, in spite of a rise in the general price level, amenities and facilities undreamt of by his forbears, while the enhancement in value of his chief asset, his land and its produce, has, in spite of the increased cost of living, placed at his disposal a means of credit which, if prudently used—a proviso of pregnant importance though by no means universally satisfied—goes far in helping him to face adversities of season.

Certain other general controlling or inhibiting factors there are which in the past have helped, and which still help, to depress the productive capacity of the Indian cultivator—his moral and mental outlook, and the hampering effects of some, though by no means of all, of his religious beliefs and sentiments. They have induced in him, guided and controlled as he is by centuries of tradition, a non-economic view of his daily work. He has been content with a more or less bare subsistence in place of striving for progressive material prosperity. An obvious example is the Hindu's religious veneration for the bovine species. This practice, however admirable from some points of view, unquestionably has exercised a very harmful effect on the quality of Indian cattle and on their position and use in agricultural economy. Combined with other influences it helps to exclude the Indian cultivator from the full benefits of a system of mixed husbandry in which crops as well as animal products both play a more or less equally important part. But education and wider external contacts, social, moral, and economic, are gradually relaxing some of these trammels, and in parts of India the process of

change has been at work for a considerable period. Very much, of course, still remains to be done, but the changes which have occurred suffice to show that rural India is by no means irretrievably stagnant.

For its progressive development an improved agriculture is the pivotal requirement, and agricultural advance appears to lie mainly in two directions—firstly, the employment of more capital, with its necessary implications, the wider application of science together with a greater variety in the classes of crops usually grown on a small holding; and secondly, the organization of industries supplementary to agriculture. Both developments would provide profitable occupation for labour which tends to be redundant under the present comparatively primitive and non-commercial conditions of Indian agriculture.

Taking a somewhat wider view, the principal factors in the future prosperity of the rural population of India and the main lines of progress to be followed may perhaps be sketched somewhat as follows:

1. Extended scientific investigation of Indian agricultural and veterinary conditions in their technical, economic and commercial aspects.

2. Propagation of the results among the cultivating classes by practical demonstration on an extensive scale, as well as by agricultural education of a vocational character and based on a system of general education, mainly in the primary stage, framed so as to train intelligence rather than to impart information about matters only distantly related to the cultivator's daily life and interests.

3. A healthy system of credit for the provision of agricultural capital.

4. The development of industries, as far as possible of a domestic type, supplementary to agriculture.

5. The expansion of rural co-operation in all its branches.

6. The continued development of communications of all kinds.

7. The forms and incidents of land tenure.

Of these, the last, a consideration of special importance and of special complexity in many parts of India, has been excluded from the purview of the Royal Commission; and no doubt rightly so, since otherwise its investigations would probably have required several years for their completion. The rest, together with many other matters, are, as appears from the interim report, forming the subject of a very detailed and elaborate enquiry. To attempt any lengthy treatment of them, even if that were practicable in an article such as this, would be premature; but a few general observations may not be out of place.

To frame any confident and accurate estimate of the comparative importance of the factors which have been indicated is scarcely possible. Their mutual interactions are so complex that no particular one of them can be isolated as being of preponderating weight. It is, for instance, comparatively easy to perceive that a vigorous growth of domestic industries subsidiary to agriculture would contribute greatly to rural prosperity, but it is not so easy to indicate the precise nature of such industries, or of the economic demands which they would serve to satisfy. The creation of such demands itself depends on the emergence of new wants, and that in its turn postulates a rise in the standard of rural culture as a result of progressive mass education and general enlightenment; while for such enlightenment the railway and the metalled road are instruments scarcely less efficient than the school. Again, scientific investigation, though fundamental, can be of ultimate practical utility only in so far as expanding rural intelligence can in sufficient measure assimilate its results and to some extent appreciate its bearings; while the expansion of rural intelligence is itself largely dependent on the provision of an improved economic system for the satisfaction of material wants. In short, the mental uplift and the material uplift of rural India, as indeed of any country, are correlated processes, neither of which can proceed effectively in separation from the other.

But, subject to considerations such as the above, agricultural and veterinary research must hold a primary place in any efforts directed to render Indian agriculture more productive and Indian rural life more prosperous. The facts to be investigated are so numerous and so complex, the regional and local conditions so diverse, that widespread, systematic and co-ordinated work of this kind is an indispensable portion of the basis of material improvement. A considerable area has been already covered, but a vast field still remains untouched. The due co-ordination of such work throughout all the provinces of British India by some central supervising and energizing agency, and the degree of administrative authority with which it should be endowed, constitute a problem which has become one of considerable difficulty in consequence of recent constitutional developments in the direction of provincial autonomy. But some such agency would seem to be very necessary, since a provincialized system of research operating in water-tight compartments is scarcely one which can be contemplated with satisfaction.

To the vitally important subject of irrigation only the briefest reference is possible. Apart from irrigation by State canals, irrigation from wells must continue to occupy a position of the greatest importance in the agriculture of many parts of India, so that all possible improvements in ensuring supplies of sub-soil water, and in the efficiency of the methods employed for raising it, many of which are at present most defective, are eminently desirable. There is also much scope for greater economy in the use of water so as to obtain a maximum product from a given quantity. Success in the matter demands full scientific knowledge of the effects of water on soil, both as regards the crops grown and the physical relations between soil and the water present in it. Comparatively little of practical importance has apparently been as yet accomplished in India in this connection. About four-fifths of the total area sown with crops is unirrigated, so that methods scientifically adapted to

render agriculture which is entirely dependent on rainfall more secure by an economy of soil moisture would be invaluable.

Cattle mortality, much of it avoidable, is probably one of the most, if not the most, prolific of the causes of rural indebtedness in India; while the general tendency of bovine evolution, under the play of physical, economic, and, it may be added, of social and religious forces, has been the establishment of breeds, which, at the cost of physical deterioration, especially in draught power and milking capacity, can manage to exist on a minimum of subsistence, though cattle diseases levy a heavy and incessant toll. Veterinary science and the development of veterinary agencies, both for the prevention of disease and for the improvement of breeds, are therefore of immense importance. The systematic improvement of Indian cattle, the gradual repair of centuries of ignorance and neglect, is an enormous undertaking, and one in which it will take several generations to make an appreciable advance. A good deal has been and is being done, but it is essential that efforts in this direction should be vigorous, widespread, and planned on an effective scale.

Beyond a small fraction of its population rural India is at present illiterate. The primary education of the entire mass is in the highest degree desirable as an indispensable means to agricultural efficiency in its varied aspects. Whether it is possible, or ever will be so, is of course a very different question. Towards universal rural literacy the progress hitherto made has been meagre; and it seems clear that little substantial progress can, in fact, be made without compulsory primary education. The obstacles in the way of such a policy are clearly very great—obstacles social, administrative, financial—with which it is impossible to deal here. The problem has, however, been attacked, and compulsory powers have been given to local bodies in a good many rural areas, but it is at present too early to judge results, actual and prospective. If they should be favourable a very real advance in agricultural efficiency and

rural prosperity will become visible, distant though the view may be. On a basis of general literary, and in time perhaps of an even higher grade of education, vocational instruction and training in agriculture will be more readily practicable than is the case at present.

Any attempt to deal, however summarily, with rural conditions in India must be incomplete without a reference to the co-operative movement; the most notable and at the same time the most encouraging economic development which that country has witnessed in modern times; and a development, moreover, which has also important social and moral bearings. Arising out of the problem of rural indebtedness, a problem of special prominence in India, co-operative credit societies have already done much to inaugurate a healthy system of rural finance for the provision of agricultural capital, while other non-credit developments of the co-operative movement have marked out several definite lines of social and moral uplift, some of which seem to be eminently practical. The value of the moral education which co-operation is affording in self-help, thrift, and social solidarity can scarcely be overestimated, even in the comparatively small area which it has so far reached. Its encouragement by all possible means is in the highest degree desirable.

One of the more difficult problems demanding the attention of the Royal Commission is that of small holdings of some three to five acres, of which very many are to be found in various parts of India—notably Bombay and the Punjab. Usually they are too small for the profitable practice of undeveloped agriculture of the extensive type, or even of mixed husbandry of a simple kind.

Under such systems they can adequately provide neither subsistence nor income from the sale of produce. They are, in short, uneconomic. Western experience would seem to show that such minute holdings can be worked economically only by the intensive application of labour and capital directed to the supply of varied products, animal and

vegetable, for which there exists a brisk and permanent demand in markets with which the cultivator is in close and easy communication; while at the same time he must be helped by a far-reaching and efficient system of co-operation with his neighbouring cultivators, especially in the essential matters of marketing and the purchase of agricultural materials and implements.

Necessary conditions, such as these, are as yet far from being established in many of the tracts of India in which the uneconomic holding is common.

Such, then, are some of the weighty questions with which the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India is confronted. It is for that body to define and demarcate the lines of a sound and progressive development—which must necessarily be slow—amid conditions unique in their complexity, and almost bewildering in their variety. All who have the true welfare of India at heart will cordially wish it the utmost possible measure of success in the accomplishment of the arduous task with which it is charged.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

By Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur
(President of the Leland Stanford University, California)

The first meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations was held in Honolulu, in the Territory of Hawaii, on June 30 to July 14, 1925. After several years of planning, a self-governing and self-directing body, concerned with the promotion of good relations among the Pacific peoples, came together for a frank and open discussion of the most disturbing issues facing the countries of the Pacific.

Members were present from Hawaii, Canada, the United States, the Philippines, China, Korea, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. About one hundred and twenty members were in actual attendance. The members lived together in the dormitories of the Punahou College, and held their meetings in the grounds of that institution. There was a rare opportunity for personal acquaintance and mutual understanding among the members.

There was some hesitation in approaching the most pressing problems at first, until after a round table upon the subjects of the religions of the Pacific, where without rancour Christianity, Buddhism, and Confucianism were compared and analyzed by devoted advocates. At subsequent meetings the most delicate questions were brought forward by the different national and racial groups, and discussed for the most part in a dispassionate manner.

The programme was worked out from day to day on the basis of interest and experience. From the very first it

was determined that the Institute should be a fact-finding body devoted to the promotion of mutual understanding, and that it should not fall into partisan hands or commit itself in the ordinary manner by resolutions upon subjects of dispute. One single resolution was adopted by the Institute, and that was a formal one, thanking the people of Honolulu for their unique and abounding hospitality.

The whole purpose of the organization can best be judged by the recommendation of one of the sub-committees, which was adopted by the Institute, on its purpose and scope:

"The Institute of Pacific Relations is a body of men and women deeply interested in the Pacific area, who meet and work, not as representatives of their Governments, or of any other organizations, but as individuals in order to promote the well-being of the peoples concerned.

"The scope of the work of the Institute and the means to be employed in that work will be determined largely by its form of organization and the extent of its financial support.

"Its main efforts will be devoted to collecting and elucidating the facts of international significance, which, by their influence in guiding public opinion, may assist constructively the development of the countries concerned; to urging the improvement of legal and administrative procedure, where present methods tend to hinder international harmony and good feeling; and directly to promoting international friendship by personal association and by the study of economic, educational, social, political, moral, and religious conditions with a view to their improvement.

"The Institute aims to keep its work practical, so that it may be of direct service in the removal of difficulties in international relations and in the promotion of constructive measures of assistance.

"Scientific investigations of questions that may be purely

academic for the present, although ultimately of vital importance, as for example the biological and social effects of race intermixture or the best means of financing countries in need, are to be undertaken so far as financial resources permit.

"In all its work, the Institute will co-operate with other organizations of similar purpose, so as to achieve the best and most far-reaching results."

It was further agreed that a temporary Organizing Committee, consisting of Messrs. F. C. Atherton, Y. Tsurumi, S. T. Wen, John Nelson, and R. L. Wilbur, be set up to organize a permanent Institute of Pacific Relations.

This Organizing Committee has now completed its plans for the second meeting of the Institute, which is to be held in Honolulu from July 15 to 28, 1927, with a somewhat increased representation from the Pacific countries.

The unofficial character of the Institute, and its unwillingness to commit itself to solutions, has been of great advantage in eliminating from its list those who already have a formula for settling international problems. The absolute pacifist and the true militarist have not found the Institute method a satisfactory one.

While the results of the first meeting of the Institute are difficult to gauge, I think it is safe to say that as a result of it we have had a more accurate and sympathetic understanding by each national group of the problems of the other countries of the Pacific area, and of their attitudes upon the outstanding issues of that area. There has been, too, a recognition of the essential solidarity of many of the national interests, as well as the conflict of other interests; the unheated discussion of delicate racial issues; the modification of points of view; the valuable factual material exchanged; and the development of mutual appreciation and friendships between members of the various national groups. The most practical result was the appointment of

the Committee on Permanent Organization, which has proceeded to operate in all of the countries involved, and has successfully raised funds and secured members for the oncoming meeting.

The programme of the Institute in brief is as follows:

I. A Clearing-House and Co-Ordinating Centre for the affiliated national groups—by means of visitation, publicity, publication, information service, and exchange of data, and by maintaining contacts with other organizations.

These functions will be affected through:

(*a*) A central headquarters and secretariat situated in Hawaii.

(*b*) National headquarters, with secretaries in charge, in the various co-operating countries.

II. Research.—Systematic investigation of researches being carried on by other organizations, in order to ascertain what data are likely to be of value to the Institute, and on what lines further research should be started. This should prevent overlapping in research by co-ordinating research activities in the Pacific area, and acquaint its international constituency with the results of investigations of every kind relating to it.

The Institute is in an advantageous position for putting such a programme into operation, due to the nature of its organization and membership. Its membership in each country consists, in large part, of educators, publicists, scientists, and commercial and religious leaders who are in a position to command the resources for research and to give wide publicity to its results.

On the other hand, these same people, representing various interests and sections of their respective countries, will be able to interpret to the Institute the trend of public opinion, and the major issues that should be considered in its programme.

The Institute will:

(*a*) Discover and make available to the public *existing data* relative to important issues.

(*b*) Make *contacts with research agencies* engaged in these or allied fields, and give publicity to their findings.

(*c*) *Stimulate research agencies* to undertake new investigations.

(*d*) Where data in an important field and the agency for securing it are both lacking, the Institute will be prepared to *conduct the necessary investigation.*

III. PUBLICITY AND EDUCATION.—(*A*) *Publicity.* The Institute considers one of its major functions to be the giving of wide and impartial publicity to facts bearing upon the problems of the Pacific peoples through the following means:

(*a*) The daily and weekly Press of the various countries.

(*b*) The organs of national and regional societies and interests.

(*c*) Magazines and scientific journals.

(*d*) The Institute's own bulletins and reports.

(*e*) The interchange of popular and scientific lectures.

(*B*) *Education.*

(*a*) Stimulating and co-operating with regional councils organized under the national groups, with carefully chosen membership, meeting occasionally.

(*b*) Study groups and round tables for the discussion of Pacific problems.

(*c*) National and regional conferences and institutes.

(*d*) Co-operation with international, national, or local agencies which are interested in inter-racial and international affairs.

IV. BIENNIAL INSTITUTES.—At intervals of, preferably, two years, the co-operating national groups will gather in a

conference or institute for the study of their common problems, the exchange and discussion of the important data assembled since the previous meeting, and the consideration of means for promoting international understanding and co-operation.

This gathering will be attended by the leaders of the various national groups and by carefully selected persons having a unique contribution to make to the purposes of the Institute.

The data secured through research will be distributed in advance to those attending these conferences.

By this means it is expected that some progress can be made, from conference to conference, as light is increasingly thrown on important issues, and as enlarging numbers of the people of each country are, through publicity, discussion, and education, made acquainted with the salient facts underlying these issues.

It is believed that if this process can be initiated and carried on through a period of years, increasing understanding and friendly intercourse and co-operation will be insured for the nations living upon the shore and islands of the Pacific Ocean.

Sufficient funds have been raised in the various countries to insure the success of the coming meeting. Mr. J. Merle Davis and Mr. Charles F. Loomis have been appointed to the permanent Secretariat with headquarters in Honolulu. Mr. J. B. Condliffe, Professor of Economics at Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand, has been put in charge of Research with headquarters in Honolulu. Researches are now being made in the various countries so that many new phases and facts should be presented. Each National Council has been requested to endeavour to secure at least three types of members—experts, men of affairs, and publicists.

For the coming July meeting of the Institute, members will be present from China, Japan, including Korea, the United States, including the Philippines, Canada, Australia,

New Zealand, some of the islands of the Pacific, the Dutch East Indies, representatives of the British Royal Institute of International Affairs, and probably from Mexico.

With the experience gained at the first meeting, it is anticipated that this second meeting will be more productive of results, and that the third meeting will be held in 1929 in some one of the countries bordering the Pacific.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

WESTERN INFLUENCE ON BENGAL LIFE

By Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., M.A., B.L.

To speak on the influence of the West on the life in Bengal from all its different aspects of view is undoubtedly somewhat of a bulky task, especially as in Bengal there are two big communities, the Hindu and the Moslem, which are almost equal in number, and also some very small communities like the Indian Christian, the Anglo-Indian, etc. For the purpose of my paper I shall take up and include the whole community which is known as the Bengali community in India.

Western influence in Bengal and India is a thing of very ancient origin, and it began several centuries before Christ. But the Western influence about which I intend to speak to-day is the one that has come into existence since the connection of British people with Bengal, through British administration, Western education, and also the Western Christian Missions.

In the later history of Bengal and before the British connection, there were, no doubt, the advents of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danish, and the French in Bengal, but it can hardly be said that there was much influence exerted by any of those people in the country. The Portuguese occupied chiefly the south-eastern seaside districts of Bengal and some other places for a pretty long time, but beyond creating a small mixed population professing a Roman Catholic religion, no further influence for good or bad has been left by them. As for the other Western people who had been to Bengal for trade, it may also be safely said that they failed to leave any impression on her people at all.

The beginnings of the British contact with India through

trade date from A.D. 1600, when the East India Company was formed in London. That Company established trading stations, or factories, as they were called, at various places along the Indian coast with the permission of the Mogul emperors. But British rule in India began practically with the routing of the Nawab of Bengal on the field of Plassey in 1757. After the battle of Buxar in 1764, the British got in return the *Dewáni* from the fugitive Mogul Emperor who had sought their protection—*i.e.*, the civil administration of the great former Province of Bengal, and it was in this way that the Company launched itself upon a political career in India.

The political career was consummated into real governing power in the country by the year 1773, and then, passing through a most critical period of about sixty years, it became the paramount power in India. During those sixty years and for twenty-five more the Company, which was a governing Corporation, was under the indirect control of the British Crown, and its affairs were constantly before the British Parliament, who controlled the power and responsibility of the Company and their servants through Acts of Parliaments, till the direct responsibilities of the Government were taken over by the Crown in 1858 after the Sepoy Mutiny. Since then for the last seventy years India and Bengal, as a part of it—may I say the most important part of it?—is being ruled directly by the British Crown.

So it is that for the last 170 years Bengal has been in close touch with, and then under the direct governance of, the British people. Bengal's connection in that way has been the earliest. For this pretty long period the British people have been unquestionably exerting the influence of their prowess, culture, education, and character on Bengal in her various aspects of life—political, religious, social, educational, literary, and economic. It is my object to say as briefly as possible a few words on the character and extent of that influence—which I have called Western influence—on the life in Bengal. I do not want to say

anything about the present political situation in Bengal nor to hazard any opinion about its future.

There is no doubt that India has also helped the West with a good deal of her ancient culture and that the British have been immensely benefited by their connection with India in various ways, but all that is not within the scope of my subject now.

In Bengal, though the population is almost equally divided between Hindus and Muhammadans, with a certain amount of communal difference in ideas and customs, yet the Bengali Muhammadans having originally come mostly from the Bengali-Hindu stock, the general background of ideas in their respective minds is not very different.

The political situation of India, and Bengal in particular, at the time shortly before British rule, supplies a very important factor in determining the question as to why the people of Bengal, and the Hindus in particular, came to be so soon influenced by the British administration. For a long time after the battle of Plassey Bengal continued to remain engulfed in practical anarchy owing to the dissolution of the Mogul Empire, with all the attendant misrule and tyranny of predatory leaders, military adventurers, and ex-officials of the Mogul Empire. The marauding Mahratta known in Bengal then as *Borgis*, used to come from the west on frequent campaigns of pure loot and plunder in Bengal, while from the south-east there used to come a mixed race of the Indo-Burmese, known as *Mugs*, for pillage and piracy in those parts of Bengal accessible through the bay. The miseries which these unwelcome visitors used to create were so intense and insufferable that they are preserved even unto this day in the nursery songs of Bengal to frighten refractory children to sleep. The officers of the East India Company, before it took the responsibility of administration on itself, were also a potent source of plunder and misfortune to the people in the country which the political conscience of England could not any further tolerate, and the result was that Lord North's

famous regulating Act came into force and established a Governor-General and Council for Bengal and set up a Supreme Court of Justice in Calcutta. So what was at one time a trading company with officers keen to get profit, proper and improper, changed itself into a corporation of beneficent administration, and made itself the gigantic machinery for implementing a most responsible mission.

With the advent of British rule in Bengal there came the Pax Britannica, through which in the course of about a quarter of a century all such misrule, tyranny, and oppression came to be things of the past, and law and order and justice came to be firmly established in the country.

Another element is to be found in the systematization of the economic condition of the country by the establishment of the "Permanent Settlement" towards the end of the eighteenth century. However wrong and anti-economic it may now appear to many of us, the goodwill with which it was effected got its own reward in the establishment of peace and prosperity in the country, securing a band of natural leaders—the Zemindars—with a heart full of devotion and gratitude for an alien Government.

Other important causes that quickened the welcome to this influence are to be found in the social conditions of the country at that time in their various phases. Chief amongst those were the evil customs and gross superstitions which an old and effete society had not the strength to question, much less to shake off. The demoralization of the social mind had been far too complete in almost every direction for any regeneration without a potent cultural aid from outside. The heart of Bengal was being ground down by an irresponsible autocracy and inconceivable tyranny; it was being lashed with tremendous fury by the horrible social customs and prejudices—the *Sati*, infanticide, *Kulinism*, etc.—and the powers as a rule oppressing the people. Ignorance and idolatry reigned supreme, and the forces of custom and tradition had robbed all vitality from the heart of the people, who prayed to Providence for

relief and rejuvenation. It was to that earnest prayer of a groaning people that Providence accorded the response by sending the British in quest of trade. Through Divine wisdom alone and in spite of the opposition of the East India Company that quest ennobled and magnified itself into a quest for empire. Within a century a most magnificent empire was established through the efforts of some of the greatest Englishmen of those days, and from its very commencement it began to exercise that gigantic power of leverage which Providence found to be necessary for the uplift of a race which in the distant past commanded the admiration of the world in all the various phases of human activity. Various other European nations had come to our land in quest of trade, some of them also took to the field of battle, but by that mysterious process of Divine selection it was the broad-minded people of the British Isles, with wonderful powers of energy and patience, who were selected for the task of that gigantic uplift. In establishing the empire they gathered a greater strength, in consolidating the empire they secured a greater wisdom, and in their efforts to uplift her people they acquired a broader altruism which have so largely contributed to their unique position in the world. The advent of the British rule in India was therefore purely providential, and Bengal was the first province to derive the benefits of that great and all-round uplift, and therein lies the secret of that cordial welcome which my country lost no time in giving to the wholesome and restorative influence of Western culture for all that it then stood for.

It is a truism to say that that great influence has been exerting itself for over one and a half centuries upon all aspects of life in Bengal. It is only proper to characterize that influence as one in the main beneficial, though in the nature of things there have been instances of harm and banefulness. There have been instances also where a disposition on the part of the people to merely imitate, as in drinking and race gambling, has led to evil con-

sequences, and a preference for the latter over the spirit has led to undesirable results.

The Western influence is the result of three forces, which, though they may be distinct, are yet so intermingled and intertwined that it is extremely difficult to regard them, particularly within the narrow limits of a short paper, except as a joint force—at least, in the large majority of its results. Those three forces are (1) the British administration; (2) the Western education; and (3) the Christian missions.

Naturally enough the earliest result of the tremendous joint force was to undermine the traditional forms in all aspects of life. With the swinging back of the pendulum the time has come when a proper readjustment of the background of ideas in the Bengali or Indian mind has got to be made through a rational synthesis of the two different conceptions of life, of the East and of the West, leaving out or keeping behind as far as possible all unhealthy promptings of racial prejudice or bitterness. In this great work both the British and the Indian races must join each other not only in a spirit of co-operation but in a spirit of loving surrender, whenever necessary, without which the great experiment commenced under such noble auspices and with such Divine blessings is bound to fail. The British-Indian empire building has very rightly been described as a great experiment. Its historical and humanitarian values are incomparably greater than those which are the outcome of a mere spirit of imperial aggrandizement or pushful trade on the part of the British people, and they are equally greater than those that arise from a mere spirit of racial bitterness and an anxiety to dissociate connection with the British before being on a fair way to acquire those qualities and virtues which must be acquired by the Indians to keep themselves in a steady march towards real incorporation of national life. Any refusal or neglect on the part of either of them to appreciate the said values cannot but involve both the people in equal and common ruin.

In view of the vastness of the subject, and the shortness of the time at my disposal, I must now take up categorically the various important phases of Bengali life, and indicate as best I can the influence of the West on the same, mentioning briefly the results that have accrued.

Regarding Politics: The Bengalis were the earliest people to come in touch with the ideas of British political life. Used to autocratic rule for centuries, sometimes even highly tyrannical, they imbibed very early, through English education, the idea of "the power of the people." The growth of democracy in the West was a magnificent revelation to them, and they were most deeply impressed with the same. They had known of Emperors or Badshahs punishing an erring or a tyrannical governor or Nawab, but the idea of the representatives of the people having a voice in such matters was a source of great wonder to them. That the all-powerful Lat Sahib Right Hon. Warren Hastings could be impeached by Mr. Burke, a man of the people, in the British Parliament, was a wonderful revelation to the Bengali mind, and it made a deep and abiding impression on the same. The sense of British justice and the strength of the arm of the law had a wonderful effect on the highly susceptible Bengali mind when they found a process actually issued by the Supreme Court against the Governor-General himself, on the complaint of a private individual for justice. These impressions went on deepening since the establishment of the first Anglo-Bengali School and the first English College by the God-sent Christian missionaries (Carey, Marshman, and Ward) of Serampore. Writing as early as 1838, and about twenty years after the first English College came into existence, Sir C. Trevelyan recognized in the educated youths of the province a strong desire for a representative form of government. Coming from the North-West Provinces to Bengal, he was struck by the remarkable difference in the political attitude of the better-class people in the two provinces. In the former, where English

education had scarcely penetrated yet, the only idea of political betterment was that of the expulsion of the British. In Bengal, on the other hand, where English education had already made some progress, some form of representative assembly was held up to be the ideal.

With the advance of English education the idea of a representative Government has taken deep root in the Bengali mind. It was fostered not only by the spirit of English literature with its Milton, Burke, and Mill and others, but also by the living sympathy of not a few of the noble-minded official and non-official Englishmen who have helped, and are still cordially helping, and some of late actually guiding, the political aspirations of the people. George Thompson, a distinguished orator and a noble-hearted non-official Englishman, came to Bengal in 1833. He took a most memorable part in guiding the aspirations of the then rising generation in Bengal, and it was in 1851 that, with his active co-operation, the Landholders Association—subsequently converted into the British Indian Association—was established.

With the advance of English education there grew up men like Harish Chandra Mukerji and Ramgopal Ghose. They were strong advocates of the popular cause, and they started agitating for popular rights. The former was the editor of the *Hindu Patriot* at the age of twenty-nine only. He took a bold stand against the tyranny of the British indigo-planters in Bengal. His paper used to be held in great esteem by that noble Englishman, Lord Canning, who has never been equalled, much less surpassed, by any Englishman up till today in understanding and appreciating the Bengali race. Ramgopal was a powerful orator and a great statesman, and his speech on the Charter Act of 1853 was spoken of by *The Times* as a masterpiece of oratory. But, unfortunately for Bengal, both of them died early, the latter at fifty-two, and the former at thirty-six. It was at this time that the esteemed missionary, Rev. J. Long, first inspired the

Bengali mind with a sense of practical and selfless patriotism by his imprisonment in the "Neeldarpan case," for having opposed the tyranny of the indigo planters for the protection of the wretched and helpless cultivators of Bengal.

Soon after them the Brahma Samaj in Bengal became the centre of Western education and culture in the country. It attracted also a very large number of educated men as sympathizers, and for a number of years the advocacy of the popular cause was taken up by them. This was about the time when young men of Bengal, led by a higher impulse, shook off the bonds of caste rules and of prejudice against crossing the seas, and came to England to drink at the very source of political liberty, and to qualify themselves adequately for the service of the Motherland.

Amongst them was Sir S. N. Banerji, the brightest star in the firmament of political Bengal, who for the next fifty years was destined to be the guiding star of Bengal—nay, of the whole of India. He was the unquestionable father of Indian nationalism. A man of most indomitable energy, of extraordinary prescience and wonderful ability, he was the foremost to obtain a firm grasp of the truth that if ever India was destined to be a self-respecting country she could be so only through British connection. This was the great ideal that he preached to his country, and constitutional agitation was the only path that he inculcated. For the realization of that ideal through that path he established the Indian Association, the first democratic association in Calcutta in the year 1876. He refused to name it the Bengal Association as was suggested by his friends, as he wanted the whole of India to be led to the goal of a common nationality. This was the first really democratic association in Bengal, and it very soon sent the first Indian deputation to England in connection with the Indian Civil Service with no mean success. In His infinite wisdom Providence had him dismissed from the Indian Civil Service, so that he might render the highest possible service to his Motherland,

and this he no doubt did. A lifelong educationist, and an editor and an orator yet unequalled, he was a true leader of men. With his breadth of view, his political sagacity, his strong feeling of nationality and unshakable faith in constitutional agitation, he was the brightest product of Western influence in Bengal.

The rest of the story of the political life of Bengal is the story of the Indian National Congress from its birth in 1885. Amongst other great political leaders in Bengal were W. C. Bonerji, Manmohan Ghose, L. M. Ghose, and Kistados Pal, B. N. Basu, and Lord Sinha, who were all co-workers of Sir S. N. Banerji. There was also later on C. R. Das, with the new method of the *Swarajist* party, of which he was the founder and leader in Bengal. He was a member of the English Bar and a graduate of Cambridge. He made a wonderful sacrifice for serving his Motherland.

It is not my object to go through the whole field of Indian politics, but I cannot conclude the subject without a reference to the most fundamental development that has taken place in it.

In 1831 it was Raja R. M. Roy who, while giving his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in England, first set the ball of Indian aspiration rolling by advising the Government to give to the children of the soil, as many as were qualified, a share in the higher offices of trust and responsibility. The rising generations of Bengal, one after another, made it their political goal. Through Western education and ideas of half a century it became the common goal of the educated people of India as a whole, and in 1885 in a National Congress of the whole of India under the presidentship of W. C. Bonerji, a Bengali, and the leadership of A. O. Hume, a retired British Indian Civil Service official, definite and distinct demands were made in the line of that goal. The Congress assumed the rôle of the "Opposition," and became the accredited agent of the rising Indian nationality in voicing grievances and demanding reforms. The Government and the Anglo-Indian Press

disliked its activities and opposed them. In that opposition the Congress gathered its strength, and before a quarter of a century had expired India, with her daily increasing national consciousness, put forth in the most emphatic terms a demand for responsible and representative government with full power of control. This is the greatest result of Western influence—a result fully and distinctly anticipated by those great English statesmen, like Lord Macaulay and Lord Bentinck and others, who decided to give India the benefits of Western education, for which she will ever remain grateful to them. In the darker side of politics, I must confess that the principles of Anarchism have obtained a certain amount of foothold in our country, though yet very small. So far as this is concerned, the credit is due entirely to the influence of the West.

In Religion: Just before the advent of the British in Bengal, the spiritual life of the people in general, both of Hindus and Muhammadans, does not seem to have been at any high level. Among the Hindus the Vaisnab and the Sakta forms of worship prevailed, mostly of that type which was purely idolatry, not infrequently of a degrading nature. The higher spiritual culture for which the race was so well known had largely disappeared, chiefly owing to decay in Sanskrit culture, with the result that in practical life a large amount of Tantric and Vaisnabite superstitions and ritualisms were considered to be the religion with a ruinous fatalism as its philosophic background. The power of the Brahmins was supreme, and the *Gurus*, or the hereditary spiritual guides, had become the gods themselves. With these conditions among the Hindus on the one hand, and with the bigotry and intolerance of the then Muhammadans on the other, the religious condition of Bengal was just as hopelessly depressing as was the political condition of the day.

With the advent of the British rule, but in spite of its opposition, came the Protestant Christian Mission in Bengal. With those missionaries came the Christian ideal of a broader, fuller, and freer life, which set very deeply in

motion a mighty stir of thought, and able men with English education made no secret of their dissatisfaction with the faith of their ancestors, and they craved for a purer and a more soul-lifting faith than they had got from them. The reclamation of the almost lost Sanskrit literature by eminent Western scholars like Wilkins, Halhed, W. Jones Colebrooke, and several others brought the ancient Hindu scriptures, like the revered Vedas and the glorious Upanishads, closer to the questioning minds, and they began asking for light and leading. At the right moment the right reformer, Raja Ram Mohon Roy, appeared and inaugurated the Hindu reformation in religious, social, literary, and other aspects of life. At the age of sixteen only he had to leave his father's home for having written a spirited tract against idolatry. He is really the greatest reformer of modern India, and it must be most gratefully admitted that his life and work was mainly the result of the beneficent influences of the Christian religion and Western education. He was a man of extraordinary erudition in the scriptures of all the religions of the world, and he it was who taught the world the science of comparative religion.

After years of effort he at last founded the Brahma Samaj in 1828 in Calcutta, and there gathered round him a large band of enthusiasts from amongst the educated youths of Bengal in particular. He it was who first gave a shelter to Dr. Alexander Duff in his educational mission work, and gave him every help in his efforts to give the youths a proper education and character. The first high-caste Brahmin convert, Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerji, was the most memorable product of those efforts. Raja Ram Mohon Roy was the first of the educated Bengali Brahmins to come to England. Here he joined the Unitarian Church, and lived and died at Bristol in the year 1833.

Soon after his death there came another lull in the religious life in Bengal, and gradually the newly educated classes, in rejecting the idolatry and superstition of their

native religion, gave up religion altogether and took to a life of atheism and licentiousness. Thus the earliest products of Western education, in their hatred, which they had imbibed from Lord Macaulay, for all things Oriental, jumped to the other extreme, and owing to their horrifying methods of living and thinking soon became a source of serious nuisance and anxiety to the society. These were then known as "Young Bengal."

It was at this time that the revered Maharshi D. N. Tagore took up the torch of Raja R. M. Roy and gloriously carried on the work of Brahma Samaj. Not long after there came into existence another glorious product of Christian influence and Western education to carry on the work of Brahma Samaj still further, with further reforms, not only in religion, but also in society, a man who, to a considerable extent, stemmed the aforesaid unfortunate tide. That man was Keshub C. Sen, the founder of the New Dispensation Church—*i.e.*, the Universal Religion in India.

Hinduism, with its wonderful capacity for assimilation, soon began to absorb the monotheistic cult of the Brahma Samaj as well as the social and educational reforms which the latter then stood for. The result is that Hindu society is far more monotheistic in its mind and far more elastic in its customs to-day as a whole than it was even fifty years ago.

But I must confess, with the deepest regret, that, so far as many of the educated people of Bengal are concerned, there is a most disquieting amount of apostasy amongst them, which the educational policy of the Government has, most unwittingly, brought into existence. In their minds the force of the old order no longer exists, idolatry and ritualism have disappeared to a considerable degree, and the necessity for *Sradh* and adoption, on the spiritual fiction of the *pindam*, is fast disappearing ; but that vacuum has not been occupied by anything better in the line of religious faith or practice. In the place of a real spiritual life there is an amount of frothy talk about undigested

Vedantism and Upanishadic sophistries which neither gives character nor brings solace in life. As for the philosophy of life—viz., Fatalism—I do not know if it has abated in the least, though the traditional pessimistic background of life has perhaps become somewhat lighter. A new effort was made for the revival of the Hindu spirit by Saint Ramkrishna and Swami Vivekanand, but unfortunately it has practically died away. Spiritual culture is now largely at a discount in Bengal, specially amongst educated people. There is no doubt that much of this undesirable state of things is due to the spiritless and purposeless education that we have been receiving in our schools and colleges for successive generations. Education divorced from religion must have its effects.

Another special kind of influence of Western culture in matters of spiritual education may be noticed in the spread of Theosophy in Bengal over thirty years ago. Its influence, somewhat healthy in the past, has now palpably declined.

Whether in establishing a spiritual monotheism or in reviving the old tradition of the Hindu religion or in securing an idea of a higher and more helpful religion in life there is no question that the Christian religion, Western education, and the revival of Oriental studies brought about by the efforts, mainly, of Western scholars, are the important factors which command our most grateful acknowledgment.

I now come to the question of Education. Whatever higher education there was in the country before the British rule was mainly theological, and its principal centre was at Nabadwipa in Central Bengal. It was, generally speaking, an education of a more or less theoretical nature, chiefly of a polemical type. So far as mass education was concerned it must be admitted that there was plenty of it in the country—more than what it is now—as almost every village had its *patshala* or *muktab*. But the nature of the education given there was of a very indifferent type. In the villages also there were numerous *tols* for the education of the Hindu priestly class in their scriptures and religious

dogmas and ritualism. But by far the strongest faculty that used to be developed under the system was one of ratiocination. For memory training no better system could have been devised, and its success in finding out hairsplitting differences was remarkable. The *madrasas* also played a somewhat similar part with the Muhammadan priesthood, with no better results, in affording true culture or critical sense. In a word, the whole thing was in a state of decay.

The question of public education was taken up from almost the beginning by the British Government, and Warren Hastings founded the colleges for Oriental studies in Calcutta and Benares. Soon after the important dispute now so well known between the "Orientalists" and the "Anglicists" cropped up. The story how Lord Macaulay carried the day, with the help of Raja R. M. Roy, is too well known to bear repetition. The keenness for Western culture became very great in the minds of the youths of the time, owing to the encouragement it received in English having been soon after made the State language, as it were, and also to the fact that enviable Government appointments were thrown open to the English educated Bengali youths about this time. As a result of all this, English education became the *sine qua non* of culture and respectability, and thus was created a distinct literary bias and an intense attraction for the Government posts in the mind of the Bengali race. This situation was closely followed by the Proclamation of the great Queen Victoria and the establishment of the Calcutta University. This University was started on the model of the old London University—only as an examining body, with "learning" and not "education" as its motto.

There is no doubt that all these have immensely benefited the country, and have produced some of our brilliant University men like J. C. Bose, P. C. Roy, A. M. Bose, Ashutosh Mukerji, M. N. Shah, J. N. Sarkar, and others; but, unfortunately, as a necessary corollary for the generality of cases, some very undesirable effects have been produced.

They are: (1) The obtaining of the University hall-mark, and not the acquisition of knowledge and character, is considered to be the object of education, and so, for by far the largest majority of the youths, it is not much of a help in life. (2) By affording easy and sometimes undesirable facilities it has succeeded in deflecting thousands of young men from the paths of useful careers in other than purely literary spheres of life, thus seriously affecting the trade, commerce, industries, and other interests of the whole race. (3) A lamentable want of forceful convictions in the mind which is largely allowed to be governed by mere shibboleths and catchwords, without a realization of their real implications —leading mainly to a sort of living a double life. (4) A painful absence of self-reliance and spirit of adventure and an anxiety for soft jobs in life. Owing to these and other unfortunate results the nature and scope of the University studies have since been greatly altered, and the Bengali language has now been sought to be the medium of education in the schools. Other improvements, after the methods of the residential Universities of the West, have also been partially adopted, but sufficient time has not yet passed for any noticeable change in results. Education in the Western countries, particularly in the industrial line, is now being availed of by some students from Bengal at a considerable risk and sacrifice, and it is expected that they will be of great use to the country in her future developments. It is needless to say that the mobility in life is itself a source of great gain, and so is also the experience that is obtained of men and manners in distant lands. The influence of close touch with the most dynamic races of the world cannot be too sufficiently appreciated.

In the line of women's education some progress has been made, largely with the aid of the mission girl schools and Zenana missions. Unfortunately, the marriageable age of girls being too low and the customs of the country being adverse, more gratifying results have not yet been obtained. In the matter of higher training for ladies, the help of the

colleges and of the universities is being sought for now for many years past, and the number of lady graduates by this time is pretty large, and some of them have also been coming to the Western universities for advanced studies. In view of the fact that the present University education has not proved very much of a success with our young men, the wisdom of our young women being also placed under the same system of "hall-marking" with University degrees has been strongly questioned on plausible grounds. Undoubtedly the risk to society in the case of women is all the more great, but the inevitable influence of the West is there, and so long as we cannot evolve a more helpful scheme, this policy of drift has to be continued. The long cribbed and cramped life of the womanhood of Bengal is now impatient for emancipation under Western influence, and who can resist it? In this connection we have to remember the loving services of Englishmen like C. D. Bethune and others with the deepest gratitude.

So far as free primary education is concerned I do not like to go into tiresome details. But I must admit this with the deepest regret, that it is as yet somewhat of a shibboleth both in the minds of the Government as well as of the people. While introducing free primary education in the great city of Calcutta, I noticed most depressing apathy in the minds of many of my countrymen from whom I had a right to expect enthusiastic support. From my limited practical experience of free primary education in the villages amongst a people 90 per cent. of whom are agriculturists, I am of opinion that we have not yet been able to get at a system of primary education which will obviously and directly bear upon the well-being of such a community, and we have indeed made very little effort to get at it. The fact is that there is not yet that depth and strength of conviction as to its overwhelming importance in the minds both of the Government and of the people, and so little or nothing has been done in this direction. We are indeed thankful for the introduction of self-government in our

country; it is undoubtedly a blessing that we have got as the result of Western influence. But the introduction of self-government without giving the people the benefits of a free and effective primary education, and of an adequate training in real local self-government for at least a quarter of a century earlier was, to my mind, a mistake which was simply colossal. The mistaken and short-sighted policy of the Government in the past is largely responsible for the unfortunate results that have since accrued.

As regards physical education, no doubt a little progress has already been made. I can say without any fear of contradiction that the influence of the West has been the least on us in this matter. We have yet to realize the extent of the influence of games and sports on the youths of the West—the health, the energy, the *esprit de corps*, and the sense of "playing the game" which they acquire through them. To say the least of it, the Government, the Universities, and we ourselves have been simply playing all the time with this question of fundamental importance. No doubt the social, climatic, and economic conditions are great stumbling-blocks in our way, but the only means of getting rid of such depressing conditions is to secure better health and energy and all that through compulsory physical education in early life.

In Language and Literature the influence of the West is one of the deepest. Before the British rule the Bengali language was one of the poorest languages in India. There was no printing in Bengal then, and the number of books, mostly of a religious character, was indeed very few. There was practically very little prose literature, and as for poetry, since the death of the great poet Bharatchandra in 1760 there was hardly any one worth the name till Issvar Gupta took the field in 1830. These seventy-five years was a period of song-literature, and these songs in language and sentiment bore no influence of the West. The love lyrics and devotional songs in the old Bengali language

were indeed of a superior class, though sometimes not without serious defects.

Before the British rule the Bengali language had no official position, which belonged to the Persian then, and, consequently, it was an unrecognized vernacular. It had no standard literature then, and it was a mere jumble of various styles, from the highly ornate and Sanscritized type to the mongrel type, in which half the words were Persian or Urdu. It has been most gratefully acknowledged that it was due to the efforts of Halhed and Forster, seconded by Carey and the Serampur missionaries, that Bengali not only became the official language of the Presidency, but soon found itself on the highway to be the best and most prolific literary language of India. In these efforts the great Raja R. M. Roy and his friends also rendered considerable help, but the credit is mainly due to British influence. True it is that the first Bengali grammar and dictionary were written by a Portuguese, but they were written in Roman characters, and published at Lisbon in 1743; but beyond introducing some new words in its vocabulary, the rest of the influence was practically nothing.

To recount the services of the Serampur missionaries and of the authorities of the Fort William College for the training of the young officers of the East India Company will be to rewrite the history of the growth and development of the Bengali literature. The influences of Western ideas and literature began to shed themselves most remarkably ever since the introduction of printing in Bengal, chiefly through the exertions of that philanthropist, Sir Charles Wilkins, a Bengal civilian and Orientalist, who himself also actually prepared the types of a somewhat difficult script.

With such a glorious start, the Bengali language, through a period of translations and educational books, reached a stage of considerable development when Michael M. S. Dutt, Bankim C. Chatterji, and other great writers produced that charming literature known as modern Bengali

in the latter half of the last century. These great masters succeeded in bringing about a real synthesis between the ideas and forms of the English and Bengali languages, the basic conceptions of which synthesis have been so wonderfully developed by that world-poet and seer, Dr. Rabindra N. Tagore, the grandest product of the influence of the West in the domains of thought and literature. Deep, very deep, as are the obligations of the Bengali language to Western influence, it has for about a quarter of a century acquired sufficient strength to be independent, and it has already chalked out a career of its own, representing the mind, the ideas, and the aspirations of the rising race.

The first Bengali newspaper or magazine was published by Marshman from Serampur in 1818 called the *Digdarsan* or *Magazine for Indian Youth.* The growth and development of the Press in Bengal with its chequered history is a long story. Suffice it to say that the whole of it owes its origin to Western influence. The Indian Press in Bengal is now strong and well developed, though in point of real public service as well as taste there are some papers which may admit of infinite improvement. In magazine literature there has of late been a phenomenal development, and some of it is of a very high standard.

In matters Social: The influence of the West has been too comprehensive in its nature to be dealt with within a narrow compass. It is a history of systematic challenges to the superstitions, prejudices, and even the good institutions of the Bengali race by fostering the growth of the idea of the independence of thought and action. The rules of caste, the laws of marriage, the position of women, the social unit of the joint family, the modes of social life, including the ideas of domestic morality, of domestic and personal charity, and even personal questions of dress and tastes, etc., all underwent a challenge which few have been able to survive.

The most potent of the social institutions—viz., caste—which mainly produced the idea of the "immutability of

the East" in the Western mind, is the one that has been most seriously affected. True it is that it is not dead as yet, but it is, I am glad to say, in an almost moribund condition now. The first blow which shook it to the foundations was given by Christianity, which brought its message of hope even for the most depressed. That blow was succeeded by the equally potent blow of British laws and justice typified in the first word of every penal section—"whoever"—which did not fail to include even the offending Brahmin or the high-caste landlord. Other external sources of undesigned influences, like the railways, the schools and colleges, the competition for public services, all helped and continued the great work, till the advanced and educated society realized their beneficial influence. From that realization came the effort on the part of society itself, and in the early seventies the Brahma Samaj demanded and got passed an Act for marriages within its fold which legalized marriages between different castes. True it is that the bulk of the Hindu Society, and even the Moslem, then objected to it, but the attitude has since changed, and, to be brief, patriotic members of the Hindu Society through their efforts have got an Act passed in the Indian Legislature by which marriages outside the caste within the broader Hindu Society have been legalized. The sanctity of the Brahmin and the superior position of the higher castes have irretrievably disappeared, and the long despised sections of the people are asserting themselves, and their claims are being daily recognized. In this connection the influence of the great Mahatma Gandhi—himself a grand product of Western culture—cannot be too highly appreciated.

The position of women is undergoing a most wholesome change. Through the influence of the West absence of plurality of wives is now the rule in almost all castes in the Hindu Society, and the Muhammadan Society is also being slowly but surely influenced. The wretched system of *purda* is fast disappearing through the force of the altered

conditions of existence and the undesigned influences in various directions. The higher civic and political aspirations are also not without their influence in this behalf. In the Hindu society marriage of widows has long been legalized through the efforts of the great philanthropist Issur C. Vidyasagar, himself a rigid Brahmin, though the reforms in this respect, I am sorry to say, have not been yet very popular. The marriageable age of girls has gone up higher to some, though not to the desirable extent; but, unfortunately, improvident marriages are still numerous with all their harmful consequences, even amongst the so-called educated people. It is hoped that the daily increasing economic pressure will speedily bring about considerable improvements in this matter, but I am ashamed to confess that the teachings of the West have been grossly neglected by us in this matter, as well as in almost all matters of public health and sanitation. But a consciousness is now slowly arising.

The influence of Western culture is also remarkable in other directions. The old idea of building houses is fast disappearing. The inseparable adjunct of a *Thakurdalan* (the apartment kept separate for ceremonial worship) in a Hindu mansion is getting to be a thing of the past, as the faith of the people in worshipping the *Thakur* is daily disappearing. The European dress is very fast coming into vogue, and even uneducated ladies are discarding the old class of dress and ornaments and are anxious to imitate the European fashions in their dress and their toilette. Well-to-do people furnish their houses in the European style, and even men of moderate means try to do their best in that line. In the matter of music, arts, and healthy recreations, some progress has been made even in domestic life, but here also the West is pushing out the East. In medicine the beneficient influences of the West are beyond all cavil and here the process of pushing out is more complete.

The idea of personal comfort, particularly of the townsmen, has greatly increased at the cost of their heart and of

the extent of their personal charity, and its quality is undergoing great change. The old ideas of individual charity on the part of the rich, by excavating tanks for drinking water supply and establishing *Anna Satras* (eating houses for the destitute) and *Atithisalas* and *Dharramsalas* for pilgrims and wayfarers, have lost their charms and sanctity, and new ideas of organized services to society—after the manner of the West—are coming into existence, though not to a very appreciable extent. Distinguished countrymen of mine like Sir T. N. Palit and Sir R. B. Ghose and others have also made princely donations and gifts to the Universities and the cause of public education. The field of active sympathy and altruism is widening every day outside the limits of the family and the village, and the heart of the Bengali race now rushes forth to every place of disaster at the farthest ends of the province, and the sense of sacrifice and service evinced by the rising generations on such occasions cannot be too highly praised. It is needless to say that this active altruism is due largely to the influence of Christianity and Western education. I must confess that through the influence of the West a daily increasing standard of dutifulness, integrity and efficiency, even in the lower branches of the public services, is being achieved.

In the higher branches of the public services, the highest watermark of ability and integrity was reached long ago. Eminent Bengali judges have adorned almost all the High Courts of India, and Bengali public officials of the highest type like Sir K. G. Gupta, R. C. Dutt, Sir A. C. Chatterji, Sir B. N. Mitter, and others have glorified their Motherland.

But it is with a deep regret that I have to say that owing to the influence of the West the unostentatious benevolence of all grades of society, which as Sir T. Holderness has said, is one of the most beautiful traits of Indian life, is slowly disappearing. It is a religious duty which, along with the strength and sanctity of the ties of family and

caste, made a Poor Law unnecessary in my country. I am afraid that before very many years pass away my country will be obliged to have recourse to the Poor Law of the West through its influence and example. An amount of shrinking of the heart and self-centredness is creeping in, which is perfectly antagonistic to our religious and social traditions. The loss is one that cannot but evoke a deep sigh.

In the Economic life of Bengal the influence of the West is also very great, but not without most regrettable results in certain directions. In India an industrial revolution has commenced, and the principal industry of Bengal—viz., agriculture—has also been greatly affected. The old and isolated village community is gone, and along with it its economic independence; and Bengal, like other parts of the world, has now been thrown into the ocean of international competitive commerce. True it is that labour has become more mobile and so more efficient. True it is that in Bengal modern industries, mostly under European initiative, are daily developing, and that all the modern methods of quick transport and trading facilities, as well as the Western methods of commerce on scientific lines, are helping that development.

In coal-mining, in rice mills, in jute mills, in cotton mills, in iron works, in railway works, in paper mills, in glass, soap and pottery factories there has been a gradual but steady development of industries, but unfortunately the share of the Bengalis themselves in these concerns is by no means encouraging. Eminent industrialists like Sir R. N. Mukerji are few indeed. In agriculture we have got the tea but lost the sugar. The development of jute-growing is not without its baneful effects on public health. But it is in the region of indigenous industries that the loss has been most disastrous. Mill-made mass productions of Europe have long ago crushed the life out of such industries as were once the pride of Bengal and the source of admiration for the rest of the world. Those industries and handicrafts have

disappeared, never to rise again, resulting in almost the whole of the population being practically thrown upon the land. Agriculture is still being carried on on the ancient lines, and the apathy of the Government and the people in this matter is amazingly great. A Royal Commission has just gone out, and we earnestly hope that its labours will be of use to us. The condition of the cattle of Bengal has become lamentable, and the quantity of milk that a child can get on an average per day is about one-thirtieth of a pound or less. With an average income of about £3 a year, a considerable portion of the people cannot get more than one full meal a day, and the clothing that they can get even for the winter is lamentably insufficient. Hence it is that they have a resigned pessimism or quiet melancholy which the British administration, with an extreme amount of self-deception and for a happier conscience, ascribes to the influence of their religious mental outlook alone. In this connection I desire to say that industrial education was neglected for a very long time, both by the Government and by the people. The former failed to realize its responsibilities in the matter, and the latter with its caste feelings and unfortunate literary bias failed to realize the true meaning of the dignity of labour. The decay of caste, economical pressure and closer connection with industrial life of the West are, however, now active in the public mind, and the indifference of the Government has been considerably shaken by the sense of political danger in having a large amount of unemployment amongst the educated classes in Bengal. As a result some efforts towards industrial education, however inadequate, have been given a start. Already industrial schools, co-operative banks and societies, and labour unions have been started, and the minds of our people are slowly realizing that the future of our country lies in her industrial progress.

I must now come to a close. Such are the influences of the West on us, and they are undoubtedly on the whole beneficent to us. True it is that we have got much, but it is equally true that we have sacrificed much in bringing

ourselves in line with Western culture. For a fuller realisation of a national life, what we want is a synthesis and not a substitution—not a slavish imitation, but an eclectic preference. Providence has now furnished us with the necessary power of judgment, and we are now alive also to a sense of our own traditions. All that we now require is a little patience and a steady march towards our goal, which He in His infinite wisdom has been pleased to disclose to us through 150 years of Western education and culture, for which we have nothing but the deepest feelings of gratitude. May His great purpose be fulfilled.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W. 1, on Monday, April 25, 1927, when a paper was read by Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., entitled "Western Influence on Bengal Life." Sir William H. Vincent, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Sinha, K.C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Edward A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Muhammad Rafique, Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lady Chatterton, Sir Henry Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Walter Willson, Mr. D. H. Lees, C.S.I., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. T. Emerson, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., and Mrs. Sen, Mrs. S. N. Mallik, Professor Narendra Nath Gangulee, Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Professor and Mrs. Bickerton, Mr. and Mrs. T. A. H. Way, Mr. S. Gupta, Mr. T. R. Mehandru, Mr. and Mrs. M. C. Ghose, Miss M. Sorabji, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. S. C. Ghose, Mr. B. Dunlop, Mr. S. C. Chopra, Mr. S. N. Mehra, Mr. L. R. Chaudhri, Colonel T. R. Dowden, Mr. Sykes, Mr. B. C. Ghose, Mr. H. L. Biswas, Mr. M. L. Farquharson, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Mr. D. Mukherjee, Dr. Shah, Mr. Uma Prasada, Mr. W. A. Delevinge, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. J. A. Kirkham, Mr. Chandran, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. Shiv Narain Mehra, Mrs. Drury, Dr. J. C. Ray, Mr. S. K. Das, Mr. N. Ghatak, Mr. R. K. Roy, Mr. Reginald Bridgeman, Mr. N. Dutta, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. B. B. Ghosh, Mr. P. K. Ghosh, Mr. S. Sen, Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Thorne, Dr. Morgenstierne, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen—I shall take only a minute or two of your time in introducing the speaker to-day. Indeed, he is really well known to most of you. For many years he was a leading lawyer in Alipur, and after that he occupied the chief office in the great city of Calcutta, held it, if I may say so, with dignity and did his work extremely well. Subsequently he was chosen as a minister of the Government in Bengal, and he is now one of the most respected members of the India Council. I know of few people who could speak with more knowledge of the subject which we are going to discuss this afternoon.

The lecturer then read his paper.

Lord SINHA said that certainly to him, and no doubt to most of those present, the paper came as a most refreshing surprise. It came as such to him, because he came fresh from reading the Bengali journals and the Indian-edited English papers in Bengal, and to judge from those papers one was apt to get the impression that Western education and Western influence generally had had no effect on the Indian mind. One was apt to

think, from a perusal of the papers in India, that there was no such thing as gratitude and that Indians felt they had lost and lost, but gained nothing from their contact with the West. (Hear, hear and applause.) He did not know what the cheers meant. They might be cheers for the sentiment expressed in the paper—namely, the gratitude for what India had derived from the West—or they might be meant to sympathize with what he ventured to think was unfortunately the general tone of the Press in India—namely decrying everything Western and looking upon the West as mercilessly exploiting the East. He thought that picture was incorrect, and he was himself inclined to agree, and did in fact most cordially agree, with the statements contained in the paper that had been read by Mr. Mallik. Speaking only for Bengal, which was his Province just as it was Mr. Mallik's Province, he thought that Bengal more than any other Province in India had reason to be grateful to the British connection. (Hear, hear.) Prior to the advent of the British in Bengal, namely in 1757, Bengal passed through a period of absolute lawlessness which hardly had a parallel in the annals of any other country, and if Bengal did until recently lead in the march of progress in India it was entirely due to the influence exerted by the British connection. (Hear, hear and applause.) There was also the unpleasant side, because, although the Bengalis profited most in the early stages by their connection with the British, they had been the first to suffer from the results of their too intimate association with Western thought and Western culture. They were the first, or at any rate one of the first, to take kindly to Western or English education, with the result that in all fields of work throughout India, from the north to the south, the Bengali was the faithful assistant of the English ruler. As teachers, as lawyers, as judges, and even as clerks in the Railway and Telegraphs, and so on, the Bengalis made themselves indispensable, since with their quick wit they were able to, and did, take advantage of the benefits of an English education. The education which was provided at that time was eminently suited for all those purposes, and that was one of the complaints which he had against the system of education; it was adapted for the purposes then necessary—namely, to obtain assistance in the work of administration by the British rulers, but the education that had been provided to the Bengali in the early days still continued to be given, and the result was that everybody else was able to make a living in Bengal except the Bengali. He could testify to that fact from his own very recent visit.

Mr. THORNE asked whether that was due to Western influence.

Lord SINHA said that he did not say it was due to Western influence, but it was the system of education, which had not changed, and that which was perfectly adapted to the circumstances at the time it was initiated was not adapted to present-day requirements. They had not been able to foresee that kind of thing, but they ought to have done so and provided a different system of education which would not have landed the Bengali high and dry, as it had done now. Although, as he had said, Bengali had more reason to be grateful for the British connection than any other Province, yet what did they find—to judge from some of the papers one had the misfortune to

read in Bengal—that Bengal was the most ill-used Province that there was, so far as British administration was concerned; and he was sincerely glad that Mr. Mallik had had the courage to speak out and say what most of them must have in their minds—namely, that they should stamp themselves as the most ungrateful of people when they abused the British with regard to their administration. He in his very humble way had tried to obtain reforms in matters of administration which would place Indians in a better position than that which they occupied now, and he hoped that in the fulness of time those reforms and improvements would come, but he did deprecate the impatience which wanted to run before learning to walk and the impatience which refused to recognize the absolutely inevitable nature of progress, which must be gradual if there was to be any progress at all. He also desired to congratulate the lecturer upon the sincerity and courage with which he had paid his tribute of admiration to Christian missions. In the work of education he thought the Christian missions had taken the very foremost part in Bengal and were taking it even to-day in Bengal; and possibly that was true with regard to the whole of India. He had no hesitation in endorsing every word of the praise and admiration which Mr. Mallik had used in connection with Christian missions and their work, and in that connection those present might be interested to know, as they had probably read of it in the papers, that there was a great deal of controversy going on in India with regard to the work of the Young Men's Christian Association. That was a body for which not only he himself but everyone who had any acquaintance with its work had the most profound admiration. No doubt the influence of the West had been most deeply marked in Bengal; probably more so in Bengal than in any other Province. The rigours of the Zenana were less in Bengal now than they were before, but that they were less was due entirely and wholly to the influence of Western education and the effect of the British connection with Bengal. There was one thing only he would like to add: he would beg of his friends in England not to be misled by any idea from anything they had read in the Press in Bengal that the Bengali was either ungrateful or not conscious of the great benefits he and his people had derived from the connection with Great Britain. Unfortunately for the Bengali, politics had not merely become a profession; it had become a disease. Unfortunately it was not only a disease; it was an epidemic; but it would pass. Probably it was a necessary stage. He remembered what was said many years ago by one of the greatest Englishmen in India, General Munro—namely, that the English were conducting an experiment like which nothing had ever been performed in the world, and that they were educating the Indian to believe that the first thing to do was to kick out the Englishmen from India. If, therefore, they were following a nationalism which sometimes took undesirable forms and which sometimes got impatient and was not able to recognize necessary limitations, that was what the West itself had been teaching the East, and particularly Bengal. He would say: Be patient with their impatience, and he had no doubt they would be, as they had been in the past, *e.g.* during the Mutiny time, the best friends of the British in India. (Loud applause.)

Mr. THORNE said that, although he had listened with very great interest to what Mr. Mallik and Lord Sinha had said, he was sorry to say that he found himself in extraordinary disagreement with them. There had been a general recognition of the fact that the Western education which they had been giving India was absolutely wrong. It did not fit, and there was amongst all classes in India a distrust of the Western influence which of necessity had to be brought to India. Providence had been very kind to us. From the material point of view of development, no Indian would deny that we had done excellently, but from the social point of view it was very different. He desired to point out how far he thought Mr. Mallik was wrong. To take a single instance: he had said that in India the women were taking to wearing European clothing, which showed the power of Western influence; but when he looked around the room he could not see a single Indian lady who was dressed in anything but her national costume. That, he implied, was typical.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is getting very late, and I now propose to close the meeting, the more readily because apparently nobody is anxious to continue the discussion. For myself, I find so much of interest, and so much that is suggestive of further thought, in Mr. Mallik's paper, that it is very difficult to discuss it briefly. The magnitude of the subject was, indeed, a matter of some difficulty for him, but we are very grateful for what has been, in my judgment, a most enlightening explanation of the influence of Western culture in Bengal. For myself, I do not doubt that he has sized it up very fairly and accurately. I am not, if I may say so without impertinence, impressed by some of the criticisms which have been made by others. First of all, may I say that his statement as to conditions before the British administration was certainly not over coloured? I do not think anyone who has read of what the Mahrattas did in Bengal would doubt it, but the appreciation of the merits of British administration, or, indeed, an acknowledgment that there are any merits in that administration, is peculiarly pleasing at the present moment, and, if I may say so, it is very apt as coming from Bengal, because, as Lord Sinha said just now, the modern educated Bengali, whether he likes it or does not like it, is really a product of the British administration. His education, his outlook, his whole life, have been tinged and coloured and influenced for more than he realizes by Western methods. (Hear, hear.) But, if it is true that there are those who do not realize those benefits, there is a good deal to be said on their side. There is in the minds of some people, apparently, a sort of idea that we have been conferring benefits upon India philanthropically by our administration. That is wholly incorrect. There is no doubt whatever that India has done equally well, and even better, by this country, and I must say I often wish that, when we talk very glibly of the great benefits we have conferred upon India, we would sometimes think of the other side, and think how very tired Indians must be of seeing one side of the picture put forward perpetually. The real benefit of British administration in Bengal was peace and toleration, which enabled the

Bengali character to develop on its own lines. The speaker, in giving credit to the British, has, I am glad to say, followed the lines of that great patriot whom he mentioned—I suppose the greatest Bengali in the last century, if not one of the greatest Indians—Rajah R. M. Roy. There was really no greater religious or social reformer than he, and I commend a study of his life to anyone and everyone here. I was also glad to hear the missionaries mentioned, and particularly the name of William Carey. If there is one English missionary who deserves well of India it is William Carey. He was the son of a weaver, and himself a shoemaker. He educated himself, and with very great difficulty started the Baptist mission in India in the early part of the nineteenth century, doing wonderful work in spite of great political opposition, and in spite of financial difficulties that would have defeated anyone save a real enthusiast. Incidentally, he was one of the first professors of the college in Calcutta for the training of Bengal civilians, not quite as early as Mr. Mallik had put it down, but at the time of Lord Wellesley, when our work with India was changing from trade to administration.

I wish a little more had been said of the Muhammadans in Bengal. After all, they are in the majority in Bengal, and they deserve very great consideration at our hands; they are a proud people, slow to adapt themselves to the new conditions, slow to take up Western methods of education, nursing always memories of their old supremacy, and for many years lost power from year to year. They are a very virile people, and in rural areas very hard-working, and they are really the backbone of Eastern Bengal. I wish that somebody had said a word in favour of them. They have been amongst the most loyal subjects of the British Crown in Bengal and in India.

In conclusion, there are two criticisms which I have to offer on the lecture. I do not agree with the economic figures which were produced by Mr. Mallik, but I know he has some authority for them. (Laughter.) That authority is now so old that I think it should be re-examined. There are two other points, however, which I wish to mention. One was the mention of Lord Canning as the greatest Viceroy. I suggest to you, ladies and gentlemen, that there is another Viceroy who deserves that eulogy equally, and no one here, I believe, when he hears the name, will refuse to accept my view. The name is that of Lord William Bentinck. The other point is that Mr. Mallik suggested that charity was a lost quality among Bengalis, and this I am absolutely unwilling to accept. While expressing my great gratitude and appreciation both to Mr. Mallik and to Lord Sinha for the very valuable speeches they have made today, I should like to make it quite clear, as I myself have spent many years of my service in Bengal and many years in the rural areas amongst Bengalis—not those you see flocking around the courts and police-stations, but the great rural folk and the middle classes mostly—that I have nothing but a very lively recollection of their kindness. I have known them as Government servants, industrious, trustworthy, and loyal, and I have seen them taking up offices in different parts of India

and always doing their work excellently, and I have nothing but gratitude for their kindness, and, above all, for their almost never-ending charity with our many failings. (Applause.)

Mr. PARANJPYE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman, said he did not desire to cross swords at that moment with the lecturer, but he did sincerely hope that he would no longer entertain any fear of the people from his side of the country raiding them again or fighting with them except possibly on friendly matters. The paper put forward a point of view which, as Lord Sinha had said, was often neglected, but there might be, as the Chairman had pointed out, another side to the picture—viz., the influence of India on the West. Again, in considering the effect of Western association upon the Bengali life, one may speculate whether those changes might not have been the result of circumstances and might not possibly have come to pass even though historical developments had taken a different turn. There were other countries which had not been under British rule but which had all the same advanced socially. He desired to propose a very hearty vote of thanks both to the lecturer and to the Chairman.

The proceedings then terminated.

THE EXPLORATION OF THE HIMALAYA

By LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

THE exploration of the Himalaya has proceeded apace during the last hundred years. Vigne, Moorcroft, Gerard, the Schlagintweits, the Stracheys inaugurated and set the process going. And the officers of the Survey of India in the discharge of their duties brought into it the scientific exactitude which must necessarily follow after the first rough pioneering reconnaissances. Sir George Everest and his successor as Surveyor-General, Sir Alec Waugh, instituted an accurate triangulation of the Himalaya, and from distances of over a hundred miles the altitude and position of Mount Everest and K_2 were determined. Then followed the topographical survey by officers like Captain Montgomerie, Colonel Godwin-Austen, and Colonel Tanner of the latter part of the last century, and by Colonel Ryder, Colonel Wood, Major Morshead and Major Kenneth Mason of the present day. These have made a firm framework for all subsequent mapping of the Himalaya, and upon it every future map will depend.

But the non-professional has also played his part in increasing our knowledge of the Himalaya during recent years. The Karakoram Himalaya has been a special attraction to them, because in that region is the second highest mountain in the world, and because it is surrounded by a constellation of mighty peaks befitting it in grandeur. Following my own rough and rapid reconnaissance of this region in 1887 and 1889 came the more systematic survey by Sir Martin Conway's party in 1892. He explored the great Baltoro glacier, which had been discovered by Godwin-Austen in 1861, and added much to our knowledge of that marvellous region. Ten years later an expedition under

Eckenstein, the results of which were described by one of its members, the Swiss doctor J. J. Guillarmod, followed up Conway's work. And in 1903 the German mountaineer Aug. Ferber climbed the Mustagh Pass, first crossed by me in 1887.

But the best organized and most fruitful expeditions to this region were those of 1909, led by the Duke of the Abruzzi and described by Dr. de Filippi, and of 1913-14, led by Dr. de Filippi. These expeditions not only added much to our topographical knowledge of this region, but also contributed to geological, ethnological, and zoological knowledge.

In 1909 Dr. T. G. Longstaff also made a surprising discovery. In searching for the Saltoro Pass from Baltistan to Turkistan, and crossing what he had imagined must be the main watershed, he found an immense glacier which instead of draining northward into the Yarkand River drained southward into the Indus. This is now known as the Siachen glacier, and is the longest of all the Himalayan glaciers, being forty-six miles in length. He also discovered a new peak, Teram Kangri, 24,409 feet in altitude.

Those indefatigable American climbers, Dr. Hunter Workman and Mrs. Bullock Workman, besides climbing on the Nun Kun peaks nearer Kashmir and reaching a height on them of 23,300 feet, had followed up and extended Dr. Longstaff's reconnaissance of the Siachen glacier.

A Dutch party under Mr. and Mrs. Visser, working further westward in Hunza, had in 1925 extended the preliminary reconnaissance of Lieutenant Cockerill in the remote Shingshal valley. Lastly, we come to Major Kenneth Mason's expedition of 1926, which, after crossing the Karakoram Pass, worked westward into the Shaksgam region north of K_2, first visited by me in 1887 and 1889, and succeeded in extending northward and with scientific accuracy the surveys and reconnaissances of the above-named workers on the south.

The Karakoram Himalaya, in which there are at least

thirty-three peaks over 24,000 feet—and especially the region round K_2—has therefore been a great attraction to explorers. The corresponding region round Mount Everest would doubtless have attracted similar attention if it had been equally accessible. But from the south access always has been and still is forbidden by the Nepalese Government, and from the north access was given for the three Everest Expeditions by the Tibetan Government, but now that is again forbidden.

Fortunately, the wonderful Kangchenjanga region is very readily accessible, and many travellers have taken advantage of its accessibility. The most distinguished is the great naturalist Sir John Hooker, and he found the Sikkim valleys leading down from the great mountain a perfect paradise of flowery wealth. No botanist ever had such a glorious chance or made better use of it. For in one small area there was both moisture in plenty and variety of temperature, and there was in consequence unrivalled variety in plant life. In the lowest parts of the valley was tropical, and in the higher arctic vegetation.

Later on many climbers came to this region—not, indeed, to climb Kangchenjanga itself, but to scale lesser peaks and to prospect the great mountain. Graham in 1883 climbed nearly to the summit of Kabru; and on the same mountain a few years later the Norwegians Rubenson and Monrad Aas reached an altitude of nearly 24,000 feet. In 1899 the veteran mountaineer, Douglas Freshfield, explored round Kangchenjanga, and his companion, Vittorio Sella, brought back the most beautiful photographs of the region. Quite recently also a Greek traveller, Tombazi, has likewise photographed the mountain and its approaches. But the most indefatigable explorer of this portion of the Himalaya was the late Dr. Kellas, who ascended three peaks, and who succumbed during the first Everest Expedition.

Major F. M. Bailey and Major Morshead solved the riddle of the connection of the Tsangpo River of Tibet and the Brahmaputra River of India, and Kingdon Ward sup-

plemented their work in the gorges which the river cuts through the Himalaya.

Then, in that most accessible part of the Himalaya, Kumaon and Garhwal, various attempts have been made on Nanda Devi and Mount Kamet; and Dr. Longstaff reached the summit of Trisul, 23,406 feet.

Finally, there have been the three great Mount Everest Expeditions in which Mallory and Irvine lost their lives when certainly over 28,000 feet, and in which Colonel Norton reached an altitude of 28,100 feet and Dr. Somervell about 28,000 feet.

And not only did Brigadier-General the Hon. C. G. Bruce lead the last two expeditions, but he had done more than any other for many years before to encourage climbing in the Himalaya and to train Gurkhas in mountain craft.

The above is not an exhaustive account of all the expeditions which have been made to the Himalaya, but it is enough to show that a very great deal has been done. And now it is necessary to say that after all their efforts only the very fringe of the subject has been touched. The Indian Survey have made an admirable map of the Himalaya, but this needs much correction and addition in topographical detail; and even when complete, the map serves after all only as a *means*. It is not an end in itself. It merely affords a facility for travellers to pursue their own particular activities.

And it is not yet complete. It may be taken as certain that there is no higher peak than Everest to be discovered. But there are probably several peaks over 24,000 feet still to be located and put on the map, besides a great number over 20,000 feet. And to discover and determine the exact position of a 20,000-feet mountain is no mean task for an officer with a few months' leave. And there are certain regions very little known as yet.

The principal is Nepal. The Nepalese like to keep themselves to themselves, and their wishes are respected. But this attitude is very tantalizing to the ardent geographer. For in Nepal must be perhaps grander

scenery than in any other part of the Himalaya. Mount Everest itself slopes into Nepal on the south—or, rather, falls away in tremendous precipices; and from some point in Nepal directly opposite it there must be a view of unrivalled beauty. On the Tibetan side the rainfall is small, and consequently the valleys are not deeply eroded nor clothed with forest. But on the Nepal side there is, as in Sikkim, a very heavy rainfall, the rivers cut down deep, and there is rich vegetation. So there must be a spot in Nepal about a dozen miles southward of Mount Everest where, at an altitude of 14,000 feet, you can stand in rich meadows of primulas, asters, and dwarf rhododendrons, and look down into thick forests of juniper, ash, willow, and birch, and then upward to towering precipices culminating in the summit of Mount Everest, 15,000 feet above you. And not only Everest itself must be visible from there, but a mighty array of peaks as well—Makalu, 27,790 feet, the most superb of peaks, on the east; and Cho Uyo, 26,867 feet, and Gyachungkang, 25,990 feet, on the west; and many another lesser giant. In Nepal, too, there must be most tremendous gorges. Members of the Everest Expeditions saw part of the gorge where the Arun River cuts clean through the Himalaya right under Makalu; and here and elsewhere in Nepal must be the finest gorges anywhere to be seen. Perhaps, too, there may be in Nepal a spot where a greater continuous rise than that from the Indus to the summit of Nanga Parbat may be seen. The Indus valley is there 3,300 feet above sea-level, and the summit of Nanga Parbat is 26,600 feet. Nepal may have a greater rise than even that to show. And if the Nepalese will not admit the impatient European to search their country for these wonders, perhaps some one of themselves will have the enterprise to make this effort.

Apart from Nepal there are, however, several regions in the Himalaya which are quite accessible, but which have not yet been thoroughly investigated. The most important is the region round K_2 on the north side. I crossed the

eastern Mustagh Pass in 1887, but the western Mustagh Pass has never been crossed. And in 1889 I explored some of the glaciers on the north, but there are great glaciers coming down from the Gusherbrum peaks which have never been explored at all. In 1926 Major Kenneth Mason made an accurate survey of the northern side of the Karakoram eastward of K_2, but westward of K_2 much survey work is still needed. And there is a glacier running down from K_2 to the north-west, and which I saw from near Suget Jangal, which for years has been crying to be explored. From the mouth of it I had a view of K_2, which as a view of a single mountain was the most mightily impressive of any I have seen in the Himalaya. It was one of those sights which literally make you gasp.

Then further westward there is the Hunza region still only partially explored, and the recent Visser expedition has shown how rich in interest this magnificent mountain region is.

At the eastern end of the Karakoram Himalaya and close by the Karakoram Pass itself is another region which has been strangely neglected, though it is within sight of the great trade route to Central Asia. The Nubra and Shayok valleys still need a lot of exploring.

Thus there is much to do before even the map of the Himalaya is complete, and existing maps will for long need much correcting and adding to in detail. And, as I have said, the map is after all not the end: it is only the means. What mankind in general wants is a *description* of the Himalaya—a *picture* of it. Men living in far-distant countries want to have it described so that they can see it themselves. They can see K_2 marked on the map as 28,250 feet in height and as situated in a certain latitude and longitude, but they want to know a good deal more about it than that. They want to know more than even the photographs of it by Vittorio Sella can tell. Those photographs are about as perfect as photographs can be. But perfect as they are, they give a most inadequate conception

of the mountain. They give almost a false impression of its grandeur because they diminish its height in the mind's eye—as is the manner of photographs, for some inexplicable reason.

Pictures of the mountains are what we want—pictures painted by artists with real feeling for their sublimity, austerity, and purity. And those who cannot paint with colours may at least portray with words. It is a far too prevalent habit with travellers, when they come to just the point that we are most wanting to hear about, to say, "Words fail me to describe the scene," and then go on with their interminable description of troubles with coolies. Travellers in the Himalaya should see to it that words do not fail them. When they come to a great scene they must realize its importance. They must realize that their worries with coolies are of not the slightest importance, and that all they have seen so far is of insignificance in comparison with this. And they must concentrate all their attention on *observing* it—on taking note of every feature that goes to make the beauty of the whole. And there on the spot it would be well to make rough pencil notes of those points, or, at any rate, mark them indelibly on the mind. The actual finished description need not, perhaps, be written on the spot. For often the body is weary, and not in a fit state to put forth the mental effort required. But later, "in tranquillity," with the rough notes available, the traveller can gather himself together and make up his mind to find the words which will convey to readers a picture of the scene as he has witnessed it.

May the era of "no words can describe" and of pages and pages of description of coolie trouble be now finished. And henceforth may travellers remember that no one wants to know about their personal worries, but that everyone wants to know about the wonders of the Himalaya.

Then, besides the geography of the Himalaya, its geology also needs attention. It does not present the variety of geological interest that, for instance, the British Isles afford.

But a traveller to any of the little known regions mentioned above who sought advice from the Geological Survey of India would be sure to find himself directed to some point of geological interest about which information was required. Fossil-bearing beds occur even in the Karakoram; and, provided the precise position from which the fossil is taken can be told, a fossil is always a thing of value to a geologist.

And in the glaciology of the Himalaya there is the widest scope for enquiry. Very little is known about the glaciers. Some are certainly advancing. Some, as certainly, are retreating. And some advance at one time and retreat at another. An exact determination by means of photographs or survey, or both, of the terminus of a glacier is sure to be of use. Glaciers also vary much in character.

Then we come to the tree and plant and animal life. The aspect of the Himalaya facing India receives the full force of the monsoons, and is clothed, therefore, with dense and beautiful forests on the lower slopes, and on the higher with alpine flowers in rich variety. And this rich vegetation affords food for an abundant animal life of all kinds.

These forests the Forest Department have fortunately been conserving for nearly a century. And for the purposes of conservation and of economic use Forest Officers have had to study the tree life carefully. But they show no signs of proclaiming that their studies are ended, and that they know all there is to know about these forests. For the field is immense. The Himalaya runs down almost into the tropics, and in a region where the Bengal Bay monsoon beats almost straight upon them, and the foothills are clothed with a tropical vegetation and rich sal forests. Higher up in this region are beautiful forests of oak, chestnut, laurel, rhododendron, and magnolia. Further north are forests of graceful deodars, spruces, and firs; and above them the birches. How far upward and downward in altitude and latitude each of these main types extends has been fairly well established. But about the life-history of each species, and the interconnection of the various

species with one another, and with the animal, insect, and bird life—not to add human life—about them, and all with the climate, the Forest Department has still much to learn.

They have also much to learn about the economic uses of these forests. The wood of some trees, the bark of others, the flowers or leaves or floss of other trees or shrubs, are of use to mankind. And the great grasses may be of use for paper-making. The sight of vast forests running to waste, as it seems, makes men ache to find some use for some part or other of the trees and plants he sees in such over-abundance about him.

And allied with the Forest Service is the Botanical Department. And their field is surely inexhaustible? For the wealth of plant life—tropical, temperate, alpine, and arctic—in the Himalaya is prodigious. There must be still new species of plants to be found. But apart from the mere collection and classification and formal description of the plants, there is infinite scope for plant-lovers in describing their beauty, in painting them, in collecting their seeds or bulbs, and studying the conditions of their growth, so that they may be grown in our own gardens or hot-houses.

The animals are chiefly the interest of sportsmen, and here again the Himalaya afford the greatest variety. In the low hills along the nearly tropical belt are found dangerous game, like tigers, elephants, and a few rhinoceros; higher up are panthers and bears. On the edge of the northern forests are deer. And nearer the snow on the open slopes are the various wild goats and sheep. If they are to achieve their object, sportsmen have to learn much about the ways and habits of these animals, and sportsmen in the aggregate *have* learned much about them. But there is still much that the zoologist would like to know about their range, their life-history, and their relationship with other animals, and with their other surroundings. And besides these animals, which as game come within the purview of the sportsmen, there are

numerous other mammals—including the monkeys—about which the zoologist would like to know more.

And here again we all want pictures. Photographs are better than nothing. But far better are pictures bringing home to us the animals in life.

Then there are the birds. Perhaps few new species still remain to be found. But how much do we still need to know about the migration of the birds across the Himalaya from Central Asia to India and India to Central Asia; about the distribution of the more permanent species along the Himalaya; about their ways and habits, their food, their enemies, and their prey.

And the fishes, too. They cannot be neglected. The sportsmen know a good deal about the mahseer and a few others, but much remains to be known.

Lastly, there is the whole great insect world. In the low tropical region gorgeous butterflies, marvellous moths, beetles of astonishing shapes, and flies of enormous variety abound. And it is impossible to conceive a time when all about these insects can be fully known.

And when we have done with the plant and animal life of every kind, there is, after all, human life to be studied and understood. And the Himalayan peoples are almost as varied as any other kind of life. There are timid forest people like the Lepchas, and energetic, warlike people like the Gurkhas of Nepal. There are docile, ingenious people like the Kashmiris, and hardy quondam raiders like the men of Hunza. And there are proud and ancient peoples like the Rajputs of Kangra, and innumerable lesser races like the Bhutanese, the Garhwalis, the Ladakis, Baltis, and so on. About all these peoples district officers in the Gazetteers have given much information. But here again the artist is needed to give us a picture of them, so that we may be able to see them with our own eyes, and enter into their life and understand it.

From all which it may be gathered that the Himalaya is a vast field for exploration of all kinds. And we may be

almost staggered at the amount that has to be done. Anyhow, there is a great variety of choice. One man may like shooting tigers, and another may prefer catching butterflies; one may like exploring for a 20,000-feet peak unknown before, another may prefer collecting primula seeds. But all will be doing good work. The sportsman will be making the way safe for the butterfly catcher; the butterfly catcher will be delighting the hearts of children visiting the Natural History Museum, and possibly also of the museum staff; the explorer will be showing mountaineers a new field for the exercise of their craft; and the seed collector will be bringing joy to some gardener in England.

Occasionally it may be necessary for large, highly organized expeditions, like the Duke of the Abruzzi's, Dr. de Filippi's, and the Mount Everest Expeditions, to undertake the work. Experts in different branches of science may thus be able to co-ordinate their work and compare notes and discuss questions as they arise on the spot. But in parts of the Himalaya where transport is difficult and supplies are scarce, such large expeditions may be hampered from their very size. And, in any case, always there will be scope for the solitary traveller who will devote his time and energies to a single object.

In all branches of the administration in India, whether civil or military, and among Indians themselves, there are men who have a month or two to spare on their hands, who would enjoy spending them in the Himalaya, who would know how to deal with Himalayan peoples, and who, having some such hobby as mountaineering, painting, plant-collecting, bird-watching, etc., would be able to indulge it in a most delightful and profitable way.

And whether in large battalions or in single spies these adventurers marched upon the Himalaya, it would be both advantageous to them if they mean business, and to the departments concerned, if they would put themselves in touch, both before and after, with the Survey of India, or

the Forest Department, or the Geological Survey, or the Botanical Garden authorities. Much useful advice might be obtained from these departments, and much useful information given them.

And still more advantageous would it be if a Himalayan Club were formed to aid and focus all their amateur effort and afford Himalayan travellers the encouragement and support that the Royal Geographical Society and Alpine Club give to travellers and climbers in other parts.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W. 1, on Monday, May 23, 1927, when a paper was read by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., entitled "The Exploration of the Himalaya." Colonel Charles H. D. Ryder, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present:

H.H. the Rajah of Tehri (Garhwal) C.S.I., and Ranis, the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis Wm. Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I. Colonel Sir Charles Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Fagan, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Miss Chatterton, Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E., Lady Hartog, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., and Mrs. Sen, Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Major Malcolm Meade, Mrs. Jackson, Colonel Dantra, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Herron, Lieut. S. K. Mukerji, Professor and Mrs. Bickerton, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Miss Ida O'Malley, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mrs. Drury, Mrs. Hartley, Mr. D. H. Lees, Mr. K. B. Wagle, Rev. O. Younghusband, Mr. H. N. Loney, Colonel Lethbridge, Captain Dent, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. F. S. Tabor, Mr. J. H. Munro, Colonel P. Massy, Commissioner and Mrs. Booth Tucker, Mr. F. Wright, Dr. Gilbert Slater, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. Sunampadu Arumugam, Mr. Pram Kishen, Mr. H. Percival Smith, Lieut.-Colonel F. W. Saunders and Miss Saunders, M. Philip S. Henry, Miss Ebbels, Miss Llewellin, Dr. Guy Stillman Millberry, Mr. C. W. M. Cookson, Miss Gravatt, Miss M. A. Lyster, Colonel and Miss Dowden, Miss Sykes, Miss A. A. Morton, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Probably no one has listened to this lecture by Sir Francis Younghusband with greater interest than myself. Not only is he a noted explorer, but he has gone out of his way to encourage exploration and kindred work to the best of his ability. Every chance that I had of surveying and exploring in Tibet was really due to Sir Francis Younghusband. The Survey Department of India, with which I had the pleasure of being associated for so many years, was very intimately connected with the exploration of the Himalaya. Besides the men whom Sir Francis has mentioned there is one group of surveyors, the Indian hill men, who were taken on by the Survey of India, turned into surveyors and sent out really in disguise, so much so that even their names were not known, and who were remarkably efficient. I remember surveying one of their old routes with a measuring wheel, and I made the distance 120 miles, whereas the Indian surveyor, who at the time had hired himself out as a yak driver and was counting his paces, made it 121 miles, and it was just as likely that he was right as that I was.

There is another interesting point I should like to mention—namely, the

great change in Nepal. Just before I left India three years ago the idea was inaugurated by the Maharajah himself of getting maps made of Nepal, and when I was in India last cold weather I was very glad to hear that practically the whole of Nepal had been surveyed on a geographical scale by the Survey of India. The whole of the detachment of surveyors supplied by the Survey of India for this work was Indian. The Nepalese do not like Englishmen coming into their country and wandering around, but they were quite happy that Indians, especially Hindus, should make maps of their country. By these maps we have a valuable addition to the geography of the Himalaya.

There is another small point that I should like to mention. I have always noticed that travellers, although they may grumble about the vagaries of their coolies, when they come home remember only the charm of the country. I suppose the traveller's idea is this: he does not remember only the delightful parts of the journeys, but he does not mention the other parts because he wants to encourage others to do likewise. There may be some of you who may want to explore the Himalaya, and I should like you to remember that there are a good many difficulties to overcome before you get right away into the interior, where the real charm exists. I venture to make a prophecy that twenty years hence it will be quite common to fly along the Himalaya and do the whole journey in one day. In conclusion, I wish to thank my old friend Sir Francis Younghusband for his most interesting lecture.

Lieutenant S. K. MUKERJI said he had been greatly interested to hear the lecturer's account of his exploration of the Himalaya. He had not dealt with the difficulties encountered by the explorer. When one aspired to reach the summit of a mountain 25,000 feet high it required all the best there was in a man. Indians were very grateful to Sir Francis Younghusband for the wonderful work he had done in exploring not only the Himalaya, but also other regions lying beyond it. He could assure them that in India the name of Sir Francis was very well-known indeed. He looked forward to the time when more Indians would take upon themselves the great task of carrying on the work which had been commenced by the lecturer. The subject of botany, for instance, in the mountains was still in its infancy, a great deal more research being necessary. Of this he spoke from his own personal experience as he had travelled extensively along the Great Himalayan chain in pursuit of botanical knowledge, from Kashmir in the west to Nepal and Sikkim in the east. He had carried out several private expeditions in different parts of the Himalayas, climbing to an elevation of about 20,000 feet. His ten years' intensive study of the flora and vegetation of Kashmir prompted him to say how surprisingly little we knew about the subject and how much more patient research has yet to be undertaken in the domain of biological sciences.

Professor BICKERTON said he desired to call attention to the extraordinary beauty of the Himalayan rhododendrons in the temperate house at Kew. The leaves of some of them were a hundred times the size of those of the average rhododendron, and to see the exquisite wax-like flowers in bloom at this time of the year was a treat which he indulged in almost every year.

The subject of the botany of the Himalaya was wonderfully interesting compared with that of other parts of the world.

Sir DANIEL KEYMER, referring to the mention of the objection of the Nepalese Government to foreigners, said that was based largely upon the desire of the people, which the Government did not wish to go against, to keep out the white man. The Maharajah of Nepal had stated that he would be willing to help the Mount Everest expedition, but that on the southern side there were some very wild people, whom he had not under his full control, who objected to white men, and that he was afraid of what might happen if the expedition went through their territory.

Mr. G. PILCHER, M.P., stated that as an amateur explorer he had visited the Himalaya in various places. It was desirable that more English people should visit that part of India. With regard to the lecturer's suggestion that a Himalayan Club should be formed, some steps in that direction had been taken at Darjeeling before the war. He had been up 13,000 feet, after which he had had to follow the forest bungalows in order to keep body and soul together. For the ordinary traveller it was quite impossible to go far off the beaten track, because the accommodation for travellers was so primitive. If a Himalayan Club were formed, some blockhouses might be constructed on the lower slopes of the Himalaya. He suggested that when India House was established in London the Indian Government should form a travel bureau which would help to make the Himalaya accessible to Europeans. He could not understand why wealthy English people did not visit Darjeeling and the Himalaya instead of going to the Riviera. The value of the water-power in the Himalaya from an economic point of view was incalculable.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE said he was glad to hear the remarks of Colonel Ryder, the late chief of the Survey of India, with reference to the native Indian surveyors. These men had done wonderful work wherever they had been sent. The officers of the Survey of India had every reason to be proud of the men they had turned out. He was glad to hear that there had now been a survey of Nepal. It was news to him, and he thought it would be news to most of those present. A great future lay before the Indian Forestry Department, especially in the Himalaya. They all knew it was said that in years to come there would be a great shortage of wood throughout the world, and without doubt the forests of the Empire would become most valuable. With regard to the suggestion made by previous speakers that a Himalayan Club should be formed on the lines of the Alpine Club, such a club would doubtless be a great advantage, but whether it should have its headquarters in London or in India would require further consideration. (Applause.)

Sir LOUIS DANE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said he had first met him many years ago, in 1883, when he was making his first journey in the Himalaya. He had also in 1905 found the occasion for Colonel Ryder to make one of his wonderful marches in Tibet, from Lhassa back to Simla, discovering incidentally the sources of the Brahmaputra, the Sutlej and the Indus, so that he had some claims to speak on the present occasion. (Hear, hear.) He put himself forward as a humble follower of

the lecturer, who had exhorted them all to follow his example and make some attempt to explore the Himalaya. When he was Assistant Commissioner in Kulu he had even done something in the way of exploring the Central Himalaya, between that and Spiti, which was supposed to be impassable, and in 1884 he had found a pass which had not been crossed for six centuries at least. It had been crossed again in 1906 and then not again by a European until 1920. Anybody who visited this easily visited section of the Himalaya would find it a most interesting experience, and they could then gratify tastes for climbing, surveying, map corrections, botany, zoology, ethnography, mines and sport at small expense. They would find no more courageous and trustworthy people than the hill people, but they must pay them fairly and above all treat them well. He might mention that his life had been saved by them on two occasions. With reference to Nepal, the Maharajah was one of the most wonderful statesmen the world had known, and no one could wish to depreciate his work. They all remembered how during the Great War he not only allowed recruitment of Gurkhas to be increased in his own country, but had sent 20,000 of his own troops to India to man the garrisons which had been depleted by the war. In conclusion, he begged to move a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and the lecturer. They would perhaps never hear a better lecture or have a more competent Chairman and lecturer than the two great geographers who had honoured them by their presence. (Applause.)

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, in reply, said he would like to endorse the remarks of the various speakers with regard to the Indian surveyors. It was a great omission from his paper that he had not mentioned the matter himself. No one appreciated more heartily than he did the splendid work which had been done by the original Indian surveyors of the Survey of India in the old days in exploring the hinterland of the Himalaya. With regard to Nepal, it was exceedingly interesting to hear that a map had been prepared of the country, and he looked forward to seeing what was on the south side of Mount Everest. Mr. Mallory, who had lost his life on Mount Everest, had been able from a spur running down from the summit to look into Nepal and see tremendous precipices. He would like to see photographs taken of Mount Everest from the south, where in his opinion the finest views of the Himalaya would be found. With reference to the Maharajah of Nepal, although he had not been prepared to go against the feeling and instincts of his people as regards the Mount Everest expedition, he had voluntarily sent a contribution of £200 towards its cost, which showed his great appreciation of it. In conclusion, he thanked the meeting for the vote of thanks and for the kind remarks which had been made about him.

THE CAUCASUS IN HISTORICAL LITERATURE

By W. E. D. ALLEN

IN the literature of anthropology and folklore, of archæology and of history proper, the Caucasus occupies an obscure and indefinite place. Yet the Caucasus is a region which has always had a curious fascination for philologists; it is a rich and, as yet, almost unexplored field for archæologists; its former history touches that not only of all the great empires of the Middle Ages, but also of those of high antiquity; and its more recent history, equally neglected, bears directly upon the politics of regions whose future is of the utmost significance to the present generation.

The object of this paper is, first, to indicate the few important books in Western European languages—English, French, German, and Italian—which relate to the Caucasus; and, secondly, to give a brief note of the principal books and periodical publications, among the mass of literature in Russian, on the subject. The most interesting literature on the Caucasus, not only original but also critical, is to be found in Georgian and Armenian, and to a lesser extent in Arabic and Turkish; but reference is made only to such of these latter works as have appeared in translation in European languages.

1. EUROPEAN LITERATURE ON THE CAUCASUS

(*a*) *General Works.*—Detailed reference to the Caucasus, more particularly to the Trans-Caucasian Trough, formed by the valleys of the westward-flowing Rhion (Phasis) and the eastward-flowing Kura, are to be found in the writings of most of the Greek and Roman and of the later Byzantine geographer-historians, such as Herodotus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, Ammian, Pomponius Mela,

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Stephanos of Byzantium, and Procopius.

The archæology of the archaic and classical periods, particularly of the Northern Caucasus (Kuban Valley and Koban) and of the north-eastern extremity of the Black Sea, has aroused interest among many authorities outside Russia. The antiquities of the Caucasus have, however, generally been studied in Western Europe from extraneous angles, rather than in reference to the history of the region itself. Minns, in his "Scythians and Greeks," and Rostovtseff in his "Iranians and Greeks in South Russia," have studied the archæology of the Northern Caucasus primarily in relation to the Scythian and Hellenic cultures of South Russia and the Black Sea basin. Similarly Sayce and Lehmann Haupt have studied the history of the Kingdom of Van necessarily in relation to Assyria and Mesopotamia rather than to the north.

The volumes of the Cambridge Ancient History allow little significance to the Trans-Caucasian region before the Hellenic colonization of the Black Sea in the seventh century B.C., although Professor Myres (iii. 662) suggests a previous development of the Black Sea trade by Ægean elements. Bérard in "Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée," Autran in "Phéniciens," and Peake in "The Bronze Age and the Celtic World," all indicate, in rather equivocal terms, the possible importance of the Trans-Caucasian Trough in the Archaic Period. The Russian school, Rostovtseff as an archæologist, and Nikolai Marr as a linguist, are, however, almost alone in emphasizing that the Caucasus was one of the early *foyers* of civilization. Incidentally it is interesting to note that Rostovtseff accepts the thesis, first postulated by Dubois de Montpèreux in 1841, that much of the Tenth and Twelfth Books of the "Odyssey" refers to the Pontine coast of Caucasia. This thesis has recently been elaborated by R. A. Fessenden, a well-known American chemist, in "The Deluged Civilization of the Caucasian Isthmus," which bears indication that the author is not possessed of scientific historical training. Mr. Fessenden, whose work is certainly ingenious and suggestive, locates in Trans-Caucasia the sites not only of the Elysian Fields and of the Garden of the Hesperides, but also of Atlantis and of the Garden of Eden. It is of interest that no less an authority than Professor Flinders Petrie has given serious consideration to Mr. Fessenden's theories both in recent numbers of *Egypt* and at the 1926 meeting of the British Association.*

For the Mediæval Period detailed references to the Caucasus are to be found in Arab and Armenian works. The best résumé of the references of Muhammadan writers is contained in Defrémèry's "Fragments de géographes et d'historiens arabes et parsans inèdits relatifs aux anciennes peuples du Caucase," which appeared in the *Nouvelle Journal Asiatique* during the years 1849-51. D'Ohsson's "Des Peuples du Caucase au Dixième Siècle," a very rare little book, and Lestrange's "Lands of the Eastern Caliphate," also cover the period of Arab influence in the Caucasus. This period is, however, little known, and the sites of the once flourishing Arab towns of the Mughan plain, Barda'a and Bayla'q'an, remain to be explored.

The works of the mediæval Armenian historians have found commentators in the two Saint Martins, Marie-Felicité Brosset, Victor Langlois, Patkanian, and Dulaurier. A valuable bibliography of Armenian historical literature was published by H. F. B. Lynch in his monumental work, "Armenia: Travels and Studies," and there is a less detailed bibliography contained in vol. iii. of the Cambridge Mediæval History. The Armenian historians, with the Arabs, give a mass of interesting contemporary information on the Georgians and the mountain tribes; but the Arabs

* Uslar, in his "Ancient Evidence Relating to the Caucasus" (in Russian; Tiflis, 1881), treats at length of the Caucasus in biblical and classical tradition, and suggests that the four rivers of Eden may be identified as the Araxes, the Kura (Cyrus), the Rhion (Phasis), and the Chorohk.

are probably to most tastes the more attractive, since they are less politically-minded than the Armenians, and are usually more interested in natural phenomena than in local politics, which obviously were more real to the ecclesiastical chroniclers of the small Armenian courts than to such a cosmopolitan traveller as Ibn Batuta of Tangier.

Venetian, Genoese, Dutch, Arab, Turkish, and, finally, English and French and German travellers, give brief views of conditions in the Caucasus between the time of William of Rubruck, in the thirteenth century, and Jonas Hanway, in the eighteenth century. The most attractive of these travellers, by literary standards, are Evliya Effendi, a Turk, who visited the Circassian coast in a trading vessel, and Sir John Chardin, a Huguenot jeweller of the Restoration Court, who travelled through Georgia on his way to Isfahan. The Italians, Zeno, Barbaro, and Contarini, who wrote in the latter part of the fifteenth century, Olearius and Tavernier for the seventeenth century, Pitton de Tournefort and Hanway for the eighteenth century, and Ker Porter for the early nineteenth century, are all entertaining companions. For general references Schlumberger's "Epopée Byzantine" and Howorth's "History of the Mongols" (vol. iii.) contain much information, not easily found elsewhere, on the respective periods with which they deal.

(*b*) *Specialized Works.*—The last quarter of the eighteenth century, with its keen revival in interest in geography together with the other natural sciences, saw the awakening of interest in the Caucasus, not only in Russia, which country was then embarking upon the series of tedious and costly wars resulting in the conquest of that region, but also in Western Europe. The pioneers in the geographical and historical literature of the Caucasus were Count Jean Potocki and Julius von Klaproth. The latter has, not unjustly, suffered a serious decline in reputation, but he at least deserves credit for arousing the interest of later more able and more conscientious explorers. The

works of Peyssonnel, Reineggs, Gueldenstadt, Gamba, and others are now only of bibliographical interest. They were followed by a swarm of other writers of similar quality through the course of the nineteenth century; such were Thielmann, Xavier Hommaire de Hell, Haxthausen, Telfer, Heneage, Merzbacher, and Déchy. James Bryce, whose "Trans-Caucasia and Ararat" is, to the general reader, one of the most familiar books on the Caucasus, wrote as a cultured tourist. Douglas Freshfield's two books, "Travels in Central Caucasus and Bashan," and "The Exploration of the Caucasus," remain the standard works on mountaineering in the Caucasus. Freshfield is the authority on the physical exploration of the Caucasus, as are Radde, Abich and Favre on the natural history of the region. Four names, however, stand out in the historical and geographical literature of the Caucasus: Frédéric Dubois de Montpèreux, Marie-Felicité Brosset, J. F. Baddeley, and H. F. B. Lynch. Dubois de Montpèreux, a Swiss, spent several years travelling in the Caucasus, and between the years 1837 and 1841 published in Paris his work, "Voyage autour du Caucase," in six volumes, followed by an atlas in five parts, under the respective headings: (1) Ancient Geography, (2) Picturesque Views, (3) Architecture, (4) Archæology, and (5) Geology (Neuchatel, 1839-43). Dubois de Montpèreux was an intrepid traveller, a competent geologist and botanist, no mean archæologist, and an excellent historian. He visited the military posts along the Circassian coast when the Russians were engaged in the war with the Cherkesses, and he stayed at the courts and country houses of the feudal aristocracy of Georgia before they had been a generation under Russia. He has a charming style, an observant eye, and a humorous spirit. The "Voyage autour du Caucase" is one of the rarest of travel books. I personally know of only one complete copy.

Marie-Felicité Brosset was of a different calibre. A poor Paris clerk, in weak health, and burdened with a young

family, he took up the study of Georgian in his spare time after his day's work. In 1830 his first work, "L'Art Libéral ou Grammaire Georgienne," attracted the attention of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, and he was invited to St. Petersburg. His position was established, and he devoted his life, until crippled by failing sight, to the study of Georgian and Armenian history and linguistics. Brosset's output was prodigious, and many of his writings are extremely rare. Much of his work appeared in Russian in the publications of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. A "Bibliographie analytique de Marie-Felicité Brosset"—itself a very rare book—was published by the Academy in 1873, and consists of over 300 pages. The principal works of Brosset which appeared in French were: "Histoire de la Géorgie" (two volumes of Georgian text and six volumes of French translation and notes); "Géographie de Wakhoucht" (Georgian text and French translation); "Voyage Archéologique en Trans-Caucasie"; and "Les Ruines d'Ani." Brosset, essentially a scientific historian, has an academic style, and is generally rather tedious.

J. F. Baddeley's "Russian Conquest of the Caucasus" is the only full, and must always remain the standard, account of the ninety years' campaign of the Russians in the Northern Caucasus, in Trans-Caucasia, and in Daghestan. The author, who has since given to the world in his "Russia, Mongolia, and China" one of the finest examples both of modern historical writing and of modern book production, has a vivid and attractive, and at the same time a classical, style. The book, which consists of over 500 pages, is based entirely on the voluminous Russian materials relating to these wars. It is a masterpiece of military historical writing.

H. F. B. Lynch's two volumes, "Armenia: Travels and Studies," relate largely to the Turkish Armenian districts. The book, however, represents the best account in English of the Georgian and Armenian frontier regions from Batum to the Araxes. The writer, a good scholar and a competent geologist and archæologist, has a beautiful, although sometimes ponderous, manner of expression.

Bayern, Chantre, Virchow, and Jacques de Morgan were, among Western Europeans, the pioneers in field archæology in the Caucasus; Brosset, Rosen, Bopp, F. Muller, and Gatteyrus of the study of the complicated linguistic problems of the region. Chantre's "Recherches Anthropologiques au Caucase," in five volumes, and de Morgan's "Mission Scientifique au Caucase," in two volumes, are the best West European books on a subject in which the Russians have made themselves pre-eminent. The fact that both these works appeared forty years ago is an indication of the neglect of the Caucasian area as an archæological field by contemporary European students.

In linguistics the Russians and Georgians stand alone, and no European philologist has yet attempted to master comprehensively either the languages or the linguistic problems of the Caucasus.

On the ancient geography of the Caucasus there are two rare little books by Vivien de Saint-Martin: "Populations primitives du Caucase" and "Mémoire historique sur la géographie ancienne du Caucase." Saint-Martin's "Histoire de la Géographie" also contains much of interest on the classical geography of the Caucasus.

As translators of Georgian literature the two Wardrops stand conspicuously alone. The late Miss Marjorie Wardrop translated Shota Rusthaveli's epic, "The Man in the Panther's Skin" (published under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund), and Sulkhan Orbeliani's "Book of Wisdom and Lies" (published by the Kelmscott Press). Sir Oliver Wardrop has translated "Visramiani: or the Loves of Vis and Ramin" (Oriental Translation Fund). Sir Oliver's "Kingdom of Georgia," an otherwise slight work, contains the best bibliography in English of the Caucasus. It remains a fact that no standard history, either of Georgia or of the rich and beautiful Georgian literature, exists in the English language.

A Georgian, Michel Tamarati, is responsible for a French work on the history of the Georgian Church: "L'église Géorgienne des origines jusqu'a nos jours."

On the art and architecture of the Caucasus there is, in addition to Strzygowski's well-known works, which relate primarily to Armenia, Mourier's slight but excellent book, "L'art au Caucase." On Georgian numismatics there are the two small books of Victor Langlois, "Numismatie de la Georgie" and "Suite Monétaire de la Georgie." These two books are exceedingly rare. The only copies which I have ever seen are in the British Museum.

2. Russian Literature on the Caucasus

The Russians and their Georgian and Armenian coadjutors follow in the academic tradition of the Germans, and they are particularly prolific in the production of periodical literature of a scientific and semi-scientific nature. From the second quarter of the last century the Russians applied themselves with enthusiasm to the study of the history and geography of the Caucasus, a region which, apart from its intrinsic interest, was possessed of a unique political importance in the mind of official circles. A mass of literature in periodical form has thus accumulated during the last ninety years. Much of this appeared in publications of a very limited circulation, and the volumes, being paper-bound, did not lend themselves to preservation. The collections of the great national libraries of Western Europe are incomplete, and certainly in England there appears to be no consistent effort to secure complete sets of even the post-war publications issued by Russian scientific bodies. The library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad probably contains the most complete collection of works on the Caucasus, but I am not informed as to the damage done to them by the unfortunate flood of 1921. The libraries of the Central Archives Office in Tiflis and of the Tiflis University are the great native repositories of books

on the Caucasus, as is the Kauffman Library in Tashkent of books on Central Asia.

The three periodical publications on the Caucasus most familiar to European students are the "Akhiti" of the Caucasian Archæographic Commission (about thirteen volumes), the "Materials for the Archæology of the Caucasus" (eight volumes, of which vol. vi. was never issued), and the "Collection of Materials for the Description of the Tribes and Places of the Caucasus" (forty-five volumes to 1915). This "Collection of Materials" is certainly one of the most fascinating works in the whole of geographical literature. It contains papers of a highly scientific nature, such as much of the original work of the well-known Georgian historians, Takaishvili, Djanashvili, and Djavakhashvili, and of Dirr, the pioneer, after Uslar, of the study of the multitudinous languages of the mountain tribes. It contains accounts of travel itineraries over almost every part of the Caucasus, and a great mass of songs, legends, stories, and sayings of all the tribes and peoples of the Caucasus and of the Cossack communities of the Northern Caucasus.

Other periodical publications of lesser literary interest are the "Ethnography of the Caucasus," the "Caucasus Calendar," and the "Caucasus Collection" (Sbornik).

The various publications of the Russian (Imperial) Academy of Sciences are generally available in museums and large national libraries, as are the "Proceedings" and the "Bulletin" of the Caucasian Section of the (Imperial) Russian Geographical Society, the "Bulletin" of the Caucasian Section of the Moscow Archæological Society, and the "Proceedings" of the Eastern Section of the Russian Archæological Society. Two rarer publications of the Caucasian Section of the (Imperial) Russian Geographical Society are the "Collection of Information about the Caucasus" (twenty volumes), and the "Collection of Information about the Caucasian Mountaineers" (ten volumes).

The publications of the Petrograd Institute of Living Eastern Languages and of the Lazarevski Institute of Eastern Languages contain much valuable material on the history of the languages and literature of the Georgians and Armenians. More interesting even, and more difficult to come upon, are the volumes included in the "Texts and Researches in Armenian and Georgian Philology," published by the Faculty of Eastern Languages of the University of Petrograd. This series contains much of the original work of Professor Nikolai Marr, who is regarded in Russia as the doyen of linguistic science.

Since the Revolution, and notably during the last four years, there has been a revival of interest in Oriental studies throughout the Soviet Union. The sources of this revival are no doubt political, but the student in Russia has in the outcome benefited from official support, and original contributions are being made to historical science. In this revival the Caucasus, in its archæological, linguistic, and historical relations, has become the chief centre of scientific interests, and in the field of Caucasian linguistics Professor Marr has recently disturbed the world of philologists with his "Japhetic Theory." Here is not the place to discuss a theory the bases of which are being constantly altered by the author himself. Briefly it may be stated that Marr finds in the Georgian of the Caucasus and in the Basque of the Pyrenees the surviving elements of a family of languages—the "Japhetic"—which was once spread over the whole of the Mediterranean basin. Professor Marr's purview has now spread to Ireland on the west and to the Volga, Central Asia, and India on the east. For two decades Marr was ignored, but he has now found supporters in Germany and Italy, and caustic critics among the most eminent of recognized European philologists, Meillet and Vendryes. The result has been the keen revival in the Soviet Union of interest in the Caucasus, and the output of a mass of periodical literature on the Caucasus in relation to the Japhetic Theory. Much of the "Japhetic" literature

relating to the Caucasus has been published by the Russian Academy of Sciences, but recently two periodicals have appeared entirely devoted to these linguistic problems: the "Japhetic Collection" and "Materials towards the Knowledge of the Japhetic Languages." In Germany, Professor Braun of Leipzic has published translations of some of Marr's works, the best known being "The Japhetic Caucasus and the Third Element in the Composition of Mediterranean Culture." Much of interest both on the Caucasus and on the Japhetic Theory appears from time to time in the *Novie Vostok* ("New East"), a periodical publication of the All-Russian Association of Eastern Studies.

Owing to the tendency in Russia to publish "materials" in periodical form, the number of books on the Caucasus by individual writers is not, comparatively speaking, numerous. The standard work on the anthropology of the Caucasus is Maxim Kovalevski's "Law and Custom in the Caucasus" (two volumes). Alexander Khakhanov's * "Sketches in the History of Georgian Literature" (four volumes) is a detailed, although uninspired, survey of the vast field of Georgian literature—a literature in many respects as rich as that of Persia, yet almost unexplored by European commentators.

Amongst many writers, the following are in the first rank in the respective fields of historical literature in which they have been engaged: Platon Joselian as an antiquarian, Dmitri Bakradze as a juristic historian, Chubinov as a lexicographer, Tsagareli as a grammarian, Zagurski as a geographer and ethnologist, Barataiev as a numismatist, and Miansarov as a bibliographer. Marr and Dirr as linguists, Takaisvili and Djavakhashvili as historians, are still writing. In the present generation, Chursin as a geographer, Meliksetbekov as an historian and ethnologist, and Metchaninov

* Georgian and Armenian writers are accustomed to adopt Russian terminations to their names: thus, Khakhanov is Khakhanashvili, Djavakhov is Djavakhashvili, Patkanov is Patkanian, Miansarov is Miansarian, etc.

as an archæologist, have already produced much work of interest.

In the space of a short paper it is physically impossible to give any adequate survey of the great and obscure field of Caucasian historical literature. Its extent may be indicated by the fact that vol. i. of Miansarov's classic "Bibliographia Caucasica et Trans-Caucasica" consists of over 800 pages. The author announced the preparation of a second volume, which would have completed the bibliography to 1876. Unfortunately he died, and the second volume was never published. The Caucasus remains a fascinating and, to the English student, a comparatively unexplored field, where treasures remain to be unearthed which may delight not only the austere minds of archæologists and of anthropologists, but also the humble heart of the mere searcher after rare things in forgotten books.

THE INDIAN STATES

IV. INDORE, CAPITAL OF THE HOLKARS

By Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E.

The territories of the Maharaja are called the Indore State after the capital. There are other States, such as Kashmir and Nepal, of larger extent and greater population; but the Holkars have played such an important part in the history of British India and of the protected principalities, that it seems right that an account of them and of their state should follow the articles on Gwalior and Baroda, the other great Mahratta States. Like them the family of Holkar had a lowly origin. The founder of the dynasty was the son of a Mahratta shepherd, and was named Mulhar Rao. His father lived in a village called Hol, in the Deccan. The name Holkar is derived from Hol, the name of the village, the adjunct "kar" or "kur" meaning inhabitant of Hol. Thus Holkar means the man, or resident, of Hol. Mulhar Rao lived in stirring times. During the early half of the eighteenth century the Empire of the Moghuls, also a foreign rule, was hastening to its fall, and a new race of conquerors was rapidly gaining power in the south. Mulhar Rao disdained to follow his father's trade, and sought military advancement. He enlisted in a troop of horse, and took part in the early invasions of Northern India by the Mahrattas. A man of great courage and force of character, though quite uneducated, his rise was rapid, and he soon became one of the most distinguished of the Mahratta leaders. The Peshwa of Poona, head of the Mahratta Empire, bestowed on him considerable tracts of conquered territory, north of the River Nerbudda, and near Indore, a considerable town, which he made his capital. On the death of Mulhar Rao,

he was succeeded by his grandson, Malli Rao, who, however, soon died, when his mother, Alaya Bai, took over the government, and appointed Mulhar Tukaji Rao to command the State forces. This Tukaji Rao was no relation of Mulhar Rao, the founder of the family, but belonged to the same tribe. Alaya Bai died in 1795, and Tukaji Rao died soon after, when the house of Holkar was nearly extinguished by family quarrels and the dissensions which distracted the Mahratta Confederacy at the close of the eighteenth century. The fortunes of the house were, however, revived by Jaswant Rao, an illegitimate son of Tukaji Rao, who was quite the most remarkable man the family has produced. He, after a great defeat by the armies of Scindiah of Gwalior, with whom the Holkars had incessant quarrels, had the rare judgment of being able to realize the superiority of well-disciplined troops, led by Europeans, over any number of undisciplined armies, however personally brave. He employed many Europeans of various nations, and embodied his irregular forces into carefully trained, well-armed troops. With these he defeated the united forces of the Peishwa and Scindiah, in 1802, and raised himself to the leading place in the Mahratta Confederacy. It was at this time that the British, having destroyed the Muhammadan rule at Mysore, and having restored that State to its ancient Hindu rulers, found themselves confronted by the formidable Mahratta Confederacy. That empire had received a serious set-back at the last great battle of Paniput in 1761, when the forces of the Peishwa were almost annihilated by the Muhammadans (Afghans) under Ahmed Shah Abdali. The Holkar of that time, as well as the head of the Scindiahs, escaped, but the brother and son of the Peishwa were killed, and the loss of the Mahrattas is estimated at over 200,000. The Gaekwar of Baroda was not present, and in a few years the Mahrattas regained their powerful position, and both Scindiah and Holkar raised large armies of disciplined troops. They were, however, defeated in the war with

the British in the beginning of the nineteenth century by General (afterwards Lord) Lake in Hindustan and by Sir A. Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) in the Deccan. Holkar at first stood aloof, but came in after Scindiah had been defeated in Hindustan and the Deccan. Owing to mistakes made by the British leader, however, Holkar managed to inflict a severe reverse on a force sent against him from Agra. The English were defeated at the Mukandwāra Pass, between Kotah and Jhalrapatan in Rajputana, and the survivors straggled back to Agra without their guns, which, owing to the water-logged state of the country and the absence of roads, had to be abandoned. This victory and the success of his ally, the Jat Raja of Bhurtpore, who successfully resisted all Lord Lake's attacks on that fortress, raised Holkar's prestige and position, and emboldened him to attack Delhi, which was defended by a small British force. This was commanded by Colonel Ochterlony, who in after years won so much renown, and he successfully resisted all Holkar's attacks and forced him to retire. Soon after General Lake defeated the Mahrattas at the battle of Dīg, and a month later the formidable fortress of the same name was captured. The Mahrattas were then really at the mercy of the British, but, unfortunately, the ambitious policy and incessant wars of Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, had exhausted the patience of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. He was recalled, and the aged Lord Cornwallis was again sent out as Governor-General, in 1804, with urgent instructions to conclude peace at any price. Lord Cornwallis, who had surrendered to the Americans during the War of Independence, and had conquered Tippu Sultan of Mysore during his first term of Viceroy, was, in 1804, an old and infirm man, and he died at Gazipur before he had been ten weeks in the country. His acting successor was an Indian civilian, Sir George Barlow, who, being only a *locum tenens*, was obliged to carry out the instructions of his superiors without question. Peace,

though only a temporary truce, was made with Holkar and Scindiah, and we abandoned the Rajput chiefs to the tender mercies of the Mahrattas. The next Governor-General was Lord Minto, who managed to keep on good terms with the Mahrattas. After Lord Minto came Lord Moira, afterwards better known as the Marquis of Hastings, who was compelled to embark in the final conflict with the Mahrattas. In this the power of the Peishwas was destroyed, the whole of the Deccan being incorporated in the Bombay Presidency, the army of Holkar also being completely defeated at the battle of Mehidpur, when, though the British were commanded by Sir John Hislop, the real leader was Sir John Malcolm, who was the first Agent to the Governor-General for Central India.

The settlement of Malwa, of which province the Indore State forms a part, was carried out by the distinguished soldier and Political-General, Sir John Malcolm, and the limits of Indore were then practically fixed as they are at present, though some exchanges of territory made after the Mutiny increased the lands of Holkar near Indore in exchange for others near Ahmedabad in Guzerat. Before leaving this portion of the history of the Holkars, a reference may be made to some recent discoveries of important documents at Indore by the late Colonel Luard, whose unexpected and untimely death in May last has created much regret. I understand that Colonel Luard, when he was secretary to the last Maharaja, found certain papers in the State archives, which throw a great deal of light on the life and character of the Maharani Ahalya Bai, also called Alaya Bai, wife and afterwards widow of Mulhar Rao Holkar, and show her to have been one of the ablest women India has produced. If those papers are in the hands of Colonel Luard's executors, it is to be hoped that they will follow what that officer probably intended, and give them suitable publicity. Alaya or Ahalya Bai, as previously mentioned, died in 1795, and Jaswant Rao, who had much ability and energy, died in 1811. After his

death the Indore army mutinied, and during the minority of Mulhar Rao, his infant son, the State was torn by most violent dissensions, and was overrun by Pindaries, gangs of freebooters, mostly Muhammadans, from Central Asia, who had accompanied the great raids by Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali. These freebooters attached themselves as regulars to the various Mahratta chiefs, and were employed by them to devastate the countries they invaded. The British, as previously mentioned, were obliged to intervene, with the result that Holkar's army was completely destroyed, and the State came finally under British protection, an Agent to the Governor for Central India being established at Indore. A fine Residency was built by Sir John Malcolm, the first of a long line of distinguished men who have held the post of Agent to the Governor-General in Central India. A large tract of land was handed over by the Durbar, and over it the British Resident and his assistants exercised full jurisdiction. In these Residency "limits," as the place was, and is, called, a flourishing town has sprung up, and outside the bazaar or market-place are the villas, houses, and gardens of the various officials whose duties are carried on in connection with the Durbar. A river, which flows through the Residency grounds, is "bunded" up, and forms a large lake, surrounded by lovely gardens and grounds, with many beautiful trees, palms, and shrubs. The soil of Malwa is very fertile, and as it is close to the Ghats, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet, the rainfall is generally ample, and the crops of all sorts and kinds are abundant. For many years, until the export of opium to China was reduced, the poppy was the chief product, and the poppy fields, when in full flower, in the spring, surrounded by the fresh green of sprouting wheat, presented a most lovely sight, with enormous groves of mangos in the background. It is no wonder that the post of Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, with his headquarters at Indore, was one of the most coveted appointments in the Indian political

service. After the settlement made after the battle of Mehidpur, which is called the Treaty of Mandasor, this being the name of the city where the negotiations were carried out and the treaty was signed, the relations between the British Government and successive rulers of Indore were uniformly satisfactory. The levy of the heavy duty on opium, all of which passed through the British Residency, brought in a large revenue, which more than covered the cost of the Agent to the Governor-General and his staff, and money never seemed wanting in those days for all reasonable expenditure. Good roads were made all over the province, and the Residency limits were a model of constant care and supervision. Then about forty years after the Mandasor settlement the great upheaval of the Mutiny upset life in Indore, as indeed everywhere else in India. One of the articles of the settlement made by Sir John Malcolm was the establishment of a British division, a force of all three arms, at Mhow or Máu, a place about twelve to fourteen miles from Indore. At the time of the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 this force was woefully depleted, and there were only a regiment of Native Infantry, the 23rd, under Colonel Platt, a wing of the 1st Native Cavalry under Major Harris, and a battery of artillery under Captain Hungerford, with European gunners, but native drivers. These seem to have been the only British troops in that part of India. The Maharaja of Indore at that time was Tukoji Rao Holkar, a young man of about twenty-two. He had a considerable force under his own control, but these were recruited from the same races as the Bengal army, and the Maharaja, who was a Mahratta, had little real authority over them. The Agent to the Governor-General at the time of the Mutiny was Sir Robert Hamilton, an officer who kept up all the old traditions of the British officials who had lived with Clive and Warren Hastings. He was one of those whom Englishmen knew as "Nabobs." Magnificent and splendid in their habits and lives, and lavish in their expenditure, such men have always been popular in the East, and there is no doubt that Hamilton was very much a *persona grata* with the Indore Durbar. Be that as it may, there is, I think, no doubt that if Sir Robert had been at Indore when the Mutiny broke out, his personal influence might have caused affairs there to take a different course than they did. But he was just then away in England, and his *locum tenens*, Colonel Henry Marion Durand, was a man of very different mould. One of the most remarkable men who has ever been in India, he owed nothing to fortune, but everything to his high sense of duty and honour, as well as to ability far above the average. It was, perhaps, unfortunate that a rigid sense of right and wrong made him judge the conduct of the Maharaja more strongly than was quite necessary, but as the historian of the outbreak points out: "It is not very germane to the point at issue to inquire whether Durand disliked Holkar or Holkar disliked Durand." There was probably not much in common between them, and the fact remains that, at the critical moment, when Holkar's troops on July 1, 1857, attacked the Residency, the Maharaja did not show himself, and gave no sign. The defence of the Residency by the British under Durand and Colonel Travers, who won a V.C. on that occasion, was one of the many splendid deeds of isolated valour which illuminate the history of the great revolt. At that time the Indian troops at Mhow had not risen, and Durand undoubtedly held on to his post as long as possible because Indore was such an important point on the great highway which connected the port of Bombay with the north of India, and was the only route by which reinforcements could be sent to Delhi and Agra, to Cawnpore and Lucknow. When Durand and Travers decided that further defence of the Residency was hopeless, we may be certain it could no longer be held; but it is by no means so certain that Holkar was in any way implicated in the revolt of his troops. A very acrimonious discussion arose after the suppression of the Mutiny about the conduct

of Holkar on July 1, 1857. Few matters have been more strongly debated, and when I was first posted as an assistant to General Sir Henry Daly, then Agent to the Governor-General, it was still discussed. My father, General Daly's predecessor, was of opinion that, although the Maharaja had not shown conspicuous courage in helping his British friends when his troops attacked the Residency, this was probably due to timidity, and not to any sort of complicity with the rebels. Not only did he keep apart from the rising, but none of his servants and adherents took any part in it. Colonel Durand was prevented from retiring to Mhow ; fortunately, perhaps, as the troops there soon followed the revolt of Holkar's army, and he went to Sihore, the military station of Bhopal. Here he was welcomed by Her Highness the Sikunder (Alexander) Begum, but here, unfortunately, Mrs. Durand died, the trials of the rising at Indore, followed by the forced march to Bhopal, being too much for her. Colonel Durand attributed this terrible personal loss to the failure of the Maharaja, and when he soon after returned victorious it is believed he would have punished the Indore State and its ruler. Fortunately for them Sir Robert Hamilton arrived in time to save his friends, and, though Holkar did not receive the rewards lavished by a grateful Government on others who had exposed their lives and fortunes to help the British, he was treated with great consideration, and the succession was guaranteed to his family. Sir Robert Hamilton left Central India soon after the suppression of the Mutiny, and was succeeded by Sir Richard Shakespeare, who died very suddenly soon after his appointment, and was succeeded by my father, Colonel (afterwards Sir Richard) Meade, who was specially selected by Lord Canning, then Viceroy, to tackle the difficult problems of Central India, which had been greatly upset by the Mutinies. Indore was the headquarters of the Agent to the Governor-General, and I know my father had a great esteem for Tukoji Rao Holkar, and was on friendly terms with His

Highness during the many years he remained at Indore. General Sir Henry Daly succeeded my father in 1870, and he also had friendly relations with the Indore Durbar; but the Bala Sahib, or eldest son of Tukoji, showed early signs of a violent temper, which gave cause for anxiety. At any rate he committed some senseless acts of cruelty, which compelled the Government of India to take serious notice of the conduct of the heir-apparent, whose succession, when Sir Lepel Griffin had succeeded Sir Henry Daly, seemed very doubtful. The objections were, however, overruled, and Sivaji Rao succeeded Tukoji Rao when the latter died. Both these Maharajas were fine men, much taller and more powerful than ordinary Mahrattas, and both possessed bright intellects. Unfortunately, Sivaji Rao, to whom many witty sayings are attributed, never got over his inclination to inflict curious punishments on his unfortunate subjects, and eventually the death of a man belonging to the Pardi, or hunter class, who had broken some of the Maharaja's forest laws, brought about his abdication in favour of his son, Maharaja Tukoji Rao. Maharaja Sivaji Rao, like our own early Norman Kings, was an ardent sportsman and a fine shot. Any infraction of his laws for preserving game was hateful to him, and the death of the unfortunate man who had broken his regulations was the consequence of his ungovernable anger. It caused the abdication of the chief, and the succession of his son, Maharaja Tukoji Rao, who in turn abdicated in circumstances which are within recent memory. The present Maharaja is Yeshwant Rao Holkar, now a student at Oxford, and it is to be hoped that he will avoid the sad terminations of the reigns of his father and grandfather, and be a chief worthy of a long succession of distinguished men. Though Maharaja Sivaji Rao was occasionally very tyrannical, and committed some acts of oppression, he was not unpopular, and received many ovations when travelling in British India. He generally assumed the garb of a Byraji, or devotee, and as such crowds always

and family roughly divides itself into three phases, the assembled to see him. I knew him well, and heard many of his quaint sayings. Among others was his farewell to Lord Curzon, who had refused to see him when he was being punished for his misconduct at Indore. He was told he was in "disgrace," and the Viceroy could not see him. Afterwards, when the Viceroy left India under somewhat unfortunate circumstances, Holkar telegraphed: "Now we are both in disgrace, perhaps your Excellency will see me."

Indore is a fine State, but is very split up, and comprises many isolated tracts. This has been much improved by the exchange of certain Indore districts in distant places for villages near Indore. The area of the State has been estimated at 9,519 square miles, and the population is 1,079,074. The income of the Indore State is about Rs. 1,25,32,000. Besides Mahrattas, there are many other races in the Indore State. There are some Muhammadans, but the bulk of the population is Hindi, of many different races and castes. There are also a great many Bhils and Ghonds, the aboriginal inhabitants of India, in the Vindhyan ranges, which form the southern boundary of Central India. The Indore State is smaller than Kashmir or Gwalior, but it contains much fertile land, and the revenue is larger in proportion than those of larger States, where much is jungle, mountain, and forest lands. Indore itself is a fine town of about 100,000 inhabitants, and owed its early importance to its position on the great artery connecting Western India with the North. The Agra-Bombay high-road was one of the earliest roads in India to be macadamized, and some forty years ago, before the present railway systems were completed, there was a constant stream of travellers passing north or south. Lately, since the great increase in motor traffic, it has come into its own again, and is largely used. This will no doubt increase the importance of Indore, which is very favourably situated as a halting or starting place.

The above brief sketch of this important Indian State

first being the rise of the family from an obscure ancestor, who from being originally a shepherd rose, by sheer ability and force of character, to be a great leader of his countrymen, and founded a principality. The second part deals with the constant wars of the Holkars with the British, by whom they were finally subdued. The third shows the State under our protection, during which the relations of the representatives of the British Government and successive rulers of Indore were generally on friendly terms, with the sole exception of the episode of the Indore Mutiny on July 1, 1857, when the State forces mutinied and got out of hand, attacking the British Residency. The State, like others in Central India, has benefited enormously by British control and influence. Railways and fine roads running in every direction have opened up communications, and enabled the great agricultural products to be conveyed to the best markets. An improved and improving system of education has brought knowledge within the reach of the lowest as well as to the highest, while numerous hospitals and dispensaries minister to the physical wants of the subjects. An entire failure of the annual rains is very rare, as both the monsoons bring, as a rule, ample falls. But when I first went to Indore a partial failure had taken place, and another bad year was anticipated. The situation was well met by the various States under the direction of the British authorities, and normal conditions were eventually restored. Since then, as far as I am aware, the rainfall has generally been ample, and harvests have been plentiful.

ART SECTION

AN ARTIST IN JAVA

By Jan Poortenaar

Except during a period of four centuries and a half, when declining Hindu civilization, for reasons as yet unexplained, sought a refuge further East, Central Java has always been the heart of the island. Nowadays it is known as the "Principalities," comprising the territory of the Sultan of Djocjakarta and Prince Paku Alam, both residing at Djocja, and of the Susuhunan of Surakarta and Prince Mangku Negara at Solo. The four rulers are descendants of the old Emperors of Mataram, though their realms are comparatively young—their present conditions originate from 1755 and 1813, 1755 and 1757 respectively—the Sultanates of Djocja and Solo each were divided into two after they had constituted themselves as independent states.

It is in Central Java that there lived and still live the true Javanese, the people of heaven's mercy, cherishing their old traditions, which, as the beautiful scenery of volcanoes and fertile valleys, are still theirs, whatever else may fail—for the glory, freedom, and power of the old days are gone. But they still live in their own world of custom, of formality, of "adat" as they call it, and though architecture since the Hindu period passed into nothingness, their creative energy still guides the able hand of the armourer and goldsmith, wood-carver and batikker,* the actor and the dancing-girl, each basing his work on the ancient and conventional design.

At first sight it may seem strange to include the dancing-girl in this enumeration, but Javanese dancing has nothing

*The "batik" is a typically Javanese technique of dyeing woven goods, the parts to be left undyed being protected by the application of beeswax. The material is immersed in successive baths of the required colours.

A JAVANESE COURT DANCER (DJOCJAKARTA)
From the oil-painting by Jan Poortenaar.

From the book by Jan Poortenaar, "An Artist with the Javanese," to be published in the autumn by Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London.

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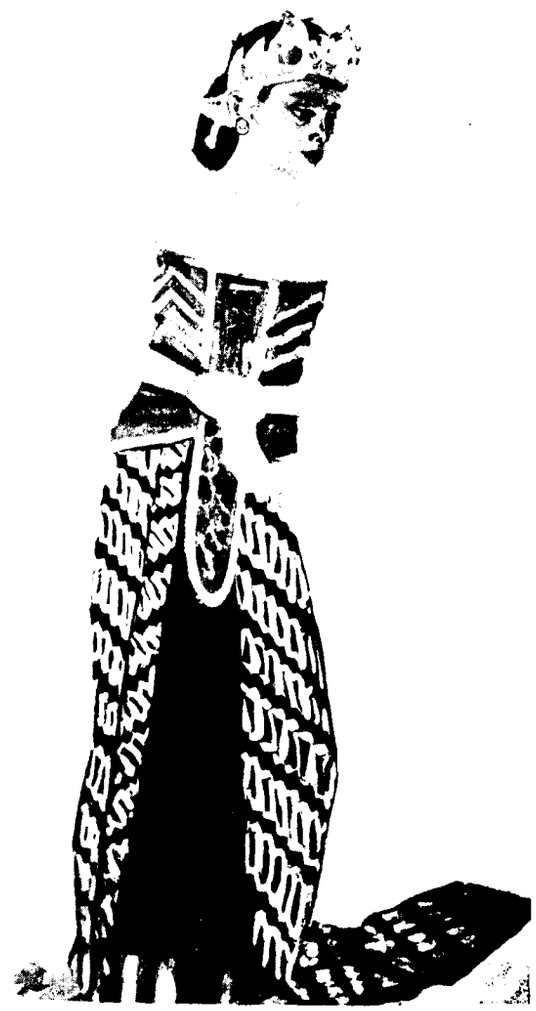

A JAVANESE COURT DANCER (SOLO)
From the oil-painting by Jan Poortenaar.

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in common with ours. It is the creation of a moving ornament by the hands and arms, and in which the body only now and then will take part. The native rulers not only upheld old traditions, but also protected the arts of bygone centuries, and though the performance of myths and sagas—part of which have their origin in the Ramayana and Mahabharata—is about a century old, the "wayang" performed by puppets and leather shadows, together with the language of gesture, has stood the test of ages.

To an artist it is a wondrous experience to be introduced into the court life of these Oriental potentates, who have a corps-de-ballet of some forty or fifty dancing-girls, partly of noble blood. Their dancing is accompanied by the "gamelan," the native orchestra, echoing in the music of its bamboo flute, rebab, numerous drums, and metallophones the sounds of Oriental nature, of the waterfalls, quaint birds, rustling palm leaves, and sinister volcanic mutterings.

At festival days the Susuhunan will admit a number of European visitors, who may witness the almost holy ritual dancing. He seats himself on his gold throne, to which he strides slowly and imposingly. He is the Oriental King, to the tips of his fingers he is the Ruler; does not his name, Paku Buwono, signify that he is "the Nail which holds the World," and his title, Susuhunan, "He to whom everyone is subject"? He wears the traditional royal garments, his gold Javanese dagger, the "kriss," set with jewels, like all the ornaments and swords, lances and javelins that are brought by numerous courtiers. Everybody crouches when approaching to the High One. His regents, his servants, his archers, his sons, they all kneel. One group of guards wears bright, fierce green jackets, another is dressed in flame red; later, riflemen will take their turn and fire a salute.

But the Ruler must not only be glorified, he must also be amused. Orchestras play for him, drumming terribly. The dignified chords of the ancient Dutch National Anthem rise from numerous trumpets, and with penetrating sound

Javanese bamboo flutes play a native melody. All instruments make a simultaneous tumult. Who but the principal descendant of the Emperors of Mataram, the highest on earth, could have so much music played at the same time?

Behind the Susuhunan numberless women sit, anointed with "boreh," applied at official feasts only. They hold all possible ensigns and emblems of dignity, swords, shields, poignards, a gold elephant and gold ornaments, the Sultan's gold service, his gold spittoon.

The reception-hall is the so-called "pendoppo," a big hall without walls, where the vast roof rests on richly carved and gilt posts. The floor is all marble; the fierce light of the tropical sun throws its reflections into the hall from all sides, and the polished marble glistens. His Highness is to be photographed; skilfully a screen is installed behind his royal person that the glare of the sunlit court which surrounds the open hall shall not outshine his greatness.

Then the dancing-girls appear.

As statues from some ancient Indian temple come to life they enter, slowly striding, foot by foot. They stretch their feet and hands, the eyes glance into a remote distance. The eyebrows are painted in a stylized shape, and so is the curl of hair at the ear. The face is amber-coloured by the "boreh," a glittering diadem, the "djamang," is worn on the jet-black hair, the back of which is set with glittering stones and white flowers. Arms and shoulders are left bare, though adorned with cleverly wrought metal bracelets. From the girdle silk scarves hang down and flutter along the brown "sarong," the narrow skirt of batik.

The grace of their gesture baffles description. They raise a hand, quite slowly, dream-like, and lift the scarves with finger-tops, suddenly turning round to the quaint tones of the orchestra.

The dress and gestures of dancers and actors of Djocja differ but little from those at Solo. The Sultan's audience-chamber is a masterpiece of architecture in wood, the carved beams and joists, richly painted red and gold, forming a ceiling of wonderful lightness and elegance. Several other pendoppos are erected on the numerous courts enclosed by high walls, gardens, and buildings, the whole of the palace grounds sheltering some four thousand inhabitants. One of the most remarkable places in Djocja is the "Water Castle," constructed about 1760—now a most romantic ruin. It consists of gardens, fish-ponds, and bathing-pools, which have a remarkable room, constructed under water, as an apartment for prayer, where the Sultan worshipped surrounded by the babbling stream, light and fresh air being provided through turrets rising above the surface. The other buildings contain guard-rooms (where now a motley crowd of fruit-sellers gather daily), special apartments for the Sultan and his first legitimate spouse, his other wives and children, dignitaries at court, servants of all description, armourers, gardeners, rooms for the female guard. The famous orchards are now a mere wilderness; weeds and palms grow everywhere, earthquakes caused walls to tumble down, arches to crack, and pools to be formed. The store-rooms, kitchens, workshops, halls for the male and female dancers are gone, but although the rulers of to-day will no longer erect elaborate buildings of this kind, the old etiquette of the court is still alive. So is the custom among the people, which divides them into a more, and a less distinguished, group, the former addressing the latter in High Javanese, the other humbly replying in Low Javanese—an entirely different language. The change of religion, from Animism to Hinduism, thence to Muhammadanism, did not have any influence on racial characteristics like these. When Noor ad-Din Ibrahim bin Maulana Israïl established not only his political power, but also the religion of the Prophet, he propagated the faith under the name of Sultan Gunoong Djati in the west of Java. But he could not do away with the natural inclination of the people to Animism, though all traces of the Hindu element in real life were lost.

The centre of the new religion, Cheribon, became tributary to the Emperors of Mataram in the seventeenth century; the whole of Java became Islamized, and from the people's lives Hinduism disappeared entirely. Only in the Tengger mountains it still lingers, and it is more or less alive on neighbouring islands, the south of Sumatra and Bali. The homage done to sacred objects, arms, gamelans, etc., by giving them a human name or title and venerating them as if endowed with supernatural faculties, recalls Polynesian fetishism. The meaning, the purport of a Buddha image is entirely forgotten by the population, which offer flowers to one at the Mendoot Temple just as well as they do at an old gun elsewhere, simply because it inspires them with fear, because it conceals unknown forces, either material or mental.

Many legends in the folk-lore of Java also remind us of Animism. The big gun I have just mentioned is one of a pair; its companion lies in the courtyard before the palace of the Susuhunan of Surakarta, and supposed to be inhabited by a ghost, the "sapu jagad," or broom of the world, which at a certain moment will vindicate that name by sweeping all infidels into the sea. What the venerated Prophet would say when he saw his followers kneeling and praying and offering to an old Dutch gun they do not for a moment consider, but it accounts for their charming and innate naïveté. Another example which shows how strongly the native mind is imbued with pre-Muhammadan and pre-Hindu ideas and modes of thought we find in the general belief that the goddess of the South Sea will come and visit the Susuhunan in the top room of a tower in the palace grounds. European visitors are only admitted a few stories high; the top of the building is holy, and must not be visited by anyone, least of all by infidels.

Near by are numerous ruins of Hindu temples and monuments, restored and carefully kept. The most famous is the large Borobudur, of which India furnished the prototype, but the style of which baffles comparison. The only

building it can be likened to is the Taj Mahal at Agra, but it surpasses this monument in delicate decoration. Intended as a reliquary, the building should be regarded as a shrine, most likely one of the 84,000 stupas consecrated to hold a portion of Buddha's remains after King Asoka had decided that no longer eight towns, but the whole world, should share in their blessed possession. The structure is erected on the top of a hill, of the shape of which full advantage was taken, so as to form the angular terraces which constitute the main part of the monument. Three circular terraces are adorned with seventy-two bell-shaped chaityas, each holding a life-size Buddha image, the lower parts showing in magnificent reliefs the story of his life. These galleries are, moreover, ornamented with hundreds of niches, in which also stand, or rather sit, similar statues. Rising light and airy for all its grandeur, the enormous monument expresses more strength than a mere massing together of ponderous material, huge walls, and towers could have done. The sense of massive power is enhanced by its strange beauty of contour in perfect harmony with the brilliant landscape in which it is set. It is a crown, equal to the Enlighted One's urna.

And its spirit is still alive in the majestically striding Javanese, whether they be regents, princes, or carriers. But with all the refinement of ages of court life, as a coveted flower, it is seen especially in the delicate gesture of the slender Javanese dancing-girl.

THE INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

THE Nineteenth Congress of the International Colonial Institute took place at The Hague in the middle of June.

Representatives were present from France, Belgium, Portugal, Holland and Spain. Professor A. P. Newton (Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London), the only English delegate present, stated on his return, in an interview with the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW, that he attached the greatest importance to the work of this Institute, and especially to there being a stronger British representation at future congresses.

Certain modifications had been introduced into the statutes of the Institute, by which English was adopted as the second language, on an equality with French, and for use in its publications. Documents in other languages were in future to be translated into French or English as seemed appropriate.

The Dutch, Belgian and Italian Governments had promised subventions, as also several Dutch and Belgian Companies, and the Fondation Universitaire in Brussels. New members elected included—for Belgium: Prince Leopold of Belgium and Monsieur Francqui; for France: MM. Garnier, François Marsal, Le Neveu and Yvon; for Holland: MM. Schumann, Colyn, De Graaf and Idenburg; for Portugal: M. Cortezao. Three Japanese authorities were also elected.

The chief task of the Congress was the discussion of theses which had been carefully prepared as the result of

the previous Congress in Rome. These included "Representative Councils in Asiatic Colonies" (Dr. E. Moresco); "Intensive and Rational Extension of Native Cultivation in Connection with the Economic Development of Tropical Colonies" (E. de Wildeman). These two theses were presented in printed form. The former describes in an admirably succinct manner the system of government in force in India, Ceylon, the Netherlands Indies, Indo-China and the Philippines. Dr. Moresco is convinced that, as experience has shown, the outward forms of European representative institutions are adopted easily, but that the fundamental principles upon which they rest are only very slowly grasped by the majority of the indigenous peoples. Inattention to this fact led to a lowering of the standard of justice and well-being as affecting the masses, and would make them more than ever dependent upon the educated and wealthy classes. M. de Wildeman urged the founding of numerous schools for the natives, where the instruction was practically confined to agriculture, and an increase in the number of experimental stations for botany and agriculture. Colonial Governments should pursue a well-defined agricultural policy, conducted by officials and agents trained in a strict school, and well disciplined. This thesis dealt exclusively with the problems in Africa.

It was agreed that the next Congress should be held in Paris in 1929 under the Presidency of M. François Marsal (France), and be contemporaneous with the International Colonial Exhibition. The following were nominated Vice-Presidents: The Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby Gore (Great Britain), and Comte de Penha Garcia (Portugal). Theses will be prepared for discussion on the following subjects:

1. Representative Assemblies in African colonies.
2. Extension of native cultivation and its connection with the economic development of tropical colonies.
3. The Mandatory System.
4. Legislation concerning indigenous labour.

It is hoped that a thoroughly representative British delegation will attend on this occasion in order that the British Empire may appear in the position that is befitting the immense variety of experience in colonial affairs that is to be found among our administrators, merchants and scientific men.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

" ASIATISME "

By Stanley Rice

Quite a respectable literature is growing up round the question of the reappearance of Asia as a serious factor in the make-up of the world. In Anglo-Saxon countries it generally takes the form of somewhat alarming prophecies based ultimately upon numbers. The school which believes in them and has nightmare visions of Asiatic hordes sweeping upon Europe and tearing down the barricades of European civilization by sheer weight of numbers, the school of Dean Inge and Mr. Lothrop Stoddard, trembles for the supremacy of Europe conceived for the most part in terms of trade, of imperialism in its literal sense, and more generally and vaguely of a threat to European civilization and to Christianity as the chief bulwark of it. It is a mode of thinking essentially European. It sees before it huge masses of men beside which the ranks of Europe look particularly thin; it hears vocal India clamouring for Swaraj and self-determination and vocal China gnashing Celestial teeth at the iniquities of the foreigner; the factories of Japan are sounding hammer-blows on the coffin of European civilization, and rebellious Russia is rousing mysterious legions in Central Asia. Throughout the Asiatic continent is rising a Hymn of Hate against all that the West stands for, and the will to power is, as it should seem, the will to destroy. In other words, this school expects Asiatics to behave exactly as Europeans would behave if these hypothetical rôles were reversed. Or if that should seem too severe an indictment, let us say rather that they imagine to themselves the history of the nineteenth century to be repeated with Asia in the title-rôle. Europe won her way to supremacy by her enterprise, by her science both in war and peace, by her political organization and by her industrial revolution, and Asia is expected to roll back this tide of European invasion by another and mightier tide because it is generated by the birth-rate. It does not seem to have occurred to these alarmists that while the great majority of Europe is naturally warlike the great majority

of Asia is naturally peaceful. It is true that a very large part of Asia is at present under European domination or European influence; Britain still rules in India and Burma, France in Indo-China, and almost half the continent is in the hands of imperialist Soviet Russia, who, while posing as the great Liberator, is actually trying to secure the hegemony of Asia by methods far more subtle and hardly less brutal than those by which Prussia obtained the hegemony of Germany in the sixties. But this kind of domination cannot last for ever; one does not, indeed, see why it should. Already Great Britain is putting into practice those theories of self-determination which the idealists of the peace set up as the golden idol of the modern Nebuchadnezzar, France is calling her colonial notables into her Councils, and America, looking on with her traditional detachment, is exhorting everyone else to be noble and Christian and self-sacrificing. But even more important is the recognition of the fact that the overwhelming majority of Asiatics are simple agricultural peasants who have no desire for any interruption in their traditional occupation of agriculture and to some extent of barbarian peoples hardly removed from the nomadic stage. They belong to countries whose industrial activities are still only beginning and whose potentialities for exploitation are still unexplored.

On the continent of Europe and especially in France a more subtle danger is apprehended. M. Maeterlinck has invented the theory that the brain of every man contains a Western and an Eastern lobe, and that the excessive development of the former has led to the atrophy of the latter to the manifest disadvantage of a well-balanced philosophy of life. This theory, which is thus crystallized into epigrammatic form, appears in various forms according to the individual propensities of French writers, but the tendency is always the same, that Asiatic influences on European civilization do exist and should be encouraged or repressed according to the view adopted. So important does this " asiatisme " appear to a certain section of Frenchmen that an inquiry* was set on foot in order to obtain opinions upon the following questions:

1. Whether the East and West are mutually exclusive?
2. If not, what are the interpretations of the East which are most influencing France?
3. Whether such influences constitute a peril for French art and thought or are calculated rather to enrich " our " culture?
4. In what direction are these influences likely to be most felt?

* " Les Appels de l'Orient " (Paris: Émile Paul). 10 fr.

5. In what respect is the West superior to the East, or to what extent is Western civilization degraded by false values?

These, it will be recognized at once, are very difficult questions to answer. It is hardly surprising that most of the distinguished writers consulted found themselves confronted by initial difficulties, that hardly one of them answers the questions directly and no one categorically, and that out of the medley of opinions no very clear or just estimate can be formed of the conclusions reached. Those who, like M. René Guénon, hold that in the metaphysics of the Orient alone is true wisdom to be found, naturally welcome all that the East has to offer; those who, like M. Henri Massis, are convinced that the Greco-Roman civilization is the foundation of European culture view with consternation the invasion of European by Asiatic thought. To some these leanings towards Asia are only a passing phase; to others they are a permanent danger to, or a welcome enrichment of, the world of Europe. The wave of Asiatic culture, if it is not a temporary spring tide, promises to bring devastation or fertility; but in either case it is a something more to be reckoned with than the waves of coloured humanity which Anglo-Saxon writers see sweeping over a decadent, helpless civilization.

Nearly all discussion of the subject is in terms of contrasted dualisms: East is opposed to West, Asia to Europe, materialism to spirituality, action to contemplation, Buddhism to Christianity. The weakness of language has become its strength, and the poverty of words instead of expressing ideas has suggested them. For, as M. Sylvain Lévi and others have pointed out, East and West are but relative terms in a round world; that is perhaps a superficial—some might say even a quibbling—remark. It is of far greater importance that in so far as climate has influenced civilization—and that is a very great deal—East and West simply do not exist. The tropic is the tropic whether the Equator runs through East Africa or a little to the south of Ceylon, and the latitude of Gibraltar does not lose its character when it becomes the latitude of Tokio. By an artificial division of the world along the lines of longitude climate loses all meaning and language leads us into all kinds of false values. The Mussulmans of Morocco are " Oriental," not because they live in the East, but because they live in the latitude of Syria. This division of the world into East and West has led to false conceptions; in Europe, in spite of the better informed statements of travellers, it has suggested generalizations *à priori* and has branded the whole of the Orient with ready-made labels. Orientals are " treacherous " or " cunning " or " spiritual," and but little account is taken of the influence of the burning

desert on the Arab, of the effect of the Himalayas on the hill and border tribes, of the difference between the Punjab and the valley of the Yang-tse; still less of the religious precepts of Hinduism, of Islam, or of Buddhism. In Asia a similar misconception gave exaggerated value to the victory of Japan in 1905. Indian and Chinese alike forgot in the enthusiasm for an Oriental triumph that Japan lies in comparatively northern latitudes and that she is an island Empire.

Nor can it be said that any of the other dualisms is capable of precise definition, for although upon the map Europe may end along the line of the Urals and the Caspian, European civilization ends with the western boundary of modern Russia and even so contains an outcrop of the Asiatic in the Balkans. M. Henri Massis* would perhaps go further and would confine it to the Latin and Scandinavian states, together with England and her white colonies and America. It is supposed to be the characteristic of the Asiatic civilization that it is spiritual and of the European that it is material, and yet to many men these terms have no very clear meaning. For the spirituality of the East, to use the accustomed term, is often resolved into the most degrading superstition, while the materialism of the West can be, and often is, exalted into the loftiest intellectualism. If, on the one hand, the Indian who slays a buffalo to the goddess of cholera or the Chinese who beats the god when he fails to bring the rain can be compared in childlike simplicity to the French peasant who expects miracles from Our Lady of Lourdes or the Italian woman who solemnly holds out her special image for the papal blessing; on the other hand the Kants, the Spinozas, the Lockes can be matched by Samkara, by Ramanuja, by Lao Tse and Confucius in the East. And if it be worth while to use the intellect which God has given in subtle discussion of His nature, of the existence of evil, of the origin of sin, is it less worth while to try and discover by that same intellect the ways of God as revealed in Nature, to correct the errors of a superstitious age, and to prove that the created earth is far more wonderful than the imaginings of men? Let it be granted that the minds of the great mass of men in the West are turned towards material gain and material comfort, towards the commercial exploitation of scientific discoveries, and the worship of the machine; let it be granted that the Asiatic in the mass puts his faith rather in prayers and incantations and devout pilgrimages, and that he is content to do without material comfort if that involves the neglect of his worship and his rites, there remains the residue which counts

* "Défense de l'Occident," by Henri Massis (Paris: Librairie Plou). 12 fr.

for most and in whom the soul—or the spirit—of man is expressed, whether in philosophy or metaphysics, in history or natural science, in ways suited to the genius of each.

All ethnologists start with the reasonable assumption that primitive man began in barbarism. It is the accepted theory that his civilization was gradually evolved according to the measure of his opportunity for thought, which varied with the fertility of the soil, the climatic and topographical conditions and with the psychological effects of natural phenomena. It is, at any rate, an established fact—so far as historical knowledge goes—that all the major civilizations of early times began round about the southern shores of the Asiatic continent, if we except the Aryans, who may have come from anywhere. It is further certain that all the great religions of the world had their origin between Greece and India. But if civilization began in this way we are confronted with the further problem, how it has taken on the various forms which now seem so sharply divided from one another. For it is manifest that in Europe the civilization of Germany and Scandinavia is something different from that of the Latin countries, and that these again differ from one another; and it is equally clear that while we are in the habit of speaking of Asia as if it were a single homogeneous whole, the present conditions of Arabia, of Persia, of India, of China, and of Japan differ from one another in a very marked degree, as has indeed been pointed out by more than one of the French writers. No doubt much is due to the very different climatic conditions of the various countries, and much also to their configuration; it is moreover true that, as the various peoples harden into nations each sets up its own institutions, its own laws and its own customs, which subtly and insensibly influence its civilizations. There are, however, broad lines upon which the continents can be separated, and these are mainly due to the greater political and religious movements. The civilization of Europe is founded upon the Roman Empire and Christianity; that of the Far East can be traced to India and Persia; while Islam, spreading from Afghanistan (with an overflow into India) to the Pillars of Hercules, has so broken away from Judæa and Egypt as to form a civilization of its own. And in the course of the evolution of these civilizations certain great men have from time to time appeared to whom it has been given to exert a quite decisive influence. They were the product of their age; they seldom or never invented, but focussed in themselves the tendencies of that age, and thus created the turning-points of history. Aristotle is the type of Greek thought and Pheidias of Greek sculpture, both of which have so greatly influenced Europe after the

Renaissance. Cæsar represented the spirit of the Roman Empire operating in the subjugation of Gaul and Britain and Spain. Paul of Tarsus did for Christianity what Muhammad and Buddha did for Arabia and the Far East, and the expansion of the Roman Empire in the West made it possible for Gregory the Great, for Hildebrand and for Innocent III., by regular steps, not only to spread Christianity over pagan countries, but also so to consolidate the power of the Papacy as to make of Western Christendom a fairly united whole.

It would, of course, be a comparatively easy task to trace these divergencies still further and to point to such great movements as the Renaissance, the Reformation, the French Revolution, the rise of scepticism in the eighteenth century, and the industrial effort of the nineteenth as some of the principal forces which have gone to make up European civilization. One of the most marked differences between Europe and Asia, considered each as a single whole, is that while Asia has been content for centuries past to accept the traditions and the revelations upon which her civilization is founded—a comfortable assurance which has earned her the name of the unchanging East—Europe now for some centuries has been constantly questioning her own. This is one of the manifestations of that " action " which is said to be so characteristic of Europe as contemplation is of Asia; it is not its origin. For that we must go back to the beginnings of the Roman people, if not beyond. It may be suggested—it is no more than a suggestion—that the activity of Europe has its source in the struggle for existence of the infant Rome—a struggle which has no counterpart in Asia, and which, after moulding the Roman character, eventually emerged in unprecedented expansion. Imperial Rome had its greatest influence in the Latin countries, whose language it entirely changed, and whose institutions it, to a large extent, either founded or modified. The Teuton, on the contrary, secure in his woods as the Indian ascetic in his forests, maintained a sturdy independence; his language was but little affected, his institutions were his own, and these things, combined with a natural aptitude for introspection, due possibly to the psychological influence of the forests and to contact with Russia (which M. Massis declares to be Asiatic in thought and feeling, except during the period between Peter the Great and Nicolas II., when a determined effort was made to attach her to the European continent), may have led to the German encouragement of Asiatic thought which many of our writers deplore so vehemently. Yet it was from Germany and Central Europe that the driving power came which eventually broke the power of the Papacy in all but the Latin countries.

In all Western Europe this activity has been apparent from the time when Charlemagne first descended into Italy. It was in marked contrast to the contemplation of the East at the time of the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, for the monasticism of the West never reached that absorption in the individual which was shown by the fathers of the Eastern Church, the anchorites of the desert who are alone in all Christendom comparable to the fakirs and yogis of India.

It was probably owing to the lack of any outstanding personality in history to direct men's thoughts into new channels that the Asiatic has so long remained in a condition of static contentment. Since the time of the great schism in India when Buddha broke away from the established Brahmanism, since those dim and misty days when Zoroaster reformed the Persians, the appearance of Muhammad is the one outstanding fact to set against the revolutions in Europe. Nor were these revolutions confined to theological doctrine. The Reformation was a protest against the degradation of the Church; the Renaissance a protest against the ecclesiastical monopoly of learning. The questionings of the eighteenth century were terribly embodied in the French Revolution which has so mightily affected the social and political life of Europe, and the industrial revolution is the result of applied science, arising out of that liberation of thought to which reference has already been made. That many of these movements have had evil consequences everyone would admit; that in the scheme of human things is inevitable. The Reformation which split the Church of Rome has been evolved into a great number of sects which present to the world a curious kaleidoscope of Christianity; the theory of democracy and the people's rights is blossoming strangely and fearfully into Communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The rise of industry has resulted not only in the crowding of the population into the morally and physically unhealthy atmosphere of the towns, but, in the greater industrial countries at least, in the depression, if not the complete stifling, of the spiritual life. M. Massis urges that the only chance to save Europe from the wave of Asiatic culture which threatens it is the restoration of the Catholic Church; and that not, as he is careful to explain, as the bulwark of one civilization against another " as one would defend Buddhism for China," but because it is " the Truth, and has the words of Life which can cure all the nations." Such propositions can be forgiven to the ardent Catholic, but not to the impartial philosopher. What he suggests is exactly the argument of those who see in the influence of Asia the greatest

hope for the healing of the nations. Although Asiatic speculation has never ceased, and there are many interpretations of religion, it is its special characteristic that it has never ventured to call in question the foundations of it as contained in its revelations. But with all the ills which accompany it, European civilization only found its full growth when the fetters of the Church were broken. We could not, even if we would, go back to those ages when Europe was content to look upon an Italian priest as the highest repository of wisdom. It may be deplorable that Christianity should be subject to division, but this was hardly to be avoided in the search for truth and this search involved the investigations of natural science, the reasoning of philosophers, and the labour of historians. There is no single branch of intellectual development, including theology itself, which has not been impeded, resisted and, as far as it was able, suppressed by the Church; and those who have dared to think for themselves and have not been Catholics from their birth are little likely to acquiesce in the claim that that Church alone represents the truth and alone holds the words of life.

" Asiatisme " can, indeed, hardly be said to have penetrated into European culture to any extent. The early civilizations, as was shown earlier, soon branched off from a more or less common source into the various streams, and it seems almost a superhuman task to try so to unite them again, if that were desirable. The springs which fed them lie too deep; you may cut a channel from one stream to another, so as to divert a portion of the water, as we may see in Asia where contact with Europeans has to some extent modified the civilizations of India and the Far East. But even there it is at most superficial. Beneath all the Western institutions of India and Japan, beneath the political, social, and even religious modifications which are apparent almost all over Asia,* there lies the original stratum on which is founded the peculiar civilization of the country concerned. And beneath all the speculation which looks for light towards Asia there lies in Europe that stratum of which the chief ingredients are the Greco-Roman inheritance and the Christian religion. The opening up of the world, chiefly by European enterprise, the immense advance in the means of communication, chiefly by European science, has brought Europe into contact with the thought of Asia, and it is natural enough that the more emancipated and impartial spirits should have begun to doubt whether all the scorn which the arrogance of Europe and especially of the Church poured upon the speculation and philosophy of Asia was fully justified, whether, indeed, Asia had not something to give which, while suggesting new ideas, might not at the same time serve to correct errors for which ignorance was responsible. It is even in accordance with human nature that men like Schopenhauer in the enthusiasm of a new discovery should have overstepped the limits of severe impartiality in their praise of Oriental thought.

* Siberia is chiefly Russian.

There are undoubted traces of this Oriental fashion in our art and to some extent in our literature. The idea of expressionism, by which is meant the outward presentation of what appears to the inner eye of the artist, as contrasted with the Greek principle of fidelity to Nature, has strong affinities with the Indian doctrine that Art is an expression of the soul, and that the outward appearance of a thing matters little by comparison with the spirit of it. The apparent formlessness of music which seems to lack both rhythm and melody suggests to our unaccustomed ears strange cadences and strange combinations such as we seem to hear in the music of the East, and which doubtless are akin to those melodies to which the Æschylean theatre sang its choruses. And the vogue of poetic creation which disdains both rhyme and metre and is sometimes too abstruse for the plain understanding leaves the impression that here, too, are traces of the introspective poetry characteristic of Asia.

In these respects, however, " Asiatisme " may be called superficial. M. Massis, at times, lies under the suspicion that in pressing his points he has laid under contribution incidents that are not peculiarly Asiatic. It may well be that these tendencies in Art are but passing phases of the moment. M. Bonnard, in " Les Appels d'Orient," thinks they are but the whim of the day rather than the results of Asiatic influence. " Il y aura," he says, " un mode de bouddhisme cette année, un mode de taoisme l'année suivante mais peut-être rien de plus," though he recognizes that the influence of Asia in Europe is not doubtful. It may again be the legitimate development of art, such as we see in music working down from the severe scientific style of Bach, through the classical and romantic periods until we reach Wagner and so by transition Stravinsky and the moderns. Be this, however, as it may, there can be little doubt that Russian literature and Russian art, Tolstoi and Dostoievsky and Tchekov, Pavlova and Moussorgsky and Scriabin, have had an influence in Europe that can hardly be described as a mere fashion.

M. Massis, indeed, regards Russia as the chief danger. To him it would seem that European civilization is French civilization. He quotes, seemingly as typical, the words of the editor of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*: " French intel-

lectualism is the only one in the world. . . . We alone know how to think. There is no single subject in philosophy, literature or art in which we do not speak with authority." The Asiatic spirit of Russia, which to him is her true spirit, is the real danger to Latin civilization and therefore especially to France. Germany is looking towards the East because, as we have already seen, she never drew her inspiration from the Roman Empire to the same extent as did the Latin nations. But exactly how far this penetration of Asiatic ideas has gone, to what extent German thought can be said to owe its more modern development to the increase of the knowledge of Asia, and how far these things may be attributed to the normal development of universal thought when freed from the fetters of ecclesiastical bondage, it is extremely difficult to determine, nor do the contributions of our French writers, diversified as they necessarily are, lead us to any very definite conclusion. One thing alone seems certain, that the conceptions of Europe, or rather of Western Europe, founded as they are upon her peculiar heritage, are too firmly fixed to admit of radical modification. There are those who talk contemptuously of a " pseudo-asiatisme," by which they mean ultimately Asiatic conceptions as adapted by European minds, but surely, unless we are to admit that nothing good can come out of Asia, it is just that form of " asiatisme " which must most commend itself to Europe, and if it be really corrupt throughout, which must constitute her greatest danger.

But the real danger to Europe comes not from Asia, nor conceivably from Russia or Germany, whatever purpose they may have served or are now serving for the importation of Asiatic ideas, but from America. Nothing is more remarkable in the modern history of civilization than the extent to which so large a section of the Anglo-Saxon race has diverged from its European counterpart. The gifts which America has given to Europe are an intense form of materialism—jazz music, negro dances, melodramatic pictures, overgrown and sensational journalism, and Christian Science. The danger to England is the greater because of the blood relationship and the common language; the danger to Europe lies in the excessive importance laid upon the little and trivial things of every day, and if the French are the only people who know how to think, they too will cease, as England is already ceasing, to think, should they continue to follow the American lead. What the civilization of America means has been revealed for us in a series of powerful novels. It is true that these are—so rumour says—resented in America, as being untrue or at least grossly exaggerated. Yet one cannot

resist the conviction that in an age when so much stress is laid in fiction upon complete fidelity to nature books such as " An American Tragedy," " Babbitt," and " Elmer Gantry " could only have been written upon a background of truth and that they could not have been written in any other country. The disintegration of religion is very marked in the New World; numerous sects abound, and amongst them a curious woman called Mary Baker Eddy has founded a new religion which, like Theosophy and other modes of thought, seems to have derived its inspiration from the East. The root cause of this American phenomenon probably lies in the lack of tradition. The Puritan spirit of the founders peeps out in unexpected ways as in Dayton in Tennessee and the dogmatism of W. J. Bryan, but it has become overlaid by a new civilization which America has evolved for herself, and which is not the natural development of past ages. In the revulsion of feeling when Europe has begun to realize to what extent her true civilization is becoming corrupted and undermined by the subtle influence exercised from across the Atlantic, it may well be that she will in truth turn to Asia for a rehabilitation of her thought and for a refuge from unsatisfying doctrines.

It is just because of this dissatisfaction that the thinking part of Europe, in Germany consciously and deliberately, in France less confidently and perhaps unconsciously, is even now turning to Asia for light, if light is to be found there. European civilization is in danger less from the importation of Asiatic ideas than from its own corruption, or perhaps it would be better put to say that it is only the corruption of Europe that has made such importation possible. The masses do not recognize this penetration, are utterly unaware of its existence; it is confined to the intellectuals, who perceive with alarm the ever-growing cry of *Panem et circenses* which heralded the downfall of Imperial Rome. It is not in the rehabilitation of the Church of Rome that salvation lies, but in the complete reformation of modern life. If Europe can recognize her own disease, she will not call in Asia to cure it. But words are idle, and at best these things are but counsels of perfection.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIA IN 1925-26. By J. Coatman (Office of High Commissioner for India). Price 3s. 9d. post free.

(*Reviewed by* SIR PATRICK FAGAN.)

In his survey of "India in 1925-26" Mr. Coatman has maintained the high standard reached by his predecessor in the similar surveys which have been published in previous years. From its perusal the reader who is inexperienced in indigenous Indian mentality and modes of action can obtain a clear view of some of the varied currents of progress which are at present in motion, at all events in the more superficial state of Indian life, whatever may be the actual conditions in that vast region which lies beneath the surface and is for the most part hidden from the ken of the spectator trained to see and to think solely on the lines of the political and economic culture of the West. Optimism regarding the results of the inoculation of India with the current democratic concepts and ideals of Britain is to be found in the work before us, though perhaps in a more chastened and a less exuberant form than that to which its predecessors have accustomed us; while we miss at the same time something of Professor Rushbrook Williams's eager efforts to present a picture of the working of the new constitutional machinery of India which shall assimilate it, even in details of terminology, to that of the more venerable institutions of this country.

The first four chapters out of eight are for the most part devoted to a lengthy and detailed—indeed, an almost meticulous—treatment of politics and the play of political parties in the Central Legislature and elsewhere. It is considerably longer than the similar accounts which have been included in previous issues, and it is perhaps questionable whether its removal from the last portion of the report, where it previously stood, to the opening chapters, is altogether an improvement. The work, however, is doubtless intended primarily for the information of Parliament, and it is therefore perhaps inevitable that the consideration of political machinery and of the more personal aspects of its operation should occupy a very prominent position; though for the ordinary reader the general result is a suggestion that it is in that region that the central focus of Indian progress lies rather than in the humbler spheres of economic and social development and of sound administration as fundamental factors in the daily life of the great mass of the Indian population, which is as yet unconscious of political aspirations.

No reasoned discussion of the merits of the Central Legislature's action in respect of specific matters, of its legal enactments and of its numerous resolutions, can be attempted here; but the general impression left by a perusal of Mr. Coatman's report is that the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, though in not a few directions they manifest but a slender contact with the actual realities, do nevertheless indicate that the elected

Indian members are slowly beginning to appreciate the limitations which facts inevitably impose, and to adopt a somewhat less unreasonable view than in the recent past of the functions of an opposition such as they necessarily constitute under the conditions which the present Indian constitution entails.

The second and slightly longer half of the volume provides an interesting and in many respects a suggestive account of the more important developments, economic, administrative, educational, and social, which are at present in progress in the provinces of India, of the conditions from which they have arisen, and of those under which they are proceeding; while most of them are viewed in more or less close connection with political movements and legislative activity.

The extremely important subject of co-operative societies, both credit and non-credit, is dealt with at some length, and it is a reassuring picture for the most part of steady and healthy development in an essentially "nation-building" activity with which we are presented, though it is not quite easy to follow the distinction which is drawn between *ryotwāri* and non-*ryotwāri* provinces in regard to their comparative suitability for co-operative institutions.

Education, that fundamental necessity of Indian progress, more especially in its primary stages and among the "depressed" classes, receives full and sympathetic treatment, which is characterized by a general and not unjustifiable optimism. Specially remarkable is the development recorded in the Punjab, and the comparatively extensive and apparently successful introduction of compulsion which has been effected in that province. It is to be hoped that the supply of properly qualified teachers is keeping pace with general expansion, for the problem of Indian education is very largely, though not entirely, and in a very special manner, the problem of the teacher.

As regards local self-government, the results recorded are not so encouraging; a main, though by no means the only, hindrance to development being the distaste generally displayed by local bodies for imposing additional taxation; while beyond the expression of pious hopes for a change in that attitude little at present seems to be possible in this rather fundamental matter, which of course has also a direct bearing on the provision of increased educational facilities.

The section on police organization and crime presents features of much interest. It is pleasant to read, in contrast with past experience, of growing co-operation and good feeling between police and public. There can, indeed, be no doubt that in recent eventful years the Indian police has deserved well of the Indian public, and that it has efficiently and honourably played its part in the maintenance of internal peace and security.

It is impossible within the limits of a brief review to deal at all adequately with the large area of interesting matter comprised within the last four chapters of Mr. Coatman's illuminating survey. They will repay careful perusal, especially perhaps the section relating to Indian agriculture, a subject which at present deservedly occupies a position of special pro-

minence. Without undue optimism, but yet with no small degree of confidence, it may be asserted that the present juncture presents an impressive prospect of progress, economic, social, and moral, on foundations securely laid during the past century, provided that—and the proviso is unhappily not one which can be regarded as assured of early realization—progress is not hindered by excessive preoccupation with political and constitutional transformations on the one hand or by the continued and increasing embitterment of communal relations on the other.

THE LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE. By Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., etc. (*Constable and Co.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR N. N. GANGULEE.)

From time to time the author of this book has given us the privilege of enjoying the account of his travels and adventures. Although he writes in the Preface to the present volume, "I have already written too much about my own doings," we can assure him that by his contributions to travel literature he has greatly widened the knowledge of such tracts of the world as Tibet and Central Asia. In this book we have not only pen-pictures of many varied scenes of his life as a wanderer, but also an impressive survey of his "mature views on men and events" as he had seen them.

The book is divided into three parts; two of which deal with Sir Francis's experiences in India and her frontier. The third part is perhaps the most illuminating section of the book, and certainly gives us an opportunity of obtaining a glimpse into the spiritual experiences of this great British traveller. Writing about the Europeans in the Transvaal he observes:

"What, it seemed to me, the present-day European wanted was some central backbone to keep him steady amid the nervous, excited life he led. And that backbone must be religion. He could not keep really steady without that. He must have religion to soothe his nerves and keep him firm and self-reliant. And until he has that there will be no stability in him. This was the conclusion I came to at Pretoria. And I made it my object in life to find that form of religion which would be best adapted to the men of the present day."

At a time when we are faced with many complex problems involved in the present-day civilization, passages such as that quoted above should give us food for reflection. Coming from an experienced and widely travelled man, they are sure to help many yearning souls in their quest for truth.

Altogether this narrative of Sir Francis Younghusband deserves many readers.

SOMADEVA'S KATHĀ SARIT SĀGARA; or, The Ocean of Story. Translated by C. H. Tawney, C.I.E., edited by N. M. Penzer, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S. In ten volumes. Vol. V. (London: *Sawyer*, Grafton Street.) £2 2s. per volume.

(*Reviewed by* MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

The foreword to this volume is written by A. R. Wright, President of the Folk-lore Society, who displays great enthusiasm for his subject. He confesses that he is not an Oriental scholar, and therefore takes the easier course (though one of equal interest to the general reader) of comparing Indian with European folk-lore. He expresses his gratitude to the Oriental scholars who, by their translations, have brought the folk-lore of other nations within the grasp of European students; and, as he rightly says, folk-lorists must not be confined within narrow national limits. It is possible to divide folk-lore into two groups, the literary and the oral, and Mr. Wright instances Perrault's *Histoires ou Contes du Tems Passé* as illustrating the first, and the Grimm brothers' *Kinder und Hausmärchen* as illustrating the second. A list of books is given, proving how rich India is in possessing tales of both kinds, and amongst the literary group are naturally placed the Jātaka, Hitopadésa, Mahābhārata, and Rāmāyana. One problem which exercises the minds of folk-lore students is the exact position of the literary group, which has not yet received much attention; and Mr. Wright considers that in this the Kathā Sarit Sāgara will be of great assistance. First, in its relation to the oral group and the influence of its varied recensions upon folk-lore tales current in the West, and re-converted into popular Märchen during mediæval times: and the opinion of Dr. Gaster is compared with that of Professor W. R. Halliday, who has put forth the revolutionary theory that in "folk-lore literature, as handed down by oral tradition, 'the amount of invention or original matter is negligible.'" Secondly, as regards the classification of folk-lore, which has become an urgent need on account of the enormous accumulation of material and the number of persons engaged in its collection. Mr. Wright throws out the suggestion that Mr. Penzer might be able to include such a classification in his series, founded upon the tales of the most ancient Sanskrit, Babylonian, and Egyptian records. Dr. Gaster has expressed the opinion that the various types of oral popular tales can be reduced to one hundred, whilst Dr. Joseph Jacobs has increased his estimate to seventy, and Mr. Wright naïvely remarks that a much larger number would now be required, not only with regard to information supplied by the Ocean of Story and other Indo-European tales, but because of the great addition to these discovered in Africa and Polynesia, and obtained also from Eskimo and Siberian tribes. As an illustration of the correctness with which oral tales can be handed down, an instance is recorded on page 250 about the story of "Pānwpatti Rāni" in "Indian Fairy Tales," collected by Miss Stokes, a story which a very old ayah related to her mother. This tale was told 800 years after the time of Somadeva, and the main incidents were still unaltered, though it had been passed down by countless ayahs.

This present volume contains the first instalment of the Twenty-five

Tales of a Vetāla, the remaining portion will appear in volume vii. Mr. Penzer has written a very full and detailed account of the vampire stories in the Appendix, and in note 2 he has explained how vampires act, and how they have influenced folk-lore tales all over the world. A vampire may be defined: first, as the spirit of a dead man; secondly, as a spirit reanimating its own body, and using the bodies of the living for nourishing its own body by sucking their blood during nocturnal visits, a tradition which greatly increases the popular horror felt of vampires. There are differences between the extra-Indian vampires and the Hindu ones, and the latter form but a small portion of the huge number of demons and spirits familiar to all students of Hindu religions. The Vetāla of the "Ocean" appears a harmless individual by comparison. He is represented in it as a goblin ready for practical jokes on any wanderer near the burning-ghats at night, where he can find corpses into whose bodies he can enter in order to frighten people.

Mr. Penzer considers that these Vetāla stories are as old as the Pañchar tantra, and that their popularity can be proved by the fact of their translation into many Indian vernaculars. The first one made from the Sanskrit into Brajbhāshā, "the standard dialect of Western Hindi spoken round Mathura and Agra," dates from the eighteenth century. There is still some doubt regarding the original form of the Vetāla, and in order to study the various texts it would be necessary to publish all the recensions of the Twenty-five Tales. If this could be accomplished it would materially assist in proving the amount of literary influence on the popular stories. The hero of the Vetāla stories is called Vikrama, and the same hero appears in other collections of tales. Chandragupta II. was the most famous bearer of that name, and legends have become connected with his name and that of the "original Vikrama," reminding us of the many legends which circle round our King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table. We quote the "frame story" as it appears on page 231, and which forms the foundation of all the Vetāla stories. "We are told of the ruse by which the mendicant secures the king's help in the carrying out of certain tantric conjurations. With the sacrifice of the King's life he hopes to obtain the sovereignty of the Vidyādharas. The dauntless Trivikramasena consents to help the mendicant, and is asked to fetch a dead body from a tree. He finds it possessed by a Vetāla, and the twenty-five tales (really twenty-four) are told by the demon during the same number of attempts on the part of the King to secure the body for the mendicant's nefarious purpose." As the tales became popular an introduction was introduced (as in the Hindi and Marathi versions), and in others, a different frame story was invented when used for religious purposes. The tales penetrated as far as Tibet and Mongolia, where not only was the frame story altered, but the original stories were replaced by entirely new ones.

NEAR EAST

PEOPLE OF THE VEIL. By Francis Rennell Rodd. (*Macmillan.*) 30s. net.

(*Reviewed by* M. E. R. MARTIN.)

The curse of Ham is now being lifted, and Africa is one of the few countries left in the world which still has romance for travellers. The imagination, fired in days gone by with the thrilling adventures of Livingstone and Stanley, now revels instead in the scientific investigations of Barth, Duveyrier, and other travellers; and investigations into the origin of Africa's tribes, their religion and language, are considered an integral part of the world's history. The author of the present work can claim relationship with Major Rennell, the "Father of English Geography," and all will agree that the same scientific knowledge and accuracy which distinguished Major Rodd are reproduced in Francis Rodd, who has allowed his subject to possess his mind as well as his soul. This work is indeed a standard one on Tuareg history. Every source of information has been investigated concerning Air and its people, that land called by travellers the Saharan Alps—a land of lurid colour, a mountainous plateau in Central Africa, within the sphere of French influence, and situated within the belt of the summer rainfall.

The history of Air and every aspect of Tuareg life have been described with great minuteness. The Appendices deal with astronomical observations regarding various places in Air—the divisions of Tuareg organization, Rodd's own journey of 500 miles to Elakkos and Termit, the travels of the celebrated Ibn Abdallah Muhammad in the fourteenth century, and finally there is a list of the Air Tuareg kings from A.D. 1406. There are besides maps, photographs, tables, and diagrams of Tuareg houses and mosques, reproductions of rock drawings, personal ornaments, drawings of the signs used for branding camels, camel saddles, etc. The name Tuareg does not connote a tribe, but a people, and this name was bestowed upon them by their enemies. Owing to the curious custom on the part of the men of covering the lower portions of the face (a covering which is never removed), the Arabs gave them the name of "Muleththemin," a word having the same signification as "Kel Tagilmus" in the Tuareg language. The men derive their tribal status from the mother, not the father, and this custom is based on the fact that when a she-camel is bought in calf, the calf belongs to the purchaser, not to the man who sold the camel. If a Tuareg woman marries outside her own tribe, the children belong to her tribe, not to the father's, and they are also bound to fight on behalf of the mother's tribe. The degree of respect shown by the men for their women impressed Rodd very much, for in his experience this is without a parallel in Africa in the parts where Islam prevails. Early travellers for the same reason called the Tuareg men the "Knights Errant of the Desert." The women are allowed to take their own share in public life and give advice in the tribal councils. Their household and maternal duties absorb a large proportion of their

time, which is further taken up with the making of articles in leather. The Tuareg girls enjoy perfect freedom before marriage, more so than the people of Southern Europe. There is no special industry in the country, but the men prize the possession of camels, and large caravans are yearly made up to collect the salt from Bilma, which contains the best deposits. Mr. Rodd considers that there are evidences of an ancient religious culture existing before the conversion of the Tuareg to Islam, when its emissaries came down from the north.

Enough has been written to show that the armchair travel reader will never consider this a popular book. The author, like all true travellers, passes lightly over the discomforts of the journeys, neither asking for nor requiring sympathy; but the reader can guess what sufferings and other discomforts were bravely borne. The valedictory chapter gives an excellent impression of the relations between the author, his guides, and servants, and the farewell of the two perfect gentlemen, the Arab and the Englishman—Sidi and Rodd—is very touching. Each presented a contrast and with it the complement to the other.

FRENCH BOOKS.

CHOSES ET GENS DE BYZANCE. By Charles Diehl. (Paris: *E. de Boccard.*)

The book is a reprint of five articles published by the author previously in French periodicals not easily accessible now. The first is a contribution to the study of medieval monuments in Greece, and perhaps only of interest to specialists, being now superseded by a later English publication, viz., "The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phokis," by Schultz and Barnsley, which Professor Diehl himself justly calls "une publication considérable et probablement définitive." Two other vividly written articles, entitled "L'Empereur au nez coupé, récit d'histoire byzantine" and "Irère Ange, reine des Romains. Un épisode de la politique Allemande en Orient au Moyen-Age," throw new light on the past history of the Byzantine Empire. Another one, "Byzance dans la littérature," is a spirited review of a dozen or so novels from Walter Scott down to Sardou and d'Annunzio, who have depicted Byzantine life and scenery more or less successfully. Sandwiched between these are two other treatises which, if less entertaining, have a just claim to be highly valued by all students of the history of Art, inasmuch as they treat on a much vexed question on which Professor Diehl contributes hereby his carefully analyzed and lucidly explained personal point of view. The two articles in question are headed "Les Origines orientales de l'Art byzantin" and "La dernière Renaissance de l'Art byzantin. In the first of the two Professor Diehl reviews the theories of Professor Strzygowski by analyzing them carefully, sympathetically too, yet summing up the argument by the statement: "Perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that, however great the influence of the East on Byzantine Art may have been, it is the persistence, or the revival of the spirit of classical antiquity to which, before all, Byzantium owes its Renaissance in the tenth as well as in the fourteenth century." The subject of the second treatise, reprinted from the *Journal des Savants*, is an even more drastic specimen of witty and acute French argumentation. Its subject is the evolution of Byzantine painting as demonstrated in Professor Millet's monumental "Iconographie de l'Évangile," published in 1916. After having lavished due praise on this "precious collection of unpublished or little known monuments," he goes on to discover here and there apparent inconsistencies in Professor Millet's conclusions in his discussion of the several works of art, when he places some of them under the heading of School of Palestine, or of Syria, others under that of Macedonia, attributes others, again, to the school of Crete, and so on. In applying this method in a rigorous manner—so Professor Diehl exclaims with apparent seriousness—it would be an easy matter to show that the Crucifixion painted by Tintoretto in the Scuola di S. Rocco is the outcome of Byzantine tradition, and that the picture by Rubens representing Christ taken down from the Cross is derived from an Oriental prototype, or even that Fra Angelico and Memlinc, for reason of certain iconographic details, to be found in their pictures, may be claimed for some Eastern school of painting. To draw conclusions like these would be absurd, he goes on to say, because, by arguing that way, the new school of critics leaves out of account the artist's originality, that essential part which, after all, is the main factor in bringing about the Renaissance of Byzantine as well as of other art.

J. P. R.

"L'HEURE SILENCIEUSE." By Albert de Pouvourille (Matgioi). (Paris: *Les Éditions de Monde Moderne.*) 12 frs.

(*Reviewed by* MISS VÉRONIQUE RICE.)

For this collection of short stories the author claims not only actual truth of detail in fact and incident, but also fidelity to the larger and more important truth of the relations between France and Annam. He tells us in his preface that these tales have actually been lived, that they are not creations of the author's imagination; and in them, the reader, he says, will find portrayed "toute l'âme du vieil Annam et toute l'actuelle psychologie franco-tonkinoise." It is an audacious assertion, and one which the tales themselves, however circumstantially true they may be, can hardly be said to justify. From these examples the ignorant reader would gather probably that the Annamites are a cold, cruel, calculating people, without affection, loyalty, or honesty, whose two absorbing interests are torture and opium, and whose genius consists in devising the one and in contriving means of obtaining the other. He would also probably suppose that French colonials are lazy, ignorant, conceited, and for the most part without sympathy or understanding for the people they rule. It is impossible to accept the general effect as giving a faithful picture of the

larger truth he claims for it. It would be unfair even to suppose them to be typical. They merely give the briefest of glimpses of one aspect of "l'âme du vieil Annam et la psychologie franco-tonkinoise" and cannot give us any true understanding of either.

The tales are told, however, with an admirable economy of language and a keen sense of dramatic effect. The author's good taste occasionally deserts him in such stories as "La Langue," "L'Anneau et la Crochet," and "Le Geste révélateur," whose whole point seems to be in the revolting details of Chinese torture and its consequences described in full.

In his light stories, however, such as "Le Pont des 225 Tigres," "L'Homme violent," and "Le Contrebandier," the author shows a distinct resemblance to Kipling, a comparison which he himself suggests in claiming that author's work as a precedent for his own. There is in them that vein of cynical humour with which Kipling also treats of the absurdities of official life. But while the latter betrays a real and penetrating affection for his subject, M. de Pouvourille reveals instead only an intelligent interest in them.

"LE COMMUNISME CHEZ LES INSECTES." By Professor E. L. Bouvier, (Paris: *E. Flammarion.*) Paper. 13 frs. net.

(*Reviewed by* H. REINHEIMER.)

This is an erudite, albeit very readable, volume, dealing with the social life among the insects—more particularly the social states of bees, wasps, ants, termites, and, to a minor degree, beetles. Professor Bouvier submits that the title he has chosen is justified since, as he states, no other appellation would fit the case more appropriately, these social states presenting truly perfect cases of communism. The object of the book is to emphasize the almost human spirit that pervades these insect communities, to exhibit the powers that rule and co-ordinate the actions of the individuals within.

Not a few important lessons emerge. First of all, it becomes increasingly evident that organic nature is pervaded by a truly wonderful principle of co-operation (the norm of progressive evolution, according to the present reviewer), side by side with an opposite, or subversive, principle (the abnormal phase of evolution)—consisting in the obtaining of the means of subsistence by dishonest methods, by stealth and murder, by short cuts of all kinds.

The seamy side of nature, indeed, obtrudes itself everywhere in insect life. It is pathetic, too, to find how numberless species submit with a kind of fatalistic resignation to parasitic imposition, without, apparently, striking a blow for deliverance. The very conditions of social life would seem to facilitate the development of parasitic relations; and, of course, the nests, because of the food stores they contain, because of their high temperature and the protection they afford, attract hordes of predators and scavengers of all kinds.

From our own human point of view, the world of insects is too exclusively ruled by instinct. Woe if the normal instinct for service and co-operation becomes perverted, as, forsooth, often it will. The results are degradation and retrogression. It may, for instance, happen that some insects assist an intruding parasitic queen against their own queen and thus tend to bring their colony to an untimely end. On the positive side we may learn a great object-lesson stressed by more than one observer—namely, that the social states of the insects, in order to be truly successful, must be based on a plant diet. In the absence of such a beneficial physiological basis of life the development of the insect states would have been unthinkable, since it is on a vegetarian basis alone that true gregariousness can be achieved in nature. The beasts and birds of prey, the serpents, and spiders, and legions of predaceous insects, all lead solitary lives, whilst the herbivores, rodents, granivorous and frugivorous birds, and plant-eating snails and insects, are more or less gregarious. According to Wheeler, of Harvard, the ants in particular exhibit a progressive tendency to resort more and more to a purely vegetable régime as the only means of developing and maintaining populous and efficient colonies. The communism exhibited by the insects requires from all partners a division of labour which is not without great sacrifices. Upon some individuals, the "queens," there devolves exclusively the duty of reproduction. Others, much more numerous, are dedicated to purely social duties. The case of the individual insects is, indeed, much the same as that of the parts and organs of our individual bodies with their various differentiations. From the point of view of order, organization, sociality, Professor Bouvier agrees with other observers that the social states of the insects are superior to our political states, in view, particularly, of the perfect co-ordination of all individual activities. Not that plasticity is altogether absent among insect activities; but it is relatively unimportant compared to instinct. Many insects exhibit wonderful architectural capabilities. Wonderful, too, is the marvellous adaptation of the bees, for instance, to the flowers—a subject big enough to fill a volume. It may be news to some that the bumble-bees may rear up to 80,000 individuals in a single hive. The ants have weak visionary powers, but, by way of compensation, their antennae play an important rôle. Indeed, these wonderful creatures have an "antennal" language. Nor should we be surprised to find that, notwithstanding all their communism, the ants have a distinct sense of property, the *fons et origo* of many furious battles, or "economic wars" amongst them. And they are all very cleanly—*très soucieux de leur toilette.* As a class the insects are exceedingly well adapted to life on our globe. With so many virtues it may not be so far-fetched what some naturalists apprehend—namely, that the insects will ultimately contest the very earth with man.

LE KHALIFAT, SON ÉVOLUTION VERS UNE SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS ORIENTALE. By A. Sanhoury. (Paris: *Geuthner.*) 75 francs.

The first chapter describes the institution of the Khalifat, including the modes of investiture, the functions and the end of the office. The second part deals exhaustively with the institution in practice past and present. At a time when the whole future of the Khalifat is uncertain, it is very useful to have this volume to refer to for the legal aspects of the office. It may be added that there is at the end a serviceable list of authorities, especially Arabic and French.

FAR EAST

A STUDY OF SHINTŌ: THE RELIGION OF THE JAPANESE NATION. By Genchi Katō, D.LITT. (Tokyo: *The Publication Committee of the Meiji Japan Society.*) 9s. net.

This is an exhaustive work on a deeply interesting subject not hitherto investigated with such minuteness. The author has not left a stone unturned in his researches, but has placed before the reader and student valuable information concerning the religious system of Shintō from its earliest origin to the present day. Through chapters of progressive stages we learn what a mighty monitor Shintō has ever been over the minds of the Japanese, inspiring all classes and elevating their ethical condition. Professor Katō's monograph, when carefully studied, will aid those who are wishful to gain a better understanding of their fellow men, with whom we are ever being brought into closer communion of thought and fellowship.

Pervading all primitive religions the predominant belief and trust in what is not either understood, and consequently feared, is ever to be found; hence the conception of ideas in making gods the forces of the elements instead of the work of the Divine Originator of all things has ever been the prevailing belief among these ancestor and spirit worshippers. Symbolism figures largely therein; and the presence of plants and trees, representations of mythological birds and animals, and sacred objects, were selected to instruct in a silent manner as the child grew up and prepared for future responsibilities.

A list of bibliography and a splendid index completes this able work, which is an epitome of lectures on the subject delivered by the author in universities and colleges of Japan. It is historical as well as religious in its instructive teaching, and we confidently commend this work to all who seek for the knowledge which Professor Katō wishes to impart. Shintō has without doubt aided Japan in its past successes, and sustained the patriotic devotion that claims the admiration of the world. S.

SHORTER NOTICES

THE RESTITUTION OF THE BRIDE, AND OTHER STORIES FROM THE CHINESE. Translated by O. B. Howell. (*Werner Laurie.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The translator has rightly felt encouraged by the reception accorded to the first volume of the stories of the Chin Ku Chi Kuan to proceed with his renderings of stories from the same collection, of which he now gives an additional six. The book is embellished by five illustrations of a Chinese artist; and the notes appended to each of the stories will not only be useful to the general reader, but also to the scholar. These stories are perhaps not greatly appreciated in China, but the Western world finds much satisfaction in this opportunity of studying the Chinese psychology.

AN IMMIGRANT IN JAPAN. By T. Geoffrey. (*Werner Laurie.*) 12s. 6d. net.

The writer of this book relates her experiences during a sojourn in Japan, and is an American who explored the by-paths of the country and its people. Among the illustrations is one showing the destruction caused by the earthquake in 1923. In a chapter headed "A Vanishing Virtue of Japan" the author describes how in the remoter parts the old system of paying artists and craftsmen in accordance with their own estimate of cost in time and material, adding a small largess, still prevails.

AN ASIAN ARCADY: THE LAND AND PEOPLES OF NORTHERN SIAM. By Reginald le May. (Cambridge: *Heffer.*) 21s. net.

The author is an authority on Siam, and one of the advisers to the Siamese Government in the Ministry of Commerce. The volume is divided into a brief history, the topography and ethnology, and travel. For the first time we have an attractive account of Northern Siam for the general reader. The volume is furnished with good illustrations, showing the life and customs of the people.

EASTERN BENGAL BALLADS. Edited by Dines Chandra Sen. Vol. II., Parts I. and II. (Calcutta: *University Press.*)

We are pleased to notice that this collection is being continued. The present volume has a lengthy introduction, but by no means too long. The first part contains the English translation of the second. It is most satisfactory indeed that each ballad is preceded by an introduction of its own which gives full details as regards the ballads. In conclusion, it ought to be stated that the whole get-up of the volumes, especially the type and paper, gives great credit to the University Press.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By S. Radhakrishnan. Vol. II. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 25s. net.

When the first volume was issued it was not known that a second was to follow. From the nature of the work, however, it was to be foreseen

that the six Brahmanical systems had to be treated in a largish volume if the work was to be complete.

The present volume contains 797 pages, and all the six systems receive a full treatment. The subject is dealt with in an absolutely rational manner, and the style is as perfect as can be expected from a professor of philosophy of Calcutta University. Needless to say that notes are plentiful and valuable, and complete references are given in every chapter.

THE HISTORY OF ASSAM. By Sir Edward Gait. (*Thacker.*)

It is very satisfactory to find that a second edition of this standard work has been found necessary. The author has discovered new material, which includes an inscription found in Sylhet, an account of events in the reign of Jehangir, a translation of the description of Assam at the time of Mir Jumlah, and a manuscript volume in the India Office. The new edition in its revised and amplified form should find many readers.

MALAY LAND: SOME PHASES OF LIFE IN MODERN BRITISH MALAYA. By R. J. H. Sidney. (*Cecil Palmer.*) 15s.

Sir Hugh Clifford's various books on Malaya have accustomed the public to much information on this part of the world which they would not otherwise have had. In the present volume we have perhaps for the first time a complete account of present-day life in Malaya, which includes a chapter on the Chinese theatre, another one on the temples and tombs. Not only will visitors to this prosperous country welcome the book, but also many who desire a general knowledge of the countries of Asia.

TO MESOPOTAMIA AND KURDISTAN IN DISGUISE. By E. B. Soane. (*Murray.*) 18s.

The above is one of the most readable books of travel that has been published in recent years, comparable to the works of Vambéry, Burton, and St. John Philby. The traveller, since dead, was enabled to penetrate into the psychology of the people he visited, owing to his remarkable knowledge of Kurdish dialects. He has written with some warmth about the Kurds on account of their hospitable attitude, thus combating the theory that they are savages. It is hoped that even a third edition will soon be necessary.

ON THE TRAIL OF ANCIENT MAN: A NARRATIVE OF THE FIELD WORK OF THE CENTRAL ASIATIC EXPEDITIONS. By Roy Chapman Andrews. (*Putnam.*)

This is an account of the work done during the years 1922, 1923, and 1925 in Mongolia. The author does not include the scientific results of these expeditions in the present volume, but he gives a splendid account of the discovery of the dinosaur eggs, as well as of his adventures in these unknown areas of Central Asia.

LIFE OF GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA. Compiled exclusively from the Pali Canon. By C. H. Brewster. (*Kegan Paul.*) 10s. 6d.

Although there are a number of books published on the Buddha and his life, this is the latest work containing actually new translations from the Pali scriptures referring to the subject. In addition to these translations the author, a well-known Buddhist scholar, has given in his own words a commentary on these translations, thus making the work a very interesting study. The volume will not only appeal to European students of Buddhism, but Buddhist believers in the East will be delighted to read the life of their leader in a new form.

AN INDIAN DAY

AN INDIAN DAY. By Edward Thompson. (London: *Alfred A. Knopf.*) (*Reviewed by* J. A. SPENDER.)

Allegory, fiction, poetry, and practical wisdom are cunningly combined in Mr. Edward Thompson's "An Indian Day," which seems to me one of the most charming and understanding books about India published in recent years. Mr. Thompson is an artist, and he develops his characters so cleverly and keeps his story going so naturally that in reading him one never has the tiresome sense which spoils so many efforts of this kind of moralizing strung on a thread of fiction. His characters live, women as well as men; they fit into the richly-painted background of Indian landscape; one sees events playing on them and shaping their characters and opinions; yet somehow through them the whole clash and conflict of the British and Indian ways of life and thought and the problem of the two races and their partnership are posed as they seldom are or can be in any formal writing. The writer who goes to look at India and record his observations finds his mind in a glittering confusion after a few months. As soon as he puts down one impression he becomes aware that it is crossed and qualified by another. He visits the different camps and learns from each their points of view and grievances against the others, but he gets these in separate compartments, whereas their interaction and clash and the improvised ways of making things work in spite of them are what really matter. These can only be told by those who, like Mr. Thompson, have spent a lifetime in India and can talk to its people in their own tongues. Moreover, to be truthfully told, they need to have woven about them a certain imaginative atmosphere which is best conveyed in the form of fiction. Hence the importance and usefulness of good fiction about India.

Mr. Thompson sets his scene in a Bengal station with its British judge and Indian magistrate; its group of missionaries; its different types of Bengalis—the saintly, the visionary, the rascally, the seditious; and its English women. His characters are perhaps not quite typical: Alden the missionary is a highly original character, and Hamar the Judge, who has been banished to this out-of-the-way station for having let off an Indian whom his superiors desired to be convicted, has mental processes which certainly mark him off from the official type. But they serve admirably to

develop the British-Indian argument, and Mr. Thompson pursues it with clear-sighted charity. We see this little community in the grips of the Indian emergencies, the intolerable heat, the failing monsoon, the on-coming famine, all swept into the common struggle and finally gaining sympathy and understanding which triumph over their perception of each other's infirmities. Findlay the missionary with his tragic bereavement and final consolation provides the mystical background in which we see the Christian idea joining hands with the Indian; and the neatly pointed contrast between Hilda Mannering and Mrs. Nixon is an implied but gentle criticism of the ways of Englishwomen in India.

The whole winds up with what is in effect a dialogue between British and Indian about the ways and thoughts of the two. It is admirable, but would be spoilt by summarizing. Mr. Thompson has an unbounded respect for the men who "do their job" in India, but his last word seems to be "doing the job is not all." Porro unum est necessarium. The discovery of that something more is a large part of the British problem in India.

ADAT LAW

ADATRECHTSBUNDELS (Bundles of Adat Law). Edited by the Commissie voor Adatrecht (Committee for Adat Law), and published by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië (Royal Institute for the Knowledge of the Language, Country, and Peoples of the Netherlands East Indies). Vol. XXIV., Groote Oost. (The Hague: *Martinus Nijhoff.*) 1925.

(*Reviewed by* DR. W. R. BISSCHOP.)

Regarding the word *Adat*, we find in the Encyclopædia for the Netherlands East Indies the following definition:

Adat, or *Hadat*, is the native pronunciation of the Arabic word 'âdah, which means customary law, or literally "what returns." According to Islam, custom is only recognized as a source of law when the statutory law (sjar', or sjarh) is silent, or expressly refers to it. With a great number of Mussulmans in the Netherlands East Indies, however, custom really overrules the Muhammadan law, and the latter is not recognized in its various branches. With those Mussulmans many institutions prevail which are contrary to the Muhammadan law. Thus "pandelingschap," or the custom of giving persons as security for mortgages, may be considered as a system which—in any event in former times—prevailed all over the Malayan archipelago, and yet it could not be reconciled with the principles of Muhammadan law. Specially in mid-Java many customs of Hindu law have remained in force. The same is the case with deeply rooted, apparently original Polynesian customs, specially regarding family law and the law of succession, which prevail with Malayans from Menangkabau (in the island of Sumatra), natives of Macassar and the Boeginese (in the island of Celebes).

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that—on account of their being

followers of Islam—the Mussulmans of the Netherlands East Indies must be considered as having submitted wholly to the Muhammadan law in its entirety, and that wherever their *âdat* is derogatory of that law, this must always be taken as a deviation, that is to say, in a legal sense, as an exception. European writers on the Netherlands East Indies—especially in former times—frequently (though, of course, wrongly) used the word *âdat* or *hadat* in the general sense of native law.

In May, 1909, Professor C. van Vollenhoven, LL.D., of Leyden University, proposed to the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië at The Hague to collect particulars regarding the Adat law prevailing in various parts of the Netherlands East Indies, and to have these published from time to time as would be considered convenient. During his stay in the Netherlands East Indies Professor van Vollenhoven had made arrangements with the Bataviaasch Genootschap (Batavia Society) and obtained the co-operation of the Colonial Government.

This proposal was accepted. Two committees were nominated, one by the Society at The Hague and another by the Bataviaasch Genootschap, each committee consisting of from five to nine members. To them was entrusted the collection of data regarding the *Adat* law of the Netherlands East Indies, which either in the form of notes or in any other form had been deposited in the records of Government officials or elsewhere, or could be found in decisions of the courts of law regarding *Adat* regulations drawn up under the supervision of missionaries.

A large number of such notes were known to exist. It became the task of the committee in Holland to make a list thereof and forward these with their observations to The Hague to be sorted and prepared for publication. It is also the task of the Batavia Committee to complete the lists which they receive by the addition of further material of similar character, reports, and other data. Both committees exert themselves to obtain information regarding new sources of material while they search the collections of *Adat* decisions given by the law courts. The Colonial Government's co-operation mainly consists in granting facilities for making such collections by instructing certain Government departments and the appointed heads of governmental districts to render assistance, and by the grant of a small subsidy.

The "Commissie voor Adatrecht" (Committee for the *Adat* law) immediately started with their work under the chairmanship of the Arabian scholar, Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, LL.D., and with Professor C. van Vollenhoven acting as hon. secretary. The first volumes (or "bundles" as they were called) were published in 1911. They have ever since followed each other in rapid succession, so that fifteen years after their appointment the committee were able to edit and publish the present twenty-fourth volume, which contains data mainly regarding the Ternate archipelago.

The whole series has been divided into twenty-four groups, according to the islands of the Archipelago and the letters of the alphabet, so that in the

new "bundle" particulars may be found regarding the whole alphabetically arranged series of islands. The twenty-fourth bundle contains particulars regarding the Ternate archipelago (Series Q) and Ambon (Series R). Further, it contains data regarding Celebes and various other islands spread over the archipelago and not belonging to a special group. It further contains particulars regarding religious laws and religious jurisdiction in Ternate.

The valuable work thus begun, and continued by the Committee at the instigation especially of Professor C. van Vollenhoven, had a national and international development whereby it assumed proportions of a far wider character.

On May 30, 1917, the Adat Law Foundation (Adatrechtstichting) was established by the Thorbecke Foundation of Leyden, the Leyden University Trust (Universiteitsfonds) and the above named Institute with the object of studying the customary law (and—as far as possible—making a collection thereof) in the whole of that part of Asia which is comprised in the name Indonesia, of obtaining funds for that purpose and assembling a library. By Indonesia is understood: the island of Formosa (the inhabitants hereof belong partly to Indonesia), the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies, the British territory in North Borneo and in the Malayan Peninsula, the Portuguese part of Timor, the Chams in Cambodia and Annam, and Madagascar. The administration of the foundation is in the hands of the *Adat* law commission. The library—which is kept at Leyden (40 Rapenburg) by the Secretary, Professor C. van Vollenhoven—contains over 1,000 volumes, which deal with all parts of Indonesia, from Madagascar to Formosa, while "an index of literature (literatuurlyst) for the *Adat* law of Indonesia" was published in April, 1920.

Lack of funds of the foundation has so far hampered the committee in extending their work in various directions. Their main purpose remains, for the present, to increase the library and to promote the study of *Adat* law, whilst at the same time trying to collect further funds.

In order to obtain the necessary information from the parts of Indonesia beyond the Malayan Archipelago co-operation was sought from other countries interested, which so far has led to a number of satisfactory results.

In the United States of America a "Committee of Correspondence" was nominated in 1919, while in the Philippines a "Research Committee of Philippine Customary Law" was established in September, 1919. In England the foundation is assisted by Professor Ch. Otto Blagden, in France by Messrs. A. Cabaton of Paris and G. Julien of Toulouse and Paris, while in Portugal assistance is given by Mr. E. de Vasconcellos.

As far as Formosa is concerned, assistance was obtained from the Director-General of the island, Mr. Sagataro Kaku. A committee seems to exist in Japan for the native population, established in 1910 by the Government of Formosa and called *Banzoku chosakwai* or *Banjokenkyukwai*. The Dutch Committee has further tried to come into touch with the Siamese authorities with regard to the Malayan inhabitants in the southern parts of Siam.

Internationally the sympathy and co-operation was enlisted of the Union Académique Internationale which was founded in Paris in October, 1919. In the course of 1920 the Royal Academy of Science (Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen) of Amsterdam—Professor van Vollenhoven being then President of its Literary Section—proposed to the Union that they should prepare and publish data regarding *Adat* law of Indonesia with the co-operation of scientists of America, France, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal, in the form of an *Adat Law Lexicon*.

By way of preliminary work the Academy presented in 1922 to the Union Académique Internationale a "Provisional list of Indonesian words relating to the customary laws of Indonesia" as well as a "Provisional collection of Indonesian words relating to the customary laws of Indonesia (Adatoorkonden)" printed in English.

Further, in 1921, at the request of the above-mentioned institute, material for a preliminary list of *Adat* law terms was being collected by Mr. L. M. Vonck, which was completed in 1924.

Unfortunately, the Union Académique Internationale is also financially handicapped, and it was considered necessary to proceed slowly in a manner which would achieve the principal objects without incurring the heavy expenses attached to a publication. It was therefore resolved to commence by: (*a*) Collecting systematically documents and modern or ancient writings in any of the Indonesian languages which would illustrate the actual condition and development of unwritten living law (native contracts, native legal decisions, formulas which are still in force for native legal transactions, like marriage, sale, gifts, etc.). As these documents become more rare every day in the whole of Indonesia, they should be collected as soon as possible and communicated to a central committee. (*b*) Drawing up a provisional list of the principal technical words which are found in the domain of customary Indonesian law, together with their translation—or, in other words, a kind of dictionary of customary law. The question in which language the translation should be made, would be left till later. (*c*) Systematically collecting the decrees of princes, village regulations, legal descriptions, etc., concerning Indonesia. It is much easier to collect data of this nature than those mentioned under (*a*), but they are of less value, although their knowledge may be useful. (*d*) Printing the documents mentioned under (*a*) and (*c*) and the list mentioned under (*b*). (*e*) Printing a systematic translation, in French or in English, of the information collected in other languages (Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese, etc.) regarding customary law in Indonesia, with the object of rendering the whole of the knowledge of this customary law available for the scholars of all nations, and all others who may be interested in the subject.

The particulars of customary law in Indonesia are found in writings which in the various colonies, in most cases, concern the interests and requirements of those colonies only. It is, however, indispensable that this matter should be dealt with uniformly for the whole of Indonesia. Moreover, a great deal of information is published in languages which

may cause difficulties in understanding like Dutch, Spanish or Portuguese, Japanese and even Chinese.

In the meantime, the Dutch Committee for *Adat* law continues its labours. Its Twenty-fifth Bundel of *Adat* law is in the press, and the Twenty-sixth Bundel is in preparation. It will, no doubt, be highly appreciated when a lexicon appears to systematize and co-ordinate the amazing mass of information which is already collected, and published in the course of seventeen years' time

SIX FLOWER HAIKAI

By John Caldwell-Johnston

Wistaria

In a blue-green cavern
The blossom sprays
Hang like pale blue stalactites.

Iris

The King of the Lake Fairies
Has, too, his bodyguard
Of steel-blue iris.

Cherry

Down the spring wind the trees
Have loosed, see!
Ten million rose-pink butterflies.

Lotus

O beautiful, pure, cup-like,
Faintly fragrant, hateful
Flowers of Death!

Jasmine

At all seasons,
Spring, summer, autumn,
Love's blossom, the jasmine blooms.

Chrysanthemum

To the Emperor, nine bows—
How many, ah!
To King Chrysanthemum?

NOTE.—The *Haikai* or *Hokku* is an indigenous Japanese verse-form, consisting of three lines and seventeen syllables. It is probably the shortest known regular verse-form used by any civilized nation in the world, but it has in Japan been made the medium for many exquisite poems.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1927

A SYMPOSIUM ON CHINA

[Under this heading are collected a series of articles on the Chinese Problem from different points of view. They show the diversity of interests involved.]

THE CHINESE PROBLEM

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.

(The writer was for sixteen years in China, both in pre- and post-war days, including seven years as Chief Commissioner of the International Police in Shanghai, and six years in command of the Wei Hai Wei "Chinese Regiment." He has travelled extensively in the interior, and is the author of "In the Footsteps of Marco Polo," a journey overland from Simla to Peking.)

DURING the past year numerous fresh attempts have been made to summarize the ills from which China is suffering; also to find a cure, or cures, for the numerous diseases in the body politic which have become endemic in that land of misery and misrule.

Among the best statements of the general position in China which have seen the light is one made as long ago as 1917. Ten years is a mere moment in the life of any nation, particularly in that of a nation whose past lies buried far back in the ages. Yet much less than ten years has sufficed to completely change the history of Europe, very nearly sufficed, it may be added, to overthrow civilization altogether—that is, as hitherto understood in Europe.

During the course of the Great War the Japanese Ambassador at the Court of the Czar of Russia was Viscount Motono. This able and far-seeing diplomatist then wrote as follows:

"When the present struggle is over" (the Great War), "the Chinese question will gradually take that place in the general policy of the Powers which was formerly taken by the Eastern Question. At the present moment there is not one question; there are several. The problem has not yet been stated in its full import. The succession of the Chinese Empire is not open. For a very considerable time —twenty years and perhaps more—the Powers will only be able to keep China under observation; they will have to confine themselves to applying provisional remedies to her; giving her symptomatic treatment, as the doctors say."

In these lines we find summed up the general line of action since taken by all the Great Powers—Great Britain, France, America, and Japan—towards China. As it was for Turkey in pre-war days, so again for China it is easy to propose remedies for the sick man. But as with Turkey, so with China; impossible to make them effective where the diagnosis of each doctor in attendance is radically different.

The three able writers responsible for the following symposium each and all suggest cures: cures which, could they be put into force, would in time create a healthy and invigorated China. But, as is apparent, one great drawback to the success of their proposed remedies is the lack of unanimity on the part of all three writers. There is the same lack of unanimity on the part of the Great Powers interested. This, to a great extent, though not entirely, is responsible for much of the anti-foreign and bitter feeling which now so seriously complicates the points originally at issue between China and the Powers.

The Japanese writer referred to is chiefly concerned with the handling of the China question as it affects his own country. He naturally and quite fairly assumes that the interest of Japan in China must far exceed that of any other nation, which hypothesis it is at present unnecessary to discuss. That China must always be the pivot upon which the foreign policy of Japan turns no one will deny who understands the interrelationship, historically and

otherwise, between the two countries. The history, traditions and, in many ways, ideals of both have touched, rebounded, reunited and overlapped since the dawn of Japanese civilization. As is well known, Chinese civilization precedes that of Japan by centuries. Most handsomely has the debt Japan owes to China been honoured by the anonymous writer quoted. It is refreshing to see "respect and gratitude" thus openly acknowledged. But is this feeling and the policy it might engender universal in the breasts of Japanese politicians? Is there not still a strong party in Japan which sees in a powerful and united and, therefore, dangerous neighbour, a bogey to be feared, not "a most suitable co-operator" (p. 535) in Japan's international activities?

The general trend of policy outlined by Baron Shidehara, Minister for Foreign Affairs in a previous Japanese Government, is summarized on p. 536. It is an eminently sane one and as far removed from the policy which produced the unhappy "21 Demands" as could be. But a new Minister for Foreign Affairs now holds the helm and there are, to Chinese minds, ominous signs in such actions as the re-occupation of the Tsingtao railway and the town itself in Shantung.

Could China follow the example of her *Samurai* neighbour, and were she capable, which she is not, of submitting to the self-imposed task of a thirty years' probation, while preparing her people and paving the way for their political and national education, there would be little doubt of the final result. An honest and stable government, material prosperity almost beyond belief, with world-wide recognition of her success, would be the reward of such action for her toiling millions.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., I.S.O., a Burmese gentleman, looks for a solution of the Chinese problem upon quite other lines. He is obviously familiar with Far Eastern affairs, either by close study or, it may be, by first-hand experience. Mr. Taw Sein Ko's method of dealing with

the problem may be summed up in his own words (p. 567): "Foreign intervention has been the breath of life in China."

In elaborating his opinions Mr. Taw Sein Ko gives chapter and verse for the convictions which lead him (p. 574) to finally advocate foreign intervention as the best, if not the only, means of saving China from herself. He appears to prefer American methods of action in China which does not, however, tally with the views of well-known men like Mr. Silas H. Strawn, the delegate representing the United States of America at the Pekin Tariff Conference of 1926. Mr. Strawn frankly told the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in England that "he could prescribe no panacea for the conditions of things that existed in China. He did not believe any one could do that."

Pressed by very influential and wealthy Chinese Mission supporters in the U.S.A., Mr. Coolidge, the President, has been content to rely on a policy opposed by most of the best-known American authorities in China, which, again, hardly supports the contention of Mr. Taw Sein Ko for an American mandate to intervene in Chinese affairs.

The third writer in the symposim, M. P. Sasias, in his very interesting summary of French Policy in China follows, almost line for line, the policy referred to as the opinion of Viscount Motone in 1917. A waiting policy, and united action where the safety of foreign life in China is concerned, is marked as the limit of help which Europe can to-day offer China. This policy Great Britain was the first to adopt, followed by America and Japan. France and Great Britain acted all along in unison, though local difficulties at Shanghai did not tend to make this accord as perfect as the larger issues in China warranted, and still warrant. The opinions expressed by M. Sasias do his judgment credit. A calm and considered policy of non-interference is Europe's best card to-day in China. But Foreign rights and safety must at all costs be safeguarded.

A JAPANESE VIEW OF THE CHINESE PROBLEM

[This article has been written by a Japanese authority on China who desires to remain anonymous.]

ALTHOUGH present-day Japan is taking an ever greater interest in international affairs, no problem looms larger on her horizon than that of China. China, of course, is the great topic of the moment attracting attention from all parts of the world. One is not yet quite certain as to whether the concern of the European and American general public about China will long continue in its present intensity. Will they not lose a large part of their interest in China when the situation in that country becomes easier, or when they get accustomed to her never-ending series of crises? The case will be quite different for Japan. She has always regarded, and will always regard, the Chinese question as the foremost affecting her international relations.

Geographical proximity and racial similarity have naturally brought about a very close intercourse between these two nations. The susceptibility of the Japanese mind to anything connected with China may almost be taken for granted. China is even to-day an enigma to the world. This ancient country of the Far East does not fail to present to those who come into contact with her an immense variety of problems and paradoxes. It would be a mere pretence for any individual or State to claim to know China perfectly. One cannot, however, deny that Japan has had in the long past a better opportunity than any other nation for studying China—her history, traditions, and ideals. In the sphere of practical politics and diplomacy she has learned a great deal from her dealings with China in recent years. It is not without reason that Japanese information about Chinese affairs has frequently proved to be more accurate, and Japanese interpretation of them fairer, than that of any of other nations. The rela-

tions between these two nations are indeed very complicated, but it would not be altogether futile to examine what, from a Japanese point of view, their predominant features are.

First of all one cannot overlook the traditional sense of respect and gratitude with which Japan regards China. In almost all aspects of her civilization—especially on its spiritual side—Japan is greatly indebted to China. It is most striking to observe the enormous influence which the literature, philosophy, and religion imported from China have exerted upon the Japanese mind. Up till some sixty years ago, when Japan first adopted the ways of Western civilization, China had been the spiritual home for the highest minds of Japan throughout the ages. It goes without saying that Japan had not a blind faith in everything Chinese. On the contrary, her history amply shows how she exerted her discretion in choosing the best that China could offer, how she harmonized it with her own civilization, and how she held on to it even when it was being neglected in China itself. Nevertheless, among the many countries and tribes which have come into contact with China through her long history, none has learnt so much from her ancient civilization as Japan did. One can easily recognize even to-day how deeply Chinese ideas and customs are interwoven into the life of the Japanese people. This invisible bond which unites the two nations is certainly the greatest factor to be reckoned with in any survey of their relations.

Secondly, we come to what may be called the economic aspect. Japan is remarkably ill-favoured by nature. A considerable part of this by no means large country is infertile and barren. She has hardly any mineral products worth mentioning. To make matters worse, her population is increasing by leaps and bounds, and there is no dominion or colony to turn to, Korea or Formosa counting for very little in this respect. The only hope for such a nation would naturally be her becoming an intensively industrialized country. As a matter of fact, Japan seems to be

already taking this line with heart and soul. But she is confronted here with the grave question of where she is to obtain the raw material, and where she is to sell the commodities. China, situated close by, with immense resources and four hundred millions of mainly agricultural population, should suit her purpose perfectly. The benefit will not only be Japan's, it will be mutual. Any shrewd observer will not fail to perceive here the keynote of Japan's policy towards China. It is very difficult to carry on trade between any two countries without stability and order prevailing in both. The situation in China of recent years has been far from satisfactory in this respect. It should be the most earnest desire of Japan to see stability and peace established by her neighbour in the shortest possible time. She will not spare any effort, therefore, in smoothing the way of China's progress towards this happy end; although she is well aware that any attempt to force stability and peace upon China from outside will only defeat its own purpose.

Thirdly, there is another aspect of the relations between Japan and China which may have a far-reaching effect on international politics. The matter belongs as yet to the sphere of mere conjecture, but it is, nevertheless, entitled to the serious consideration of the statesmen of both countries. Suppose that the unification of China has been realized, and she has become, as she will sooner or later, one of the great world Powers, will not Japan then find in China a most suitable co-operator for the various branches of her international activities? It would be absurd to think of the possibility of their forming a united front against the Western countries. But they will naturally have many objects of common interest which they can best attain through their co-operation. Here, again, Japan has good reason to contribute to the best of her ability towards the great task of unification now being carried on in China.

The Japanese Government have in the past made their

China policy pretty clear, and it is of such a nature as might be better understood in the light of the above observations. Cast-iron principles are often looked upon with contempt in practical politics and diplomacy. In face, however, of the ever-changing situation as at present witnessed in China, it is essential that a country in close contact with her should always be equipped with definite principles to which to turn without hesitation as the varying contingencies arise. She may in this way meet any emergency without committing great blunders. Furthermore, such principles, if announced publicly, will enable the other nations to forecast with tolerable exactness the course of action which will be taken by that country in given circumstances. And this in turn will conduce much to the prevention of unnecessary friction and misunderstandings among the nations concerned. The Japanese Government appears to have several such fundamental principles to which it will adhere in her handling of Chinese affairs. They are concisely stated in a passage, quoted below, of a speech delivered by Baron Shidehara, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, before the Imperial Diet on January 18 last:

"Our policy covering all questions concerning the relations between Japan and China may then be summarized as follows—

"1. To respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, and scrupulously to avoid all interference in her domestic strife.

"2. To promote solidarity and economic rapprochement between the two nations.

"3. To entertain sympathetically and helpfully the just aspirations of the Chinese people, and to cooperate in their efforts for the realization of such aspirations.

"4. To maintain an attitude of patience and toleration in the present situation of China, and, at the same time, to protect Japan's legitimate and essential rights and interests by all reasonable means at the disposal of the Government.

"Our policy so defined has already been firmly established and has constantly guided our action in all cases that have presented themselves. We are resolved to follow the same path of justice in the future as in the past."

The Cabinet of which Baron Shidehara was a member resigned in last April, and Baron Tanaka now holds the Foreign Secretaryship in addition to the Premiership—a sign, by the way, that in the midst of the many difficult problems with which his Cabinet is confronted, he is fully alive to the special importance of Japan's foreign relations, particularly in view of the present situation in China. He has not so far had the opportunity of formally setting forth his China policy before the Imperial Diet, but what he stated there in answer to questions has amply justified the expectation that he would uphold the principles endorsed by his predecessor. The difference between them would be at most that, as the *Daily Telegraph* said, "He is perhaps more ready than his predecessor to recognize that neutrality in the Chinese civil war is not inconsistent with a determination to take all necessary measures for the protection of Japanese residents in China."

The decision of the new Foreign Minister to dispatch a contingent two thousand strong to Tsingtau in readiness for protecting Japanese lives and property in Tsinanfu district has attracted a good deal of attention. The circumstances which rendered this measure inevitable have been fully appreciated by all fair-minded critics. In fact, the development of the military operations between the rival Chinese armies north of the Yangtse tends more and more to endorse the wisdom of this measure. The interior of the Shantung Province contains four thousand Japanese residents and considerable Japanese vested interests. Its remoteness from the sea-coast makes any protective measure by naval forces entirely impracticable.

It has been officially stated that the Japanese Government have no intention whatever of retaining the troops there longer than necessary. This declaration has, per-

haps, more significance in its relation to Japan's internal politics than in its effect on the foreign mind, for the reason that the most urgent concern of Japan, who has only recently tided over with difficulty a very grave financial crisis, would undoubtedly be the observance of the strictest economy in Government expenses.

It will be the sincere hope of all peace-loving citizens, foreigners as well as Chinese, that the presence of the Japanese troops in that district will conduce to the prevention of such unhappy incidents as those lately witnessed in Hankow and Nanking.

Mischievous insinuations alleging that Japan is guilty of ulterior motives in taking this measure were indeed not entirely lacking. So far as this kind of propaganda came from Chinese sources it must be treated with toleration. If all is fair in love and war, China is certainly engaged in something more desperate than either. What is to blame is the folly of those who allow themselves to be misled by such propaganda, and the wickedness of those outsiders who try to make capital out of it.

It is needless to say that among the various factors of the awakening China nothing excites so much the sympathy of the Japanese people as her nationalist movement. Its two outstanding objects, the elimination of the war lords and the abrogation of the unequal treaties, cannot but touch the innermost springs of the Japanese heart. She herself went through one of the gravest of her national crises when in the Restoration of 1867 she shook off once and for all the fetters of feudalism. For the following thirty and odd years she put her heart and soul into the dour task of terminating the unilateral treaties. With perseverance and caution she at last succeeded in bringing them to an end, thus retrieving her national pride. It is always with the remembrance of her own bitter experiences that Japan looks upon her neighbour struggling for liberty and equality.

THE CHINESE PROBLEM: IS FOREIGN INTERVENTION NECESSARY?

By Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., I.S.O.

[The writer was at one time Adviser on Chinese Affairs, and Assistant Secretary to the Government of Burma.]

That China, with a population of about four hundred million souls and a compact area of over four million square miles, which has had commercial relations with all foreign Powers during the past centuries, has been in a state of continuous turmoil for over a decade, is certainly a reflection on the quality of the statesmanship and humanity of Europe and America. Indeed, Mr. H. G. W. Woodhead, C.B.E., thus voices the considered opinion of all foreign Chancelleries: "China's salvation must be worked out from within: it cannot be wrought from without. All that can be asked of the Treaty Powers is that they shall not unreasonably retain any rights which are not essential to the well-being of their nationals, and which restrict China's administrative freedom."* Against this dictum I wish to enter a protest with all the emphasis at my command. Since the signing of the Treaty of Nanking in 1843—that is, for over three-quarters of a century—foreign intervention has been the breath of life in China. The number of Treaty Ports, at which foreign merchants could reside and carry on their trade, increased from time to time. Foreign trade increased by leaps and bounds, and foreign manufactures were admitted till it was found about half a century ago that the balance of trade was against China. At one time she practically enjoyed a monopoly in two articles —namely, silk and tea. The silk trade is now shared by France and Japan, and the tea trade by Ceylon and Assam. As a matter or fact, the industries in silk and tea have

* "The Truth about the Chinese Republic," by H. G. W. Woodhead, C.B.E., p. 274.

languished for want of financial organization and scientific advice. In addition to the war indemnities, huge sums were exacted from China for the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Ever since then she has become bankrupt in finance as well as in statesmanship, and has occupied the position of Egypt before the Mahdi's rebellion—that is to say, a country completely under the subjection and influence of the bondholders. Egypt was rescued from her bondage by Britain, and she has now secured a large measure of independence.

In the work of daily administration foreign guidance and assistance are utilized by China to her great advantage. The Department of Maritime Customs, which is the backbone of her financial system, and on whose security domestic and foreign loans have been raised, is presided over by a Britisher.

Sir Robert Hart and Sir Francis Aglen each served China as Inspector-General, and were in the service for over fifty years. When the Salt Gabelle was required to be reorganized, the services of Sir Richard Dane of the Indian Civil Service had to be borrowed from the Government of India. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and all its branches perform the same kind of service as the Imperial Bank of India in India; that is to say, they are the fiduciary trustees and custodians of the finances and currency of the country. The co-director of the Postal Department is a Frenchman. The Chinese railways are financed by foreign capital and constructed by European engineers, and the iron and coal mines are worked with foreign capital. All the principal educational and medical institutions are financed, controlled, and supervised by foreigners. As a matter of fact, so great was the shortage of Chinese doctors at Peking during the civil strife in 1924, 1925, and 1926, and so great was the number of the wounded, that foreign doctors and nurses had to come to the rescue. Indeed, China has been in a continuous turmoil for over a decade, to the detriment of the commercial prosperity of the world.

Now, in the routine of civil administration in China in the higher branches, the payment of salaries to civilians and troops and their officers, the control of educational and medical institutions, the collection of Customs revenue, the maintenance of lighthouses, the custody of public funds, the management of foreign and domestic loans, the supervision of railways and mines, the control of the Postal Department and its extensive ramifications throughout the Empire, the employment of French and Japanese jurists in the codification of Chinese law in connexion with the question of abolishing extraterritoriality—all these facts prove to the hilt that foreigners have set their hands to the plough in order to make or mar China, and that it would not be wise or prudent to hold themselves aloof from Chinese affairs at the present juncture.

Of all the foreign Powers which have had commercial intercourse with China during the past centuries, with mutual advantage to both parties, the "Big Five"—namely, Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy—which exercised a preponderating influence in negotiating the Treaty of Versailles in 1918-19, should take a leading part in the work of reconstructing China.

If the United States were a member of the League of Nations, perhaps it would be possible to convert China into a mandated territory, and to constitute the United States the Mandatory Power for a limited term of years, so that China might be turned into a federation of States on the American model. The difficulty may yet be surmounted by the American President calling a conference of the interested Powers to meet at Washington to devise ways and means for the reconstruction of China, which is now being subjected to untold suffering and misery, as described in harrowing details in the newspapers and telegrams.

He has already convened two conferences—namely, (1) the Three-Power Naval Conference, and (2) the Disarmament Conference, and it would not break the

camel's back to convene a third conference respecting China, which will be the most important of the three. The whole of Bolshevik Russia is anxious to see China converted to Bolshevism, and the Soviet régime has extended its confines to Outer Mongolia, which is the northern fringe of China. That huge empire turned Bolshevik, with its teeming millions and its bountiful resources, would be a menace to the whole civilized world. The problem calls for an urgent solution. China's foreign trade in 1924 amounted to about £300,000,000 sterling, and her total Customs revenues were £12,732,700. All this commercial prosperity would have been destroyed if a policy of "masterly inactivity" had been pursued.

America has extensive commercial, financial, and educational interests in China, and has been the staunch and consistent advocate of the policy of maintaining her integrity and independence. American missions, hospitals, and educational institutions are the best equipped and wealthiest. The Rockefeller Institute at Peking provides for post-graduate work to foreign and Chinese physicians and surgeons, supports scientific research in different parts of China, and subsidizes many of the mission hospitals and medical schools. America was the first State to remit a portion of its Boxer Indemnity in 1908, the money released being employed in maintaining the Tsinghua College near Peking, which sends annually to America scores of Chinese students for further studies, their scholarships being borne by the remitted indemnity. During the last two decades about 200 graduates have returned to China annually, bringing with them American ideals of culture and democracy. Republicanism in China is, therefore, a direct product of the American Universities, and, in the nature of things, it is expedient and appropriate that it should be cherished and nursed into strength with American assistance and guidance. The monarchical principle is practically dead and cannot be revived. With the Pacific Ocean flanked by two friendly, well-organized and well-administered republics, the Pacific problem is practically solved, and American ideals of culture, humanity, and civilization would prevail in the Far East.

Politically, China should not be divided, as she is geographically divided by the Yangtze river. A divided China would be weak, and her chief characteristics would disappear. Her own system of civilization should be revived and reformed.

The *laissez-faire* policy of allowing China "to stew in her own juice" and to find her own salvation is suicidal to the foreign Powers themselves. The foreign activities in many spheres must be controlled, directed, and regulated by a strong and influential foreign Power, and unless this is done quickly China will vanish into space, and become a "Vanished Empire." Putnam Weale, a great authority on Chinese affairs, thus expresses his considered opinion on the matter at issue: "The chaos seems to deepen because the inadequacy of the machinery for controlling men is made ever more manifest by the fading tradition of the Throne, and by the growth of factors rooted in another civilization. From this it may be deduced that the control of all non-Chinese instrumentalities must be vested in a new agency during an interregnum which will last until a new philosophy and a new rule of life shall have been evolved, or that the monarchy will be reintegrated." *

The question as to whether the Northern or the Southern Party is to rule over a unified China is for the proposed conference of foreign Powers at Washington to carefully consider and determine, after cautiously weighing the evidence relating to the historic past and the ever-important present. The present policy pursued by Great Britain of negotiating with the *de facto* local authorities regarding the governance of Foreign Concessions or Leased Territories in China is, at best, not a panacea, but a palliative

* Page vi, Preface to "The Vanished Empire," by B. L. Putnam Weale.

justified by the complexities of the existing situation and the circumstances arising out of an *impasse.* What is required is a permanent solution of these difficult problems, which are regarded as insoluble and hopeless. Surely the wit of man is capable of rising to the occasion, and of removing the heavy load of suffering and misery imposed on a third of the human race by certain "instrumentalities," which are both Chinese and non-Chinese.

China has inherited the legacy of trouble and confusion from two leaders—namely, Dr. Sun Yat Sen and Yuan Shih K'ai. The former was a medical practitioner by profession, and a revolutionary by choice. He received his education at Hong Kong under Dr. Cantlie, who subsequently removed to Harley Street, and saved his life from a living death at the Chinese Legation in London. The Chinese Revolution broke out in October, 1910, and at that juncture the leaders were on the look-out for a Provisional President who had achieved a certain amount of international reputation, because they wanted their infant republic to be recognized by the foreign Powers as soon as possible. By a stroke of luck and without any prearrangement, Dr. Sun had arrived at Shanghai from England. He was invited to be the Provisional President, with headquarters at Nanking. He held the appointment for about six months, and resigned in favour of Yuan Shih K'ai, who was occupied at Peking in negotiating for the abdication of the young Manchu Emperor. He was then appointed Director of the National Railway Corporation, with headquarters at Shanghai. He propounded a visionary scheme of constructing 75,000 miles of railway within ten years, with the aid of foreign capital, and at a cost of £600,000,000 sterling. He also proposed the issue of an unlimited number of inconvertible paper notes, and the conquest of Russia by the raising of an army of five million men. He disagreed with Yuan Shih K'ai on certain constitutional issues, and seceded to Canton, where he formed the Southern Party, and was assisted by such able men as

Wu T'ing-Fang and T'ang Shao Yi. He was a great patriot according to his own lights, and used great efforts to unify China and to secure the Presidency of the new republic. He died in 1925, after allowing Soviet Russia, as represented by M. Jacob Borodin and his civil and military staff of emissaries, to establish a firm footing at Canton.

Yuan Shih K'ai was of a different mould. By profession he was a soldier, and was not so learned or cultured as Li Hung Chang, Chang Chih Tung, or Tseng-Kuo Fan; but he was an efficient commander and a practical statesman. He gave a good promise of his career as a republican President by performing great services on behalf of China on three notable occasions: (1) In 1900, during the Boxer Rebellion, when the whole country and the Chinese Court, headed by the Empress-Dowager, were anti-foreign, he had the moral courage and risked his career by protecting the lives and property of foreigners in the Shantung province, where he was Governor; (2) in 1912 he successfully negotiated at Peking for the peaceful and bloodless abdication of the Manchu Emperor; (3) in 1915, while the European Powers were engaged in the Great War of 1914-18, he successfully resisted the "Twenty-one Demands" of Japan. His great ambition in life was to become the Emperor of China and to found a new dynasty, and he pressed forward all his energies and resources towards the realization of his cherished object. He appointed *tu-tus*, or civil governors, to the provinces, and also *tu-chuns*, or military commanders, quite independent of the civil governors, thereby raising a Frankenstein to chew and gobble China. The traditional policy was for the military authority to be subject to the civil authority, but, in order to secure a second line of defence for his imperial ambition, he reversed the age-long practice. He died in 1916, but the effects of his policy still endure.

China is suffering from the mistakes of these two leaders and their colleagues and successors, and it is the path of

wisdom to rectify them as soon as possible. At present the country resembles England in the fifteenth century—*i.e.*, during the fratricidal strife called the "Wars of the Roses." Everybody sits on the fence, owing to the instability and uncertainty of Governmental authority. Life and property are not safe, and labour is often commandeered. Surely this is a clear case for the foreign Powers to sink their differences and jealousies, to pool their resources, to unite their efforts, and to come to the speedy rescue of China, in order to save her ancient culture and civilization, and to afford relief to suffering humanity from manifold evil and wickedness.

HOW TO ATTAIN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IN CHINA

By P. B. Sasias

[The writer of this article holds the title of Hon. Governor of Colonies. He has been in the French Civil Service in Indo-China, at Réunion, Madagascar, Senegal, Togo and Dahomey. He was for some time an assistant of Marshal Galliéni, and has recently published biographical notes upon him in the *Pays de France* on the occasion of the anniversary of the Battle of the Marne.]

For a long time men of clear vision have insisted upon the danger, but no one would listen to their advice, or see the Chinese problem in its true light. Europe, overcome by the complicated situation that arose after the War, could not or would not see the peril that threatened her security in the Far East owing to the collusion of the Bolsheviks and certain elements in Asia. When our leaders began to awake to the new situation New China had already become more or less impregnated with Soviet ideas.

It is not the purpose of this article to write the history of China during the last few years, or attempt to unravel its tangles. Much has appeared in the ordinary newspapers under that heading. It would require a great deal of space to recount the manœuvres and counter-manœuvres that have been going on openly or secretly. Moreover, that would be outside the purpose of this article, which is to give a French point of view upon the situation. Thus, I will not attempt to appreciate the attitude of the British Government towards Mr. Eugene Chen and how far that is in accordance with the views of the United States or even Japan. What is certain is that France had as much, if not more, interest than Great Britain to protect her possessions in Asia—in other words, to act. That is why it was quite natural for our soldiers and sailors to appear at Shanghai side by side with their comrades the "Tommies" on the day when the common peril became evident. This policy of possible intervention caused a certain amount of stir in the United States, owing to fact that the Americans,

who had probably conceived the plan of taking the initiative themselves, had been forestalled by the English and the French. Fortunately, however, this proved to be only a storm in a teacup.

At the present time it does not look as if a policy of active intervention is any longer necessary. For indeed that would involve grave decisions, the consequences of which would be numerous and their repercussions would not lose their gravity from being distant. However, since our position in our own Colonies is not directly menaced, it is to our interest to temporize. France is prepared to act if she is forced into it, but public opinion would certainly not support premature action. It may be asked whether it is our proximity to the volcano which inspires us with this prudence! Perhaps this is the true explanation. We are in direct contact with China on the northern boundary of Tonkin, and have, therefore, a more direct source of anxiety than the Indian Government. What has aggravated the situation is the fact that our neighbour in Yunnan, the Marshal Tang, who until lately had shown commendable firmness in protecting his Province against Bolshevik propaganda, has now allowed a Soviet Government to be formed. It may be added here that developments in Java last winter, a description of which appeared in a recent issue of this *Review*, prove that the Anti-Nationalist propaganda in Asia is a very real one.

Before the World War the Japanese victories against the Russians had undermined the prestige of the Europeans in the Far East. But it was only after Armageddon that the Asiatic world at last realized the lack of unity in Europe. At the end of the War European prestige was at a low ebb and European power of action dangerously curtailed. Add to this that Germany had been driven from China, and that Russia was appearing on the stage as the ally of the East. At the present day no European Power, with the possible exception of Great Britain, could bear the burden of a prolonged conflict in Asia. It would be difficult to believe

that any of the democratic European countries, given the post-war mentality, would agree for long to the sacrifices in blood and treasure which such a war would entail. And this is a fact which is appreciated not only in Europe but also in Asia.

It may be true that the disturbances in China have in part been provoked by the return of numerous students from America and Europe, who had more or less completely assimilated Western conceptions of democracy: but at best this was only a contributory cause. Nor should too much stress be laid on the spread of the doctrine of "self-determination," which found so many zealous adherents after the World War. Nor, again, must one exaggerate the effect of Bolshevik propaganda which, after abandoning its most serious efforts to create revolution in Europe, has turned its energies to Asia. It may be that considerable influence is being exercised by the intelligentsia and by soviets, but their efforts are facilitated by the fact that they are being exerted upon a mass of millions of people who have always been animated by a dislike of the foreigner.

What, then, is our political situation in China, and what attitude should we observe? It may be pointed out here that Japan is more directly threatened than any other Power, for she has 20,000 of her subjects as well as considerable material interest in Shantung. She has already sent 2,000 men to Tsing-Tao and 15,000 to Tsinanfou. There is also a likelihood of her sending eight battalions of troops to Tientsin.

The return to power in Tokio of the Seiyu-Kai Government has led to a firmer policy with regard to China, and there is even a question of Japanese mediation in China through her Minister for War, M. Shirakawa. He is particularly qualified for this task through the fact that in the winter of 1925-26 he saved Chang Tso Lin. On the other hand, it is proposed in some Japanese circles to invite Chang Tso Lin to summon a conference under the auspices of the Great Powers to which Feng Yu Siang and Chang

Kai Shek are also to be invited. This proposal, however, is not to be recommended, as it would probably end in failure. The Southern Party would not fail to proclaim that the Great Powers wish to save Chang Tso Lin from ruin.

The United States are anxious with regard to the direct menace to the North from the Chinese Nationalists, and have sent 2,500 marines from Shanghai to Tientsin and 1,700 soldiers from the Philippine garrison. It should be remembered that the Americans have always been keenly interested in plans for the commercial exploitation of Northern China and Mongolia. They also refuse to associate themselves with Great Britain in protesting against the incidents in Nanking; this refusal, added to the indecision displayed by France and Japan, have led the Foreign Office to suspend diplomatic action upon that particular point. Great Britain has tried in turn the policies of generosity and firmness in China, and has now decided upon a waiting policy like France. Though this attitude has not met with the favour of British subjects residing in China who advocate a firmer policy, it is perhaps the wisest in the end. Indeed, the situation in China is complicated enough without the Great Powers aggravating it by a separate policy, "Wait and see." The lesson to be learned by the Great Powers is that the policy of coercion must, for the moment at any rate, be abandoned, and that a new basis must be found for friendly relationship between the Europeans and the Chinese. If the Great Powers desire to preserve for their subjects the maximum of privileges in China, they must observe the greatest reserve in the present conflict and guard themselves against being mixed up with the Chinese quarrel. Such an error of judgment would lead either to an international crisis with no possible solution, or would weld together the Chinese into one whole against the Great Powers. The only sure basis for the security of European interests in China is the Anglo-French Entente, which should be the guiding principle for both countries.

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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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.

I. PERSIA

When, in the April number of this *Review*, the present writer expressed the opinion that all was not well in Persia, and concluded his summary with the remark that in the future, as in the past, internal rather than external forces tending towards disruption were to be feared, he had in mind the increasing resentment against military governors and their military methods in the provinces, and the

increasing burden of taxation. A good harvest has for the moment lightened the burden of the cultivator, and the increasing deference paid by the new Shah to the Shiah priesthood has effectively enlisted the latter in the defence of the *status quo* in the large towns. But this part of his policy is viewed by very many Persians of education with real apprehension: they fear that the forces of reaction in their protean and least desirable forms will gather fresh strength thereby, and will not be slow to make fresh inroads upon the hard-won liberties of the Persian intelligentsia. Indeed, the first-fruits have already appeared in a circular by the Ministry of Education, aimed at the American College in Tehran and the C.M.S. (Bishop Stuart Memorial) College in Isfahan, requiring all foreign educational institutions to abstain altogether from religious teaching, and to conform strictly to the curriculum approved by the Ministry. The American College is understood to contemplate closing its doors, and its example may well be followed by the C.M.S. at Isfahan, to the great detriment of the cause of education in Persia, for it is from these two institutions that many of the best of the younger generation of educated Persians have graduated, and their graduates are widely recognized as men not only of good education but of high moral principles.

Persia's relations with her neighbours, too, have grown perceptibly worse in the past twelve months. The Cabinet have not yet reached an understanding with the U.S.S.R., though the negotiations were entrusted to a representative who was known to be *persona gratissima* at Moscow: Persian exports in consequence can still find no adequate outlet northwards, and the northern provinces are hard hit in consequence, for the cost of transport makes it impossible to find a market elsewhere for the rice of Gilan and Mazanderan, the cotton of Khorasan, and the wool and dried fruits of Azarbaijan.

Nor is the position on the western frontier satisfactory. The young Turks, who differ as little from the old Turks

in their general attitude towards their neighbours as do the Soviets from the former agents of the Czar, seem to have found Persia lukewarm in supporting them in their violent campaigns against the Kurdish tribes living on either side of the Turco-Persian frontier. To escape persecution in Turkey they have, it seems, emigrated in large numbers to Persian soil: Turkish troops, it is claimed, have violated the frontier, which is none too well defined, as by common consent the boundary pillars were pulled down, as fast as erected, by Kurds who objected to what seemed to them the arbitrary division of their ancestral grazing grounds. There are possibilities in such a situation of serious friction, and the somewhat arrogant attitude of Turkish frontier and Customs officials is not calculated to make a settlement easier.

Persian relations with Iraq remain, in the pet phrase of diplomatists, *in statu quo*, which is to say that they are unsatisfactory. Persia has as yet declined to recognize the existence of Iraq as a sovereign state, or to receive a diplomatic representative; a Persian Consul still remains at Basrah, and a Consul-General at Baghdad, on the strength presumably of Turkish *exequaturs*; Persians are prohibited by law from making the pilgrimage to the holy cities of Kerbala and Najaf; transit trade through Baghdad has declined, and is threatened with extinction by Persian writers who hope somewhat optimistically that the completion of the Khor Musa-Tehran line, of which more anon, will bring to an end the age-long dependence of Western Persia alike on Baghdad and on Trebizond.

With Afghanistan and India alone relations are "correct," but between these countries and India providence has interposed a Great Desert, which, if it failed to prevent an Afghan invasion of Persia in the eighteenth, or a Persian invasion of Afghanistan in the nineteenth century, has at least reduced to a minimum the occasions of offence.

Turning to internal affairs, mention must be made of the

departure of Dr. A. C. Millspaugh, Administrator-General of Persian Finances, in completion of his contract, which was for five years.

The facts, according to a Persian official communiqué, are as follows :

"Five years ago a law was passed appointing Dr. Millspaugh Administrator-General of the Finances of Persia, giving him full and complete power in every branch of Persia's financial administration. An anomalous situation, however, arose. The provisions of the law were found to embarrass the Persian Minister of Finance, who alone—not Dr. Millspaugh—is responsible to Parliament.

"The new contract, which Dr. Millspaugh has rejected, does not really curtail his powers to any appreciable extent. Its aim is to make the position of the Minister of Finance and indeed the collective responsibility of the whole Cabinet in accordance with the law more clear. Persia, of her own accord, without any outside pressure, gave his powers to Dr. Millspaugh.

"It is added that Persia's chief obligation, viz., the 5 per cent. Sterling Loan, was floated by the Imperial Bank of Persia in 1911, ten years before Dr. Millspaugh's appointment."

It may be safely assumed, however, that we have not yet heard the whole story : for that we may perhaps have to await the return of Dr. Millspaugh to the U.S.A., when he may be tempted by enterprising publishers to emulate his predecessor, Mr. Shuster, whose book, "The Strangling of Persia," though inaccurate and tendencious, had the merit of explaining to those who read between the lines why Mr. Shuster's friends as well as his enemies breathed a sigh of relief when he disappeared from the scenes—or should we say, the film ?

This much is clear, that H.I.M. the Shah himself could have, but did not, secure the renewal of Dr. Millspaugh's contract on terms satisfactory to the latter, and that, whatever the merits of the case, Dr. Millspaugh had little support in the Mejlis or the press in Tehran. His departure will be regretted by all those who wish Persia well—but not all those who would have wished him to remain will wish to see him replaced by another European—of whatever nationality or qualifications—unless it be by a member of the U.S. Financial Mission now in Persia. Experience has to be purchased all the world by annual instalments, and to a European in Persia the span of life is scarcely long enough for the acquisition of the whole Encyclopædia.

Dr. Millspaugh's services to Persia in matters financial have been praiseworthy : he has centralized expenditure as well as revenue : he has framed a sound Budget and has introduced with the assistance of his staff a number of useful minor reforms. But he has not been able to exercise influence in the counsels of the nation in matters not less vital than finance. The threatened abolition of such extra-territorial privileges as foreigners enjoy—and they are few and of no practical importance to Persians—can scarcely be made effective without heavy expenditure on judicial staffs, and may have unexpected repercussions in other directions.

More important than this measure, however, from the financial point of view, is the railway policy of the Persian Government, to give effect to which Dr. Millspaugh has, without serious protest as far as we know, laid on the Persian taxpayer burdens heavy to be borne, which have already brought some £2¼ millions of new money into the Treasury, all earmarked for railway construction.

The Mejlis have approved of the construction of a railway from Bandar Gaz on the south-eastern shore of the Caspian, and from Khor Musa near Mohammerah on the Persian Gulf to Tehran, a total distance of some 800 miles.

The railway, which has been partially surveyed by U.S. engineers, will be built on the 4 feet 8½ inch gauge, which will involve a break of gauge on every frontier that later developments may reach. Construction will be begun from both ends, and tenders have been called for abroad for 10,000 tons of rails and for the necessary sleepers, etc., half to be delivered at each end. Transit facilities have been promised

by the U.S.S.R. in return for a promise that construction would be simultaneous from north to south.

Never before, we suppose, has a country entered so light-heartedly, and with so little previous study, into railway construction on this scale. Bandar Gaz as a port leaves much to be desired, but compared with the salt swamps and endless expanses of soft mud around Khor Musa, it is an ideal terminus.

From Bandar Gaz to Tehran the railway will have to compete with the Enzeli Tehran motor road: from Khor Musa to Ahwaz it will compete with the river route up the Karun from Mohammerah to Ahwaz. Thereafter progress will be slow. It is understood that the northern section will run via Asterabad, Shahrud, Damghan, and Samnan—in itself a great undertaking: the southern section will run via Ahwaz, Shushtar, Dizful, Khurramabad, and Burujird—crossing a veritable *sierra* of limestone ranges running to nearly 8,000 feet. The Saidmarreh and Kashgan gorges may be utilized between Dizful and Khurramabad, but they will add greatly to the length of the line, and except for live sheep and goats and their products, local produce is almost nil. Nor is there likely to be any local produce for shipment by rail between Khor Musa and Dizful until extensive irrigation works have been put in hand: the average exports of grain for the past twenty years from Mohammerah do not exceed some 3,000 tons, and passenger traffic cannot be reckoned on. The total cost is likely to be in the neighbourhood of £12,000,000, and may be much more—no small burden to a nation which has hitherto been apparently neither able nor willing to raise the necessary capital by means of a foreign loan, and proposes, in addition, to place its currency on a gold basis.

It is impossible to withhold a tribute of admiration to the Mejlis and to the Cabinet who have thus boldly entered upon this ambitious scheme, without counting the cost, nor, it is to be feared, the relative merits of other railway transportation schemes.

With cheap petrol in the north from Baku; in the west, if dreams come true, from Iraq; and in the south from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's fields, with a reasonably good network of roads already existing and easily to be extended all over the plateau, and reaching to the Caspian at Enzeli and the Persian Gulf at half a dozen points, it was at least worth considering whether a large programme of road construction would not do more for the country at less capital cost. Persian merchants and others would provide the lorries, the Government need only provide the roads, but no one but Government can provide railway engines and trucks. Nor is it clear why the 4 feet 8½ inch gauge should have been chosen in place of the cheaper metre gauge—which has been adopted successfully notably in South America—for railways in hilly and undeveloped countries: it will, it is true, facilitate an ultimate through connection with the Baghdad Railway; but that is a far cry.

But we must end on a note of optimism: the Persians are in essentials a great nation—they have certain cultural unity, a sense of national solidarity, and a willingness to sacrifice the present for the future, which have enabled them to weather heavy storms in the past, and will enable them to accept with philosophical resignation the failure, or the continued financial burden, of this railway.

The money devoted to it is theirs—not raised by loan—the railway will be theirs, and they may well foresee, in the eventual completion of this line, a monument to their national spirit not less notable and far more useful than the Pyramids.

II. A NOTE ON THE ABOLITION OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN PERSIA

When the Allied Powers, rendered helpless by their lack of unity, and by the failure of their ill-conceived post-war policies, found themselves compelled to accept at the hands

of the Turks the abolition of the extraterritorial privileges of foreigners, which have long been familiarly known as the "Capitulations," it was clear to most observers that it would not be long before the somewhat similar, but much less extensive, privileges of foreigners in Persia were challenged, on grounds rather of *amour propre* than of practical inconvenience, or legal or diplomatic embarrassment. It was therefore without surprise that we learned, by an announcement the brevity of which was suited to its importance, that Persia intended not later than May, 1928, to take a similar step, and was preparing to take the necessary preliminary measures—viz., to denounce certain existing treaties and to conclude fresh ones, and to overhaul her judicial system and her laws, in order that all might be well on the appointed day. A brief reference to the subject seems called for in these pages, not only on account of its intrinsic importance, but because such references as have appeared in the public press have been almost all founded upon a misunderstanding of the legal basis of the Capitulations in Persia.

Perhaps the best evidence of the almost complete absence in Persia of serious friction or sources of embarrassment from the extraterritorial status of foreigners is that as far as can be ascertained there is no extant work dealing with the subject so far as concerns Persia, and of the hundred or more books referring to the "Capitulations" in Turkey and elsewhere, only two or three make any reference to the working of extraterritoriality in Persia except purely incidentally. The body of customary law and treaty rights affecting the status of foreigners in Persia has come to be known as the "Capitulations" on the analogy of Turkey, in which country this general term has long been in use. It is a misnomer which has doubtless imported prejudice. It was not intended to, and is in no way connected with the current use of the word as synonymous with "surrender" —viz., the submission of unbelievers to the Moslem Caliph in order to obtain peace, still less the unwilling surrender

by Moslem nations to stronger European Powers of privileges for their subjects. The term is derived from the Italian *capitulazione*, meaning nothing more than a convention or an agreement expressing in orderly form the various stipulations agreed on. It must be admitted that the "Capitulations" in Turkey, which differ profoundly from those in force in Persia, constituted a frequent source of embarrassment to the Turkish Government, owing to the occasional abuse of the system by the diplomatic and consular representatives and subjects of the smaller European Powers and of certain of the Great Powers, for it was an inevitable result of Turkey's geographical position that foreign subjects should reside in large numbers within its territory, and the Turkish judicial system was until quite recent years wholly unsuited and not capable of adaptation to the complicated needs of Western nationals. The system broke down by its own weight and because it was widely regarded by Turks as an obstacle to the exercise of their sovereign rights. The position in Persia is and always has been entirely different, and the privileged status of foreigners in Persia may be rightly regarded, not as humiliating to Persians, or a derogation of the full sovereign rights of Persia, but as very much to the credit of the Persian Government.

Instead of regarding immunities of jurisdiction as exceptions to international law, and hence as affronts to Persian sovereignty, they may be properly regarded as evidence of a more enlightened and more liberal interpretation of the law of nations than has yet been granted in Europe, the place of its origin, though not of its exclusive development or application.

Such immunities are of very great antiquity: King Amasis (579-526 B.C.), according to Herodotus, allowed Greek merchants to establish themselves at Naucratis, and permitted them to be judged by their own magistrates according to their own laws and customs. Similar immunities were granted by the Athenians, Romans,

and the Visigoths under Theodoric. Justinian allowed Armenians in Constantinople to settle questions of marriage inheritance, etc., according to their own laws, and the Caliph Omar granted to the Greek monks in Palestine about A.D. 636 special exemption from local jurisdiction. Arabs at Canton in China were allowed to be judged and ruled by their own Cadis in the ninth century, and the Turks enjoyed extraterritorial rights in Constantinople under the Byzantine Emperors, and Cosmas tells us that the Caliph Harun al Raschid gave special guarantees and privileges to French merchants in the same century, as also did the Emperors of Byzantium in the tenth century to the Varangians (Warings). Nestor gives the text of this treaty, which is the earliest documentary evidence of the granting of immunity from local jurisdiction to foreigners. The only difference between this document and the Capitulations in force a thousand years later is that the earlier privileges were reciprocal; the later appear, at first sight, to be one-sided.

The practice of conceding to foreign merchants the right to carry with them the jurisdiction of their own laws outside their own territory became quite general with the gradual extension of commerce. It was the rule in Constantinople in the tenth century, and is still the practice in several Eastern countries. "The notion of a territorial law is European and modern;" the idea of personal law is far older, and, it may well be, far more equitable and better suited to Eastern conditions.

At various times from the thirteenth to the present century immunities and special privileges have been granted to foreigners in Persia, both by unilateral documents such as Royal Rescripts (farmans) and by bilateral arrangements (treaties). The oldest of these documents, dated 1598, relates not to British subjects in particular, but to all Christian merchants, and forms part of the credentials which were given by the great Shah Abbas to the British knight Sir Anthony Sherley. It runs as follows:

"Our absolute commaundement, will, and pleasure, is, that our cuntries and dominions shall be, from this day, open to all Christian people, and to their religion; and in such sort, that none of ours, of any condition, shall presume to giue them any euil word. And because of the amitie now ioyned with the princes that professe Christ, I do giue this pattent for all Christian marchants, to repaire and trafique, in and through our dominions, without disturbances or molestations of any duke, prince, gouernour, or captaine, or any, of whatsoeuer office or qualitie of ours; but that all merchandize that they shall bring, shall be so priviledged, that none of any dignitie or authoritie, shall haue power to looke unto it: neyther to make inquisition after, or stay, for any use or person, the value of one asper. Neyther shall our religious men, of whatsoeuer sort they be, dare disturbe them, or speake in matters of faith. Neyther shall any of our justices haue power ouer their persons or goodes, for any cause or act whatsoeuer."

(Then follows a paragraph regarding the disposal of the property of a merchant in the event of his death.)

"And those within our kingdomes and prouinces, hauing power ouer our tolles and customes, shall receiue nothing, or dare to speake for any receipt from any Christian merchant.

"And if any such Christian shall giue credite to any of our subjectes, (of any condition whatsoeuer) he shall, by this pattent of ours, haue authoritie to require any caddie, or gouernor, to do him justice, and thereupon, at the instant of his demaunde, shall cause him to be satisfied.

"Neither shall any gouernor, or justice, of what quality so euer he be, dare take any reward of him, which shall be to his expense: for our will and pleasure is, that they shall be used, in all our dominions, to their owne full content, and that our kingdomes and cuntries shall be free unto them.

"That none shall presume to aske them for what occasion they are heere.

"And although it hath bin a continuall and unchaungeable use in our dominions euery yeere to renue all pattents, this pattent, notwithstanding, shall be of full effect and force for euer, without reneuing, for me and my successors, not to be chaunged."

This was followed by further farmans by Shah Sefi and

others, which, amongst other things, provided that in criminal cases Englishmen should be punished by their own Ambassador.

It seems to be a reasonable deduction from the foregoing that European British subjects enjoyed a privileged position in Persia quite apart from the provisions of the Treaty of Turkomanchai in virtue of earlier Royal Rescripts previously granted, frequently confirmed, and never abrogated.

In 1629 Shah Abbas died, but a new farman was procured from Shah Sefi, and confirmed in 1632, in spite of active opposition on the part of the Dutch and latterly of the French. No further farmans were issued so far as known until 1736, when Nadir Shah renewed by Raqam (Royal Rescript) all former privileges of the English in Persia, except the right of receiving 1,000 tomans a year from the Customs of Bundar Abbas. For the latter he substituted a right to one-third of the Customs on goods imported in English ships, and made a promise that English merchants there should be civilly and justly treated.

No fresh developments took place in the legal position of British subjects in Persia until the conclusion of the Treaty of Turkomanchai, in 1828, between Russia and Persia, which, apart from granting certain rights which would be granted as a matter of course in any Western state to foreigners, provided that litigation between Russian subjects should be dealt with by Russian Consuls, and that disputes between Russian and Persian subjects should be decided by Persian officials in the presence of a representative of the Consulate. The immunities granted under this treaty are far less extensive than those formerly current in Turkey, and have at no time caused serious inconvenience or embarrassment to the Persian Government. Other nations have, with a few exceptions, merely claimed as favourable treatment as was accorded by this treaty to Russian subjects, but in practice have never

insisted on as rigorous an interpretation of the somewhat vague clauses of this treaty as have the Russians.

But the extraterritorial rights provided for in the separate *Compact* annexed to the Treaty of Turkomanchai were not, as has been suggested, extorted from a beaten nation at the point of the sword. The provisions of the treaty merely served to confirm and regularize immunities and judicial procedure which had long before been customary in Persia. The evidence for this is to be found in innumerable contemporary narratives of travellers. The wording of the clauses indeed indicates that the Russians in making the treaty took no undue advantage, having regard to the fact that the Persians had immediately before the treaty suffered a severe defeat in the field, had been forced to surrender valuable territory, and to pay an indemnity of some three million pounds. The Soviet Government, in 1921, declared this and other treaties of the former Russian Government to be abrogated, but this *beau geste* will not bear close examination. There was no suggestion that the indemnity should be repaid, nor that the territories surrendered to Russia under the Treaties of Gulistan of 1813 and Turkomanchai should be restored, and it was in any case essential to the execution of the policy of the Soviet Government that the treaty should be terminated, as the provisions for freedom of trade by Persians in Russia, and *vice versa*, were reciprocal and were inconsistent with the commercial policy of the U.S.S.R. Soviet representatives in Persia, moreover, have not in practice given full effect to this act of abnegation.

The first Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and Persia of 1841 was replaced by the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and Persia signed at Paris in 1857, Article 9 of which reads :—

"And that the treatment of their respective subjects, and their trade, shall also in every respect be placed on the footing of the subjects of the most favoured nation."

The Commercial Convention between Great Britain and Persia of 1903 reproduces this stipulation as follows :—

"It is formally stipulated that British subjects and imports into Persia, as well as Persian subjects and Persian imports into the British Empire, shall continue to enjoy under all conditions most favoured nation treatment."

The authority of His Majesty's Representatives abroad is made effectively binding on British subjects by Orders in Council issued by His Majesty in Council under the provisions of the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, 1843 to 1878, and later by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890. The last-named Act recites that by treaty, capitulation, grant, usage, sufferance and other lawful means, Her Majesty hath jurisdiction within divers foreign countries, and enacts that "Her Majesty may hold, exercise or enjoy any jurisdiction which Her Majesty hath or may at any time hereafter have, within a foreign country, in the same and as ample a manner as if Her Majesty had acquired that jurisdiction by the cession or conquest of territory." Power to pass such legislative measures depends upon treaties entered into and acquiesced in by the local Sovereigns, or upon grant, custom, and sufferance such as have been shown to exist in Persia.

Here the matter at the moment stands—on the basis of most favoured nation treatment—to be interpreted in the light of the treaties of the Persian Government with other nations, which contain extraterritorial clauses and are not in all cases terminable otherwise than by mutual consent.

Much care, and more time than the Persian Government seem disposed to allow, will be necessary to devise a workable plan.

New institutions cannot replace ancient institutions which have slowly adapted themselves to local needs, and it is therefore not a matter of surprise, nor a reflection on a

sovereign state, if it be necessary to maintain or create arrangements involving extraterritorial jurisdiction for foreigners living within its boundaries. In the absence of such agreements, normal commercial and cultural intercourse is greatly hampered, as in the case of Afghanistan, to the detriment of the country concerned.

(*End of the Asian Circle Section.*)

THE INDIAN STATES—V

KASHMIR AND JUMMU

By Colonel M. J. Meade, c.i.e.

"I'll sing thee songs of Araby
And tales of fair Kashmir."

I hope the above lines from a well-known song are not out of place in an article about the Kashmir State. Araby and Kashmir have inspired some of our sweetest songsters, and tales of fair Kashmir, that land of mystery and romance, will not, I feel sure, fail to interest many readers of the Asiatic Review. Kashmir is undoubtedly the gem of the Orient, and its charms attracted hosts of conquerors from the earliest days we know of—Aryans, Hindus and Buddhists, Greeks and Muslims of many sects, and races, the Moghuls from Central Asia, the Afghans, the Sikhs, and then the Feringhees, by whom it was bestowed on the Rajput Dogras, who still rule, by the goodwill of the British, from the other end of the world. These conquerors became, many of them, settlers, and have left wonderful memorials of their occupancy—temples and gardens, palaces and pavilions, all over the far-famed valley, through which the River Jhelum, the Hydaspes of the Greeks, meanders. It has given its name to the large Indian State known as Jummu and Kashmir, under the protection of the British Government, and is about eighty miles by twenty. The valley is bounded on all sides by lofty snow-capped mountains, and is only a small portion of the whole State. The capital is Jummu, a large town on the south side of the Himalayas, built on a plateau about 300 feet above the Tavi River, and connected by a road, over the Pir Panjal Range, with Serinuggur, the chief city of Kashmir proper. This road is considered the private property of the Maharajahs, and special permission to use it has to be obtained by English

people through the British Resident in Kashmir. Travellers and tourists, however, rarely go to Kashmir by this Pir Panjal route, but prefer the well-known roads via Rawal Pindi, Murree, and Baramulla, on the Jhelum. It is impossible in the limits of this article to write about the whole of the Kashmir territory, and as the real gem of it is undoubtedly the valley of Kashmir itself, we will confine ourselves to that part of the State which is really separate and forms a region of its own. In olden days it was somewhat remote from India, and must have been difficult of access. Even now it is not easy to get at, and till the road was made connecting it with the Punjab it must have required some powers of endurance to brave the difficulties of the various routes which led to the "Happy Valley." The bulk of the population of Kashmir is now Muhammadan. They were converted to the faith of Islam *en bloc* by the conquerors. A portion, however, are still Hindus, and a small balance Sikhs. The greater proportion of the Muslims are Sunis, the Shiahs being in a minority and living apart by themselves. The authentic history of Kashmir is quite unparalleled in India, for, as Dr. Stein writes: "It can claim the distinction of being the only region of India which possesses an uninterrupted series of written records of its history, reaching back far before the period of the Muhammadan conquest, and deserving the name of real chronicles."

In very remote times the whole valley, which, as already stated, is about eighty miles by twenty, formed a huge mountain lake, which gradually subsided as the river forced its way through the barrier near Baramulla. These subsidences are shown by beach marks at various places, and these as well as ancient Hindu tradition tend to show that the great lake gradually disappeared, leaving the present conditions of a beautiful valley, watered by a fairly sluggish river flowing through it. Mr. (now Sir Walter) Lawrence has written a wonderfully clear account of Kashmir, compiled when he was Revenue Settlement Commissioner, and

had unequalled opportunities of discovering every matter of interest—historical, archæological, and geological, as well as all information obtainable about the fauna, the flora, and the languages of this most interesting land. Mankind, animals, flowers, trees, and fruits are all dealt with in this admirable work, and the difficulty is to extract only what is really required for a brief article like the present without leaving matters of real interest untouched. There are several officers now in England who have been Residents in Kashmir, and who know the country far better than the writer, who only visited it many years ago as a traveller. He thoroughly enjoyed the wealth of beauty it affords, which left an indelible impression on his mind, but feels it is presumptuous to attempt anything more than a brief review of the history and characteristics, natural and the work of man, of the "Happy Valley," as it has so fitly been called. He hopes that the reader will deal kindly and tenderly with any inaccuracies he may be guilty of. He can also say little from personal knowledge, and must depend on the writings of more highly favoured brother-officers, whose good fortune has enabled them to pass long periods among these delightful surroundings. Sir Walter Lawrence writes that the valley of Kashmir is the "Holy Land" of the Hindus, and that few villages which he visited when on settlement duty could not show some relics of antiquity. The villagers could give little information about the history of these remains save vague guesses that they were the work of Buddhists or of the Pandus. He says the Kashmiris themselves divide their history into four periods—viz., the early period of Hindu kings described in the famous work known as the "Rajatarangini." Then follows the period of the Kashmir Mussalmans, known as the Salatini Kashmiri. To this succeeded the rule of the Delhi Emperors, known as the Padshah-i-Chagatai or Shahan-i-Mughlia. This rule of the Moghuls was followed by the rule of the Afghans, known as the Shahan-i-Durani. The Afghans

were subdued by the Sikhs, when Runjeet Singh, the Lion of Lahore, was Maharajah. After his death the British defeated the Sikhs, and could, if they had wished, have retained Kashmir, which would have provided a country where white men and women could have lived in comfort. Unfortunately, the advantages of the "Happy Valley" and its many collateral "mergs" and valleys was not known to the English conquerors, who gave it to Maharajah Gulab Singh, the Dogra Raja of Jummu. The word "Dogra" is said to be derived from "two lakes," as the original home of the branch of the Rajputs to which the present rulers of Kashmir belong was between the Lakes Sirorusai and Mánsar. Dogras enlist in some of our best Indian regiments, and they are famous for their stubborn valour, which refuses to admit defeat. Like the old *Garde* of Napoleon they will die, but will never fly or yield. The present rulers of Kashmir are not, therefore, sprung from the ancient inhabitants, who were Hindus. Sir Francis Younghusband, who has travelled far and wide, writes that the early dwellers in the Happy Valley must have been a refined and noble people, and he considers that a race born and brought up in such glorious surroundings must have been strong, virile, and yet æsthetic. Beautiful Greece, he says, with its purple hills and varied contours, its dancing seas and clear blue skies, produced the graceful Greeks, and as, in his opinion, Kashmir is more beautiful than Greece, he considers that the ruins of ancient Hindu temples found in Kashmir are evidence that the race who produced them stood very high in the great Aryan family of mankind. It was my good fortune to see some of the old remains mentioned by Sir Francis, and I quite endorse his views that they rank very high among the buildings which mankind have erected in so many lands in honour of their deities. All over Kashmir there are the remains of temples remarkable for their almost Egyptian solidity, simplicity, and durability, and what Sir Francis, quoting Mr. Cunningham, describes as the graceful elegance of

their outlines, the massive boldness of their parts, and the happy propriety of their contours. It is impossible in the limits of this article to dwell more on this aspect of Kashmir, but I cannot refrain from referring to the noble remains at Martand, a temple erected to the Sun God by the great Hindu ruler Lalitaditya, whose reign extended from about A.D. 699 to 736. He was therefore a contemporary of the great Charlemagne, Emperor of the West, and preceded our own Saxon King Alfred by more than a century. Muhammad had then been dead for more than one hundred years, but Islam had not yet penetrated into India. It seems doubtful if Lalitaditya was a pure Kashmiri. His grandfather, the founder of the dynasty, was a man of lowly origin, whether, so Younghusband writes, Kashmir or foreign cannot be determined; but he was certainly a great ruler, and raised Kashmir to a height of glory and prosperity which it had never attained before or since. As previously stated, he erected the great temple at Martand, and the ruins of the city called Parihasapura, where he lived, are even greater evidence of his power and individuality. We were fortunate enough to be able to visit Martand on a lovely autumn morning, and can fully endorse the opinion of Sir Francis Younghusband that the temple stands on one of the most sublime sites of any famous building in the world, "finer far than the site of the Parthenon, of the Taj Mahal, of St. Peter's at Rome, or of the Escurial." It is one of those memories which never fade, and which the lapse of many years cannot obliterate. It is impossible not to quote the description of this famous spot, which conveys an impression of the temple and its site far better than anything I can write: "On a perfectly open and even plain, gently sloping away from a background of snowy mountains, we gaze on the entire length both of the green and smiling Kashmir Valley and of the snowy ranges which bound it." On this site "stands the ruins of a temple second only to the Egyptians in massiveness and strength, and to the Greeks in elegance and grace." I have

felt obliged to write about these ancient remains at greater length than the rest of the story of Kashmir perhaps warranted, partly because they have left such a lasting impression on my own mind, but also because they show that the race which produced the architects and builders must have been indeed worthy of a place among the great nations of mankind. The Kashmiri Brahmins I have met, who are probably descendants of this ancient Hindu race, showed that they have not lost the qualities which raised their people so high, and that they were worthy to hold one of the fairest regions on the surface of the globe. Rightly was Martand devoted to the worship of the Sun God, for on Kashmir he showers his richest gifts, and nowhere does the earth respond more willingly to his ardent advances. The great period of Hindu rule over Kashmir after the death of Lalitaditya seems to have been short, and the immediate successors of the great ruler were unworthy of his renown. For about 500 years, however, the Hindus remained rulers, till the advent of the Muslims overthrew the last of the Hindu kings, and established a Muhammadan dynasty. This was in 1380, and the country remained in their hands till it was finally subdued by the Emperor Akbar, who incorporated it in the Moghul Empire, whose capital and centre of authority was Delhi. Kashmir remained a part of the Empire for about two hundred years, and was the favourite summer residence of successive emperors. The Moghuls, nomads from Central Asia, who were accustomed to drive their flocks and herds to the uplands in the heat of summer, hated the fierce heats of Delhi and Agra, their winter quarters, and loved the change to the Happy Valley as much as we English do. They have left many beautiful ruins and gardens near Serinuggur and in other parts of the valley on the regular Moghul pattern, of which the Taj Mahal, at Agra, is perhaps the most perfect example. There are several of these Moghul gardens and pavilions in Kashmir, but the time at our disposal only allowed us to visit those on the Dal Lake

near Serinuggur, and at Achibal near Islamabad. We made the trip from our houseboat, above Serinuggur, to the Dal Lake in one of the light rowing boats called "Shikaras," used on the Jhelum, and much enjoyed seeing the lovely lake, covered with lotus lilies, landing afterwards at the beautiful Shalimar Bagh. This garden was constructed by the Moghul Emperor, Jehangir, son of Akbar, and fourth of the great Moghuls, for his favourite wife, the famous Nur Mahal, or "light of the palace." It is approached by a canal bordered by banks of green turf, and running between an avenue of chenars and willows. In this garden is a beautiful pavilion, with carved pillars of black marble set in the middle of a tank, in which there are several fountains, and around which are many fine chenar trees. There are several other fine gardens, all dating back to the days of the Moghuls, and all of which are evidence of the cultivated taste of the potentates who formed them, and who spent so many hot seasons in luxurious ease among these lovely surroundings. Among other objects of interest we saw in the Kashmir Valley were the tomb of Lalla Rookh, and some gardens also called after her, on Lake Manasbal. The name recalls that of the heroine of Moore's romance which bears the same title. The story is briefly the marriage of a Kashmiri princess to a son of the Shah of Persia. The intended bridegroom accompanies the mission of Persian nobles, who visit the Royal Court at Kashmir to demand the young lady's hand for the son of their master. The young prince is disguised as a minstrel and story-teller, and he wins the lady's affections during the journey from Kashmir to Persia. On arrival at the Court of the Shah, Lalla Rookh is overjoyed to find that her future husband is her late travelling companion, and gladly becomes his wife. The poet has made the most of this framework, and wonderful descriptions of Kashmir and of Persia, neither of which he had seen, not only made both countries known to his own countrymen, but were widely known in the East.

> "They tell me, Moore, your songs are sung
> By moonlight in the Persian tongue
> Along the streets of Isphahan,"

sings a contemporary of Moore's, and, allowing for some poetic exaggeration, it seems probable that the writings of the Irish bard were and are still known and admired in the East. The Moghuls held Kashmir as one of the provinces of the Empire for about 200 years, and when their power declined, the Afghans, under the Durani Ahmed Shah Abdali, succeeded, and for a time governed the valley. Their rule was tyrannical and cruel, and the natives of the valley welcomed their expulsion by the Sikhs. This nation, or rather religious sect—for anyone can become a Sikh, just as anyone can become a Christian—after persecution from the Muslims, became all-powerful in the Punjab, under the great Maharajah Runjeet Singh, the "Lion of Lahore," as he was called, and subdued the Happy Valley, which became a Sikh province. Runjeet Singh himself never visited Kashmir, but a Sikh governor was in charge when we fought the Sikhs in the first Sikh war. This conflict was a result of the untimely death of the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, by which the administration of the Sikh State was thrown into confusion. Many of the leading nobles and officials were put to death. Gulab Singh, the Raja of Jummu and founder of the State, had many narrow escapes. He managed, however, to get away from Lahore, and eventually gave the British valuable assistance, for which he was rewarded by being declared independent of Lahore, and by being given the rich and valuable Vale of Kashmir. For this he was required to pay three-quarters of a million sterling down, and also an annual tribute of one horse, twelve goats, and six pairs of shawls. A separate treaty was made with him, which was signed on March 16, 1846, and by it Kashmir, which had been ceded by the Sikhs to the British, was in turn given by us to the Dogra Raja of Jummu. Younghusband writes: "Thus it was that Kashmir came under its present rulers, and surprise has

often been expressed that when this lovely land had actually been ceded to us, after a hard and strenuous campaign, we should ever have parted with it for a paltry sum of three-quarters of a million sterling." The reasons for this strange course, according to Younghusband, are to be found in a letter from Sir Henry Hardinge, then Viceroy of India, published, apparently for the first time, in "The Letters of Queen Victoria." From this it would appear that it was done to strengthen the Rajah of Jummu, and make Jummu and Kashmir a rival State to Lahore. We had not, after the first Sikh war, annexed the Punjab, and it required another and still harder conflict to finally destroy the Lahore kingdom, and make the Punjab British India. Whatever view may be taken of Sir Henry Hardinge's policy, it is indeed a matter for regret that having obtained Kashmir we did not retain it.

Gulab Singh, who became the first Maharajah of Jummu and Kashmir, was a stern man, and he governed his new subjects very firmly. He died early in 1857, and was succeeded by his son, Ranbir Singh, who rendered valuable services to us in the Mutiny. He was very different from his father, was popular with his subjects and with the Europeans who came in contact with him, and these friendly feelings were continued by his successor, the late Maharajah Sir Pratab Singh, to whom Sir Francis Younghusband has dedicated his book on Kashmir, and for whom he, evidently, had a great regard. I met the Maharajah on several occasions, and though I had no official dealings with him, I was always treated by him with great consideration and kindness. Towards the end of his life he did much to improve the well-being of all his subjects and the administration of his State, and his recent comparatively early death was a loss to the Empire. It is too early as yet to speak of his successor, but it is to be hoped that he will follow in the steps of his uncle.

The above is a brief sketch of this interesting country. Sir Francis has gone back to very remote days, long

before mankind or life of any sort appeared—before, indeed, the days when the mighty range of the Himalayas first emerged from the fiery bowels of the earth. The land on which the mountains now stand was for ages under the sea, and I believe the Himalayas are comparatively modern compared with the older formations in parts of Britain, which were, so geologists tell us, mighty mountains when Northern India was still under the ocean. The lake which occupied the Vale of Kashmir must have come into existence when the great mountain range slowly rose, and, like so many other similar huge bodies of water in the hills, was probably held up for centuries, till the river gradually made its passage to lower levels, and gradually drained the huge lake, leaving the present sluggish river to meander through fertile meadows, fields, and gardens. It is, of course, impossible to say when or how man first arrived on the scene. But it seems probable that it was before the mountains had reached their present lofty heights, and while the passes were much lower than they are now. The early settlers may have come from the south and belonged to non-Aryan peoples; but I think it is more likely that they came from the north, long before the first Aryan immigrations we know of. In the course of years the fame of the valley must have been widely spread and have attracted the many nationalities who in those remote times were in search of fresh homes and pastures new. Hindus and Buddhists were followed by Greeks and Muhammadans of various nationalities, including the Moghuls from Central Asia. Eventually the Sikhs drove out the Pathans, and, as previously stated, were conquered by the British, who gave the valley practically as a free gift to the ancestor of the present ruler. It is impossible in the limits of this article to say much about the extraordinary natural beauties of Kashmir and the surrounding hills and valleys. But a brief reference should be made to the "mergs," or lofty tablelands, which comprise some of the finest grazing lands in the Himalayas. There are

several of these "mergs" more or less well known, the most famous being "Gulmerg," a lofty plateau about forty miles from Serinuggur, where the Kashmir Court and the British Resident go in the summer to avoid the heat on the banks of the Jhelum. A large British colony assembles there yearly, and a fine golf course has been going for many years. It is indeed often called the Golfer's Mecca. This brief article will, I hope, show that we have wonderfully clear information about the Kashmir Valley from the earliest times. Geology, archæology, and written historical records tell us about it. It is clear, too, that except in the days of the Hindu king Lalitaditya, who made the city of Parahasapura his capital, and erected the great Temple of Martand, Kashmir has always been a province of some other country, and has never been independent. The present ruling family are the most modern race of rulers in India, and it is only about eighty years since the state of Kashmir-Jummu was established by the good-will of the British Government. No doubt this was done for political reasons; but, all the same, the Dogra rulers of the State owe a deep debt of gratitude to the paramount power. This, it is only fair to say, the three rulers of the State have acknowledged, and have always placed all their resources at the disposal of the Government of India in times of stress and trial. The State joined the Imperial Service movement from its start, and keeps up a fine little army of horse, foot, and artillery under the control and direction of an experienced British officer.

In frontier campaigns at Gilgit, Hanzar Nuggar and elsewhere the Kashmir regulars have fought side by side with British troops, and in the Great War, Kashmir State forces went to Palestine and Mesopotamia. During the last Afghan war, the State again gave important help to our forces. The war against Afghanistan was popular in Kashmir, where there is still a bitter recollection of the days when the Durani held the country. The Kashmir cavalry are, I believe, Sikhs and Muhammadans, but the infantry

are Dogras and Gurkhas. I understand that the Durbar do not encourage recruiting for the British Dogra regiments from their territory about Jummu, and that we get our Dogras chiefly from the Kangra Valley, where the population is chiefly that class. The Gurkhas were originally lent by the Nepal State to Kashmir, and I believe are now settled permanently near Jummu. The artillery, three mountain batteries, are manned by Dogras, and are said to be very efficient.

The State (Jummu and Kashmir and various hilly tracts) has an area of 80,900 square miles, and a population of about 3,300,000. The income is stated to be about 93 lakhs, and is chiefly derived from the land. But there are many valuable products and manufactures which bring in wealth to the State and to individuals. The vine grows well, and, when I was in Kashmir, we sampled various vintages, and it was hoped that the wines of Kashmir would equal those of South Africa, California, and Australia. For some reason this does not seem as yet to be the case, though as the valley corresponds in latitude with the Mediterranean, and has a mean elevation of over 5,000 feet, it is not clear why the vine should not flourish and good sound wines be produced. Fruits of all sorts are very plentiful, and are largely exported. Wood and metal carving also used to flourish, and probably still do, but the manufacture of shawls, which were greatly admired in Europe, seems to have died out, and I found it impossible to get a really good one lately. It is said that one of the first Kashmir shawls brought to Europe was obtained by Napoleon for Josephine, over a century ago, and that lovely Kashmir shawls were the usual wedding presents given by Queen Victoria to brides whom she wished to honour. Were these part of the yearly tribute?

Kashmir is often compared with Switzerland, so often called the playground of the world. Younghusband, I understand, thinks that a comparison is, on the whole, in favour of Kashmir, where the scenery is grander and more

extensive. The great Himalayan mountains within or near the limits of Kashmir—K_2, Nunga Parbat, and others—are, no doubt, far higher than the giants of the Alps; but where both countries are so beautiful and so varied, it is difficult to pronounce an opinion. In one respect Kashmir is more useful perhaps than the Helvetian republic, as it provides a happy retreat for multitudes of hard-worked Englishmen and their families, who escape from the terrible heats of an Indian summer to cool retreats in the lofty wooded valleys and "mergs" which border the valley itself. To these a few months among the pine-wood heights mean renewed health and vigour. The Durbar has always welcomed their English visitors, and indeed visitors of many other nations, and we must hope that these kindly sentiments will be continued by the new ruler and his people. The full name and title of the present ruler are, His Highness Sir Hari Singh Indoor Mahndar Bahadur Sipar-i-Saltanat, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Maharajah of Jummu and Kashmir.

This article would not be quite complete without a reference, however brief, to one of the chief attractions for many and indeed most of the yearly visitors to Kashmir. I refer to the splendid shooting to be got in many of the higher valleys. The lion and tiger, if they ever existed, are now extinct; but leopards, both the ordinary Indian varieties and the snow leopard, are common, also bears, black and red, the magnificent stag, known as the Bara Singha, the wild sheep, called the Markor, or snake killer, and many smaller varieties of antelope and deer are also fairly numerous. I believe the larger sheep, the *Ovis ammon* and the *Ovis poli*, are also occasionally shot in the remote parts of the state, but sportsmen have to travel further for these magnificent trophies. The destruction of wild animals by ardent and untiring young officers, armed with the latest modern rifles, became so great that the Durbar was compelled to restrict the number shot, and to make it unlawful to shoot small heads. Still Kashmir is a sportsman's paradise.

THE INDIAN STATES AND THE SEA-CUSTOMS DUTIES

By Colonel Kailas Narain Haksar, C.I.E.

The question of Indian Constitutional Reform again looms large, in view of the appointment before long of the promised Royal Commission to take stock of the political position and make its recommendations for the future. It is therefore high time that the Indian States set about reviewing their own position in the fabric of Empire.

The Indian States, however much they may wish to adopt an attitude of detachment from British Indian affairs, are historically, geographically, and practically precluded from adopting a policy of splendid isolation. Historically they are bound by a thousand indissoluble links to the Indian Empire, and their proximity to the vast and dominant entity known as British India makes it impossible for them to view with absolute unconcern the political and economic affairs of that area, for of those affairs there is a direct reaction upon themselves. Not only could the Indian States not make the slightest headway, but their very existence would be jeopardized if in the midst of the present resurgence of political thought and feeling they elected to remain hermit States. The time for isolation has gone by. The Indian Princes stand committed to a definite policy. They have declared themselves to be in full sympathy with the aspirations of their fellow-countrymen, and they are to-day as much interested in the peace, prosperity, and progress of British India as of their own territories. This is not all. They also recognize that, whatever rôle may lie before them in the new epoch which is beginning to unfold, the time is approaching for them to study the situation, and to take thought together how they can best safeguard themselves and their subjects in the

rapidly changing conditions of a radically transforming world. Their concern is to safeguard the interests of their subjects, to maintain the fabric and structure of their society, and, finally, to preserve inviolate the spirit of their treaties.

This being the position, the case of the Indian States may be succinctly stated. The whole problem narrows down to two distinct issues—namely :

1. What shall be the relations of the Indian States with the Government of India ? and

2. What shall be the position of the Indian States in the polity of India ?

The first is a simple enough matter. In almost every treaty there is a clause to the effect that the "Chief" shall remain absolute ruler of his territory. But this has not in the past precluded interference by the British Government, which has, however, been exercised only in cases of flagrant misgovernment. In general it would seem that the Indian States to-day are not particularly concerned with this question, and are content to acquiesce in that somewhat anomalous relationship which has been built up by the diplomacy of the bygone century. Nor, considering the liberal spirit and the benevolent attitude evinced by the British Government in their dealings with Indian States, is it worth while to try to subvert the position so created by a dogged insistence on the mere letter of the treaties. There is no doubt in the mind of the Princes that the "sanctity of treaties is a cardinal article of Imperial policy," and that the British Government will stand faithfully by its promises ; but they do feel that the place of the Indian States in the India of the future is a problem which must be solved, and solved after due deliberation. This implies no distrust on the part of the Princes of the future indigenous Government of British India, it merely betokens legitimate forethought and a healthy curiosity resulting from the natural desire to preserve their historic position. The presumption, however natural, that the affairs of the Indian States will be safe in the hands of the future Central

Government of India, such as it might be, cannot by itself afford any guarantee of the security of their rights and privileges. The shadow of recent happenings lies heavy on the land, and it is not inconceivable that the Indian States may one day find their fate in the hands of an emotional Government, and it might then be too late to improvise remedies. That is an emergency against which it is necessary to provide safeguards now. The creation of an atmosphere of friendliness and goodwill towards the Indian States should naturally take a prominent place among the measures devised for the protection of the States' interests. But, in addition, a statutory safeguard is essential. Such a safeguard can only be provided by setting up machinery with power to veto or modify schemes and measures likely to affect adversely the interests of the States.

It is also of the utmost importance to evolve a convention by which the States could be welded into the fabric of the Indian body-politic without making the welding an organic merger. This may be done by extending the scope of the Princes' Chamber, and by drawing it into the orbit of the suggested Indian Convention. At present this Chamber stands outside the Government of India—perhaps it will have to continue to do so—but it can be converted into an organ of political union, a link, a liaison, and a means of solving by discussion and agreement the common problems of the complex Indian Empire, so that complex issues which now arise and vex would be settled on principles and not on expediency. Such discussion and the acceptance of common responsibility for the decisions reached will go a long way towards fostering relations of friendliness and amity between the States and the future Indian Legislature.

The question of the position of the Indian States in the polity of India is thus manifestly of outstanding importance. The limitations of this article do not permit of an attempt at an exhaustive examination of this question, but within

sight of the Royal Commission it may be appropriate to touch summarily on some of the considerations it suggests. For it is no academic question, it probes down to the very roots of the economic policy of the Government of India. In our judgment the economic problem is of the utmost importance, and demands the close attention of the Royal Commission, even if that Commission have no mandate to deal directly with the problem of the Indian States. The economic question affects the Indian States and the lives of their people so profoundly, and the vested interests involved are so varied and so great that, without knowledge of all the facts as they relate to British India and to the Indian States, it would be impossible to arrive at conclusions and make recommendations which would be fair and just both to British India and to the Indian States.

Among the most important sources of revenue in respect of which the Indian States have indefeasible rights are the Sea Customs. At present, duties on all imports and exports are collected at the British Indian seaports, and the entire proceeds are appropriated by the Central Government for the benefit of the British Indian taxpayer.

It cannot be said that the right of the States urged here is, in any sense, novel, or that the consciousness of it has dawned upon them recently and suddenly—any more than it can be said that the Government of India by their laws ignored the interests of the States. From 1863 to 1894, whether placing Enactments on the Statute Book or issuing Notifications under the Acts in force, the Government of India clearly bore in mind the position of the States in relation to their Customs Laws. The Acts of 1863, 1878, and 1894 all recognize that the territories of Indian States are "foreign territory" for purposes of Customs Duties.

It will be remembered that from 1882 to 1894 India was a Free Trade country, and no question arose of the imposition of a double burden in practice upon the subjects of the Indian States, apart from their immunity, in theory and

law, from the payment of British taxation. It is true that after the Mutiny, import duties on some articles were raised to 10 per cent., but they were reduced to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 1864, and by 1875 had reverted to the original level of 5 per cent. Export duties were confined to rice, indigo, oils, and lac. The States were not much or seriously affected by these duties. These articles were not those which the States generally exported, and, in the absence of means of transport and communication, the duty-paid imports were ordinarily of no interest to the States either. Moreover, the incidence of duties was so light as to be negligible, and not much point was lent to a protest on the ground of principle.

Immediately after the period of Free Trade, and as early as 1895, as soon as the depreciation of Indian currency resulting in a deficit, led to the revival of general import duties at 5 per cent., the Manchester Chamber of Commerce was addressed by the trader-subjects of a Central India Darbar regarding the unfairness of the imposition upon the trade between England and that Darbar. The point even came in for notice in the columns of a leading Bombay daily newspaper, and the interests of the State subjects were stoutly defended. From 1894 to 1910, except for the revival just mentioned and the imposition of a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* duty on imported cloth, nothing happened. Between 1910 and 1916, even though the latter year marked the continuance of the great war for two years, all that the Government did was to raise the duties on silver, tobacco, wine, and beer, the rise having been justified on the ground of a deficit occasioned by the gradual extinction of the opium trade with China.

The adverse aspect of the course which the tariff was running became more pronounced between 1916 and 1919, and a protest was called for. But the States desisted. They could not with any consistency, on the one hand, offer for the service of the Empire all their accumulated and recurring resources, and, on the other, ask for their share

of the revenue which the Government of India, in their extremity, were raising to meet the deficit caused by war expenditure. The manipulation of the tariff and the special measures adopted between 1917 and 1919 reacted immediately and adversely upon the States.

The principle on which it is contended that the burden of the British Indian import and export duties should not fall upon the consumers and producers of Indian States remains unaffected by any consideration of past practice or the policy of the Government of India, which until the other day was such as to give little cause for complaint. That principle is that the incidence of Customs Duties should fall on the subjects of the Government which realizes and benefits by those duties. Economists appear to be agreed that the incidence of import duties mainly falls on the consumer and of export duties on the producer. It is, therefore, obvious that taxes should be levied by the authority which alone can utilize their proceeds for public expenditure in the territory where the incidence falls. As the justification indicated is wanting and the only test that can be applied is not satisfied, it does appear that the Sea Customs levied by the Government of India on goods passing in bulk to inland States, or even on those that eventually find their way there, are *transit* duties pure and simple.

HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

By Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt.D.
(Member of the United Provinces Legislative Council.)

The appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy will be cordially welcomed by every well-wisher of India. It is a noble, sincere, and courageous utterance, and all patriotic Indians will rejoice that Lord Irwin has freed himself from the benumbing influence of official tradition and spoken out boldly upon the subject that threatens to emasculate the political growth and hamper the economic progress of our motherland. Lord Irwin's magnificent appeal last year caused a flutter in the dove-cots, and many "leaders" regarded it as a challenge to their supremacy. He has repeated it this year with greater effect and in a nobler speech. Indians welcome it as an expression of the earnest desire of an absolutely sincere and a thoroughly bold man whose wonderful personality and extraordinary breadth of view have won the respect and extorted the admiration of his bitterest opponents. An Indian Viceroy has seldom expressed nobler sentiments on the vexed Hindu-Muslim question, and if nothing substantial is done for the removal of this evil, if we do not strike while the iron is hot, the responsibility will be ours and not that of the Viceroy.

His Excellency's speech must have proved an eye-opener to most of us. It would have been thought impossible in the year of grace 1927 that India should be torn to pieces by the suicidal quarrels over extremely trivial matters among her children, that the two great communities which had given such splendid examples of religious toleration in the past should be consumed by the communal fire. Yet the facts and figures cited by the Viceroy point irresistibly to the conclusion that there is something radically wrong in a system which breeds such disputes. Why should a country that has shown noble examples of toleration for hundreds of years be hurled into the abyss at a time when her newly won reforms demanded the expenditure of every ounce of energy which all her sons, Hindu, Muslim and Christian, so vitally needed for the solution of the complex problems of her industry, sanitation, education and local self-government. These are the questions which are naturally put by people who are carried away by the exaggerated stories of Hindu-Muslim riots. Before I reply to these questions

I must make one or two points perfectly clear. Both the great communities of India regard toleration as the cardinal tenet of their faith. Religious toleration is of the essence of Hinduism. It combines the loftiest moral precepts and the grandest conceptions with the most wonderful adaptation that has ever been seen in any religion. It is nothing if not tolerant, and it has succeeded by a process of peaceful penetration in absorbing ideas and assimilating doctrines that seemed at first utterly inconsistent. It is plastic, dynamic, and adaptable, and in order that it may mould and absorb alien institutions, alien races, alien clans, and alien civilization, it has to be receptive, assimilative, and tolerant. Hinduism has succeeded, therefore, by the practice of a doctrine which postulates social harmony, communal concord, and religious reconciliation. The other great community Islam is no less remarkable for it than Hinduism. The Khalif Ali said: "The blood of Zimmi was like our blood." As a great Orientalist has remarked: "Admitting no privilege, no caste, the Islamic legislation produced two great results—that of freeing the soil from factitious burdens imposed by barbarous laws, and of assuring to individuals perfect equality of rights." The charter which was granted to the Jews by the Prophet after his arrival in Medina, and the noble message sent to the Christians at Najran and the neighbouring territories after Islam had fully established itself in the Peninsula, show how tolerant, liberal, and enlightened Islam is. Let me quote a passage from my Introduction to the *History of Jehangir*: "Akbar was probably the first to conceive; he was certainly the first to apply the principles of religious toleration." Islam regards toleration as a sacred duty which it is incumbent on all its followers to carry out in the letter and spirit. No better example of toleration could be furnished by any other country in the world. Religious quarrels were rarely heard of under the Mughal Empire, and if any took place they were put down mercilessly by all the rulers.

Even at the present time when so much is heard of Hindu-Muslim differences, when cables are sent to England containing the most alarming "information," when rarely a week passes without lurid accounts of murder, loot, and arson in a communal fight in an Indian town, the Hindus and Muslims in the villages are living on the most friendly terms. They live amicably, they rarely quarrel, and if they do indulge in a fight now and then it is, and remains, a private quarrel between a Hindu and a Muslim, and is rarely raised to the dignity of a "communal riot." I have

about 200,000 peasants in my constituency, settled in 600 to 700 villages, and I can say from my experience that communal quarrels are rare there. The countryside is, happily for India, peaceful, and the simple, honest, sturdy, and frugal peasant is a sociable, tolerant, albeit an ignorant, individual, who avoids all quarrels with his neighbours, upon whose co-operation, goodwill, and active interest sometimes depend the safety of his family and the security of his property.

He is suspicious of over-clever people from the town and is not easily caught in the meshes of the communal agitator. He knows that he cannot afford that luxury; he is conscious of the evil effects which the disease would produce upon his rent, his crops, his little mud house, and what is of infinite importance to him, upon his landlord. Hence the rural classes are free to a large extent from this virus, and may they remain free for ever!

In the towns the position is different: it is not, however, so profound a difference as people imagine. There you may have about 99 per cent. of the population, both Hindu and Muslim, maintaining the friendliest relations and mixing socially with the greatest freedom and without the least suspicion of distrust. Some of my best friends are Hindus, and I have greater regard for them than I have for some of my Muslim friends. We must discard the notion that the communal strife is so intense in India that life is dangerous. This is a figment of the imagination, and anyone who moves in Indian society will tell you at once that it is a libel on the Indian community. Both the communities are distinguished by a courtesy, kindliness of disposition and social polish, which it would be difficult to find elsewhere. I have been a good deal in Italy, Switzerland, France, and England, and I affirm with confidence that, with the exception of the Englishman in England, there is no more courteous, kind, and tolerant people than the Indian, be he a Hindu, a Muslim, or a Parsi. The Englishman in England is the most lovable person in the world. He is very good-tempered, courteous, and obliging. There may be some people who will object to this statement. My only reply is that I state it on the basis of ten years' experience of England.

Again, the Indian is not a fanatic by temperament. He is law-abiding and is of a peaceable disposition. It is only when mischief-makers try to advance themselves by fomenting communal quarrels that he has sometimes paroxysms of religious frenzy. This does not last very long, but it is

attended at times by most unfortunate consequences. The real culprits escape, and it is the unfortunate passers-by who come in for severe treatment. As the Hindus and Muslims do not follow the Gregorian calendar, the dates of their festivals shift regularly. It might happen that the period of the greatest mourning among the Muslims, the Mohurrum, may synchronize with a festival that enjoins festivity on the Hindus. This is a time of great trouble and trial to the people, and it is especially on these days that "collisions" occur between the two communities. Again, the rays of the sun impart an additional heat and inflame the quarrel. In winter-time the people are good-humoured, jolly, and very sociable. During the summer their tempers are sorely tried by the hot wind, their digestion is affected, and they are generally out of sorts.

At such periods an unscrupulous and impecunious agitator can easily appeal to the religious passion of members of his community, and if they respond—and this is not happily always the case—he can carve his way to greater things. The more vociferous he is, the more intolerance he shows, the greater are his chances of success. *He* will not suffer by an increase in the amount of fanaticism. After all, he may argue, the amount is not absolute. We need more fanaticism, he will say. He may apply Strafford's doctrine of "thorough" or adopt Robespierre's doctrine of moral "purge." Of course the country does suffer, but then he has neither the nobility of character to subordinate his selfish policy to the good of his State, nor the width of culture to conceive the State as resting essentially on compromise. It must be said that such an individual is to be found among both the communities. His strength lies not in his numbers—he forms but an infinitesimal part of the great population—not in his sincerity, nor in his fanaticism, but in his capacity for mischief. He can set a quiet, peaceful town, where the noblest traditions of two of the grandest religions in the world are exemplified in the daily lives of members of the two communities, ablaze in an hour, and lo! and behold, in an incredibly short time, the city will be a city of mourning, full of widows, children, cattle, corn, gold and silver, but shorn of its greatest and most valuable jewels—the sturdy, promising, and honest youths who killed each other under the delusion that their God liked it.

I have given rather a long space to a certain type of communal agitator, as I do not think sufficient attention has been paid to this species. I referred to it in a speech I delivered in the United Provinces Legislative Council in

1924, and analysed the specimen in several letters to the Press. The Government cannot, unfortunately, arrest a man on mere suspicion, and he can go about sowing the seeds of hatred, of bitterness, and of discord.

I have no desire to go fully into the causes of communal quarrels. It is a highly controversial subject. One of the most important causes of this quarrel is, if I may so put it, the political organization of the Indian people since the Reforms. This may appear rather paradoxical, yet I am inclined to think that sufficient attention has not yet been paid to it. Before the Reforms, there were several well-known organizations in every Province in India which did remarkable work. They organized political agitation, they focussed the attention of the public on Indian industries, they emphasized the need of social reform. There were, and are, of course, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. But these bodies met only once a year, and although they have achieved extraordinary success they did not, because they could not, bring to bear continuous, persistent, and concentrated attention on the various problems of the Provinces. The Legislative Council have therefore produced, as it were, permanent committees which subject every action of the Government to the most meticulous criticism. The political, social, and economic problem of the Provinces which had received but scant attention so far are thoroughly studied, and a unity of policy and a continuity of effort are thus secured.

Communities which had hitherto possessed no organizations, or organizations which had been created for the purpose of advancing an individual, are now organized in a definite form in the Council. Before 1920 it was difficult to say whether, apart from the All-India Muslim League and the Muhammadan Educational Conference, any organization could be said to be a genuine representative of Indian-Muslims. After the Reforms, the Muslims of the Punjab who had hitherto been torn into numerous factions by personal, family, caste, and other quarrels, were organized into a solid and compact body, and the Macedonian phalanx has proved irresistible so far. Until the dominating personality that conceived the idea and carried it through with extraordinary persistence disappears from the scene, there is no fear of division in the ranks of Punjab Muslims, so far, of course, as the Legislative Council is concerned. Bengal supplies another example. The Muslims there, from being conquerors, had, in a short period of eighty years, greatly

declined in political importance. They were and still are poor, educationally backward and hopelessly divided. There were, of course, several Associations which were said to represent them. It was not, however, till the Reforms of 1919 that they became politically conscious. They were, probably for the first time, brought together from every part of Bengal and organized in the Bengal Legislative Council. This was a great gain, the significance of which has not been noticed sufficiently. They are at the present moment torn by personal, sectional, and family jealousies, but the time is not far distant when the few dissentients who have hitherto held aloof from Sir Abdur Rahim's party will join and form a solid block which will decide the fate of every Government in Bengal.

Precisely the same reasoning applies to the Hindus. They too have been organized. Hence, whenever Hindu interests are threatened, all Hindus, with few exceptions, vote together; when Muslim interests are threatened, the Muslims vote solid. I may add that the purpose of this article is merely an analysis of the causes of the controversy.

It must be confessed that some of the causes of the quarrel are religious causes. But I have little respect and less regard for those who emphasize the religious causes. I know, of course, that the question of music before mosques has agitated and is agitating the minds of the Government and the people. But I am inclined to think that the problem is not so serious as it looks. If the Government will act firmly, if it will act justly—as it has done in most cases—there is no reason why the mob should not be properly controlled. The Muslims contend that they have a right to perform their prayers peacefully; the Hindus assert that they must establish their right to the freedom of *their* worship. It seems to me that both ignore the point that it is only by compromise that conflicting rights can be adjusted. T. H. Green has remarked in his wonderful analysis of *Right*, that every right implies a corresponding duty, and it is this factor which seems to be ignored by the firebrands of both the communities.

The third important cause is the economic factor. This is much more serious, and is not susceptible of a solution in the immediate future. The Bengal Muslims are wretchedly poor; the Muslims of Eastern Bengal are slightly better off, yet even there, where the Muslims form about 75 per cent. of the population, the proportion of Hindu landlords is 80 per cent. In the United Provinces, in

answer to a question which I put in the Legislative Council, I gathered the information that the Muslim landlords pay 25 per cent. of the Government revenue in the Provinces. As they form about one-fifth of the population, the figure is by no means poor; but if you look up the gazetteer of any district in the United Provinces you will find that the property of Muslims is heavily mortgaged. The Punjab Muslims are probably the most prosperous of all the Muslims in India, but this is due to a very large extent to the beneficial effects of the Law Alienation Act. Again, commerce, industry, banking, etc., are in the hands of the Hindus.

In Bombay City the Muslims are prosperous, but in the rest of the Presidency their economic position is not so satisfactory.

I come lastly to the political causes. These seem to me the most important, and until they are removed I fear there is no chance of any diminution in the number of riots. When Lord Irwin summons a conference of leaders of the two communities, I hope the purely religious causes will not be mixed up with the strictly political ones. The political rights enjoyed by the two communities are based on a Parliamentary statute, and the conference should, in my humble opinion, analyze and distinguish the causes of communal dissension as carefully as possible, and devise appropriate remedies for them.

The position of the Muslims is quite clear and definite. They desire the retention of communal representation in the Legislatures, and they are not prepared to drop it for the present. I myself do not approve of communal representation in principle. I said so before the Reforms Enquiry Committee, 1924. It is an evil, but, as I stated, it is a necessary evil. An overwhelming number of Muslims support the proposal; and I am convinced that if the British Government breaks its plighted word and drops communal representation the Muslims will be greatly disappointed—nay, they have made it clear that they regard communal representation as a condition precedent of any change that might be introduced into the Indian Constitution.

It is true that certain advanced Muslim politicians, headed by Mr. Jinnah, made proposals at the Delhi conference whereby communal representation was to be given up on certain conditions. Mr. Jinnah is the ablest Parliamentarian in India at the present day, and has a large following among the Muslim intelligentzia. But the Hindu Sabha of Sind

has violently opposed these proposals, and Sir Sankaran Nair, at the meeting of the Hindu Sabha of the Central Provinces, condemned them on behalf of the Hindus. There is absolutely no sign of the Hindus agreeing to these proposals. The Muslims have also opposed these proposals in no uncertain terms.

Sir Abdur Rahim in Bengal is opposed to them; the Bihar Provincial League has rejected them; the Muslim Members of the United Provinces Legislative Council rejected them last March; the Muslim Members of the Punjab Legislative Council and the Punjab Provincial League have condemned them; the Madras Muslim Members of the Legislative Council are opposed to them and have condemned them, while the Bombay Muslims have also turned them down.

From the above it will be clear that the Muslims are practically unanimous against these proposals, while the Hindus have rejected them, and are not likely to agree to them.

Whatever the outcome of these negotiations may be, one thing is clear—that Indian Muslims are determined to maintain communal representation at the present juncture.

Let me conclude this article by quoting a sentence from one of the ablest Nationalist papers, the *Leader*, of Allahabad, September 1. It says: "The Delhi proposals have found very scanty support among the Muslims." This is perfectly correct.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submits the following Report on the Proceedings of the Association for the year 1926-27:

The Association elected 49 new Members, but lost 31 by death and resignation. Progress continues to be steady, even though we are still under the handicap of the war and its after-effects. The financial results show a slight improvement, more especially as there was no need to call upon the small reserve for assistance, as was the case last year.

We have particularly to deplore the loss of Miss Scatcherd, a Member of Council and a familiar figure at the Meetings, and of Sir James Wilson, once a Member of Council and an authority on Indian Finance and Agriculture.

Lord Lamington was again re-elected President of the Association, and Sir Louis Dane Chairman of Council. Mr. F. H. Brown was elected an Hon. Life Member and co-opted on the Council.

Our thanks are due to H.H. the Nawab of Radhanpur for a generous donation of Rs. 2,000, which converted into sterling (£148 8s. 9d.) was invested by the Trustees. In token of gratitude the Council elected His Highness an Hon. Life Member. The interest upon this sum, together with that on Mr. Connel's legacy of £500, goes some way towards retrieving the loss caused by the imposition of the income tax which was unsuccessfully contested in 1925.

Eight papers were read during the year. Of a general kind were those of Rev. C. E. Wilson on "The Lay Work of Missionary Societies in India," and Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik on "Western Influence on Bengal Life."

Administration was represented by Criminal Law (Mr. F. G. Butler), Opium (Sir Richard Dane), Posts and Telegraphs (Sir Geoffrey Clarke), Forests (Mr. Perrée), and the Indian Army (Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn). The Indian Trade Commissioner gave an interesting address on cotton.

The situation in India calls for little remark in this Report. Communal tension has unfortunately become conspicuous, and the Association can only express the hope that the contending parties will see their way to a concordat.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation :

Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E.
J. B. Pennington, Esq.
Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G.
Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

It is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to the Council.

The Accounts show a balance at the bank of £211 0s. 6d., as compared with £203 3s. 9d. last year.

(Signed) L. DANE, *Chairman of Council.*
STANLEY P. RICE, *Hon. Secretary.*

BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 30, 1927

ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
Investments in India:			
Government Promissory Notes for Rupees 92,400 (present value)	5,359	4	0
£570 India Stock, 4½%, 1950-55 (present value)	518	0	0
£450 War Loan, 5%, 1929-47 (present value) ...	452	0	0
Balance at Bank	211	0	6
Cash and Stamps in hand ...	1	6	6
Deposit Account	56	0	0
	£6,597	11	0

LIABILITIES. Nil.

Examined and found correct.
F. J. P. RICHTER, Member of Council.
G. M. RYAN, Member of Association.

May 16, 1927. STANLEY P. RICE, Hon. Secretary.

APPENDIX A

The following Papers were read during the year :

May 31, 1926.—"The Lay Work of Missionary Societies in India," by the Rev. C. E. Wilson, B.A. Sir Frank Dyson, F.R.S., in the chair.

July 12, 1926.—"Some Points of Difference in the Criminal Law of England and India," by F. G. Butler, I.C.S. Sir Francis Oldfield in the chair.

October 18, 1926.—"Opium in China and India," by Sir Richard M. Dane, K.C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

November 15, 1926.—"Post and Telegraph Work in India," by Sir Geoffrey R. Clarke, C.S.I., O.B.E. Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., in the chair.

January 24, 1927.—"Indian Forest Administration," by W. F. Perrée, C.I.E. Sir Robert Warrand Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., in the chair.

February 14, 1927.—"India's Cotton Problem," by H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S. (Indian Trade Commissioner). Sir Frank Nelson, M.P., in the chair.

March 21, 1927.—"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. General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., in the chair.

April 25, 1927.—"Western Influence on Bengal Life," by Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E. (Member of the Council of India). Sir William H. Vincent, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

APPENDIX B

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Aiylam Subrananaiayyar Panchapakesa Ayyar, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.
Sir Alexander James Anderson, C.S.I.

Sir John Kaye Batten, I.C.S. (retd.).
Guy Ponsonby Boys, Esq.
F. H. Brown, Esq., C.I.E. (Hon. Life Member).
Leonard Birley, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S.
Cecil Henry Bompas, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.)
Sir John William Anderson Bell.
Kapur Singh Bajwa, Esq., B.A. (Student Member).
Sondagar Chand Chopra, Esq., M.B.B.S. (Student Member).
Sir Peter Henry Clutterbuck, C.I.E., C.B.E., V.D. (Life Member).
Patrick Robert Cadell, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.).
Walter Norman Delevinge, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
Thomas Emerson, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Siri Krishna Gurtu, Esq., M.A., M.I.C.E., M.I.E.
Rai Sahib Upendra Narayan Datta Gupta.
Noel Lanyon Hindley, Esq., I.C.S.
Edwin Haward, Esq.
Khan Sahib Amir Hasan.
Henry Graham Haig, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Henry Norton Hutchinson, Esq., O.B.E., I.C.S. (retd.).
Miles Irving, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
His Excellency the Right Hon. Sir F. Stanley Jackson, G.C.I E.
Kapoor Chand Jain, Esq. (Student Member).
Mohamed Nawab Ali Khan, Esq. (Student Member).
Mancherji Pestanji Khareghat, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
Khan Bahadur Sardar Mohammed Shahbaz Khan Khalafzai of Kazur.
Henry Duncan Graves Law, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Donald Hector Lees, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.).
Shiv Narain Mehra, Esq. (Student Member).
Surendra Nath Mallik, Esq., C.I.E.
Sir Herbert John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
J. N. Mehra, Esq., M.B. (Student Member).

Asit Krishna Mukerji, Esq. (Student Member).
Sir Manubhai Nandshanker Mehta, K.C.S.I.
T. R. Mehandri, Esq. (Student Member).
Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.).
James J. Nolan, Esq.
Commander Richard Lindsay Nicholson, D.S.O., R.N. (retd.).
Thakore Saheb Shri Bahadursinhji Nandsinhji of Palitana.
Lieut.-Colonel Stewart Blakeley Agnew Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E.
H.H. Jalaluddin Khan Bismillah Khan, Nawab of Radhanpur (Hon. Life Member).
Captain Cyril Grey Snelling, I.A.
Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, K.C.I.E.
Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagram (Life Member).
B. S. Venkataraman, Esq., B.A. (Student Member).
T. A. H. Way, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
Sir Cecil Walsh, K.C.
Lieut.-Colonel D. Warliker, I.M.S. (retd.).

Appendix C

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

Maharaja Sir Venkata Svetachalapati Ranga Rao, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., Maharaja of Bobbili.
Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur, Saiyid Hussain Bilgrami, C.S.I.
James Richard Baillie, Esq.
Lord Cable.
The Right Hon. Lord Emmott, G.C.M.G.
Rai Bahadur Lalit Mohan Singha.
C. W. Simson, Esq.
Miss F. R. Scatcherd.
Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.
H. C. Sampson, Esq., C.I.E.

Appendix D

The following have resigned membership during the year:

Miss K. Acland.
H. Kelway Bamber, Esq., M.V.O.
Sir Archibald Birkmyre, Bart., C.B.E.
Bhagwan Das Bery, Esq.
Sir George S. Curtis, K.C.S.I.
J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Esq.
Sir William Foster, C.I.E.
Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney, I.M.S. (retd.).
Sir Herbert Holmwood.
Khan Bahadur Saiyid Siddiq Hasan.
Charles St. John Ives, Esq.
General H. A. Iggulden, C.I.E.
Henry Leitner, Esq.
E. Manasseh, Esq.
A. de Mello, Esq.
Rai Bahadur Madho Pershad.
H. S. Shaw, Esq.
Raja Sir Harnam Singh, K.C.I.E.
Sir Robert Stanes.
Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh.
F. W. Woods, Esq., C.I.E.

ANNUAL MEETING

The sixtieth Annual General Meeting of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, June 13, 1927.

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following Members, among others, were present: Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Sir Charles Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Colonel G. V. Holmes, C.I.E., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. Uma Prasada, Mrs. Martley, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Colonel D. Warliker, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Mr. G. M. Ryan, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The Chairman: Gentlemen,—I believe you have in your hands copies of the Report of the Proceedings of our Association, and also you have a Statement of Accounts, so that I shall formally propose their adoption. I will make just a few remarks upon the Report, although these will be of a very brief nature.

I believe this Association continues to do good work, and I gather that is largely due to the efforts of those who are responsible for the executive work of the Association, and in particular to Sir Louis Dane, who is Chairman of the Council, and also to our admirable Secretary, Mr. Stanley Rice. I have great admiration for the gentlemen who give up their time in labouring over matters which do not perhaps receive much public attention, and which receive no award of praise or reward. I am also glad to know that the membership of the Association continues to increase, thereby betokening that the public realize that we do play some part in bringing together the great communities of our Indian Empire and of this country I think that we might perhaps have a wider sphere of influence if we improved the means of access to, and our accommodation at, No. 3 Victoria Street. I believe there may be a lift put in, so that you will not have the trouble of climbing so many flights of stone steps. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I am glad to think there is a chance of this improvement being carried out. I am sure it would be the means of bringing more Indians who come over to this country into contact with the work of the Association, because they will be better able to seek the help of our Secretary, Mr. Stanley Rice. I need not go over much more of the Report except to say that I am sure you share with me our great regret at the death of Miss Scatcherd, who really did such important work in our common cause. I never met anybody with greater enthusiasm or more disinterested action. We have also lost Sir James Wilson, a Member of our Council, which we must very much regret.

Now, as regards the general outlook in India, I am glad to think that three or four years ago I prophesied that things were not quite so black as they looked, and I think everybody agrees now that a far better understanding has arisen in India than existed at that time. We each of us realize that one is indispensable to the other for the common welfare of our great Empire. What the future may bring as far as India is concerned in political development it is not easy to forecast. There is certainly a more harmonious working than there was four or five years ago. At that time I always refused to look at the black side which presented itself to the public gaze, and I think I was fully justified in my confidence. India, like every other country in the world since the war, has been subjected to extreme political, social, and commercial changes, but it is marvellous to see how well she has emerged from the great difficulties which have faced every country. When we think of those 315 millions of people, and the mere handful of whites who administer their affairs, it does speak well for the common intelligence of the people that they should desire to co-operate in bringing about the best relations. Both can help and both will prosper according as they combine their joint efforts. With these few remarks I beg to move the adoption of the Report and the Accounts, and I would ask the Maharaja of Burdwan to second the Resolution. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN: My Lord and Gentlemen,—I do not think it requires many words from me to commend to you the adoption of the Report and Accounts, specially after such a lucid speech from our President. I have now belonged to the East India Association for a number of years, but I have never had the good fortune to be present at an Annual Meeting of the Association. Lord Lamington, whom I had the pleasure of meeting for the first time many years ago at Bombay, has very rightly put to you the present position in India. It is very fortunate that the new Viceroy should be having such a peaceful time in India at the present moment, and I trust that good sense will prevail to make things remain so, both on the part of the administrators, and those who are being looked after in order to prepare themselves for the future progress of India. I believe that the East India Association, consisting of so many members who have passed the best years of their life in India, can greatly assist in the continuity of the good feeling between the British and the Indians. (Hear, hear.) Now, Gentlemen, there is very little in this Report to which any further attention need be called, and I trust, therefore, that you will pass it, and I have pleasure in seconding that the Report and Accounts be adopted. (Applause.)

Sir M. M. BHOWNAGGREE: Lord Lamington in the course of his interesting speech a few minutes ago remarked that we ought to feel much admiration for those who devote their time and energy to the affairs of associations like ours. If that be so, what should be the measure of admiration for Lord Lamington himself, who, in spite of his multifarious interests and calls upon his time, attends almost regularly our important meetings, presides at lectures, and even attends to the details of its affairs? (Cheers.) On previous occasions while the loss sustained by the death of our late eminent President, Lord Reay, was fresh in our minds, as also that of our popular Secretary, Dr. Pollen, some of us had given expression to the doubt that was felt about their places being filled by suitable successors. Lord Lamington has proved a worthy successor to Lord Reay, and with Sir Louis Dane as Chairman of Committee, our energetic Secretary Mr. Stanley Rice, assisted by Mr. King, we have every reason to feel that the affairs of the Association are in safe keeping. In the full hope that he will continue for many years to be at the head of such a combination, I have much pleasure in proposing the re-election of Lord Lamington as President of the Association for the ensuing year. (Cheers.)

Colonel MEADE: Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in seconding the proposal which has been made that Lord Lamington be re-elected as President of this Association. I knew Lord Lamington first when he was Governor of Bombay, and I can say that this Association is very fortunate in having him as President. I also know very well Sir Louis Dane, and our Secretary, Mr. Stanley Rice, and I happily endorse everything that has been said by Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree with regard to them. (Applause.)

The Proposal was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I very much appreciate the fact that you have thought fit to re-elect me as your President. I think, as the days go by and one gets older, one values more and more—certainly I do—any symptoms of good feeling and appreciation which are shown of one's services, however slight they may be, which are directed to good purposes; therefore, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for having endorsed the words so kindly spoken about me, and I trust that I may merit your encomium at the end of the next twelve months. I appreciate very much the fact that my old friend Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree should have proposed this Resolution, because I had not seen him for some time, and I had heard that he had been in ill health, and, therefore, I welcome him here all the more heartily today. Also my old friend referred to Bombay days, and I have very happy memories of those now rather distant times. I accept with pleasure the fact that you think me worthy of being your President for the ensuing year, and I trust you will always find me willing to do anything I can on behalf of this Association. (Applause.)

Colonel HOLMES: My Lord and Gentlemen,—I have the honour to propose that Mr. F. H. Brown be elected a Member of the Council.

Mr. RICHTER: I have much pleasure in seconding that Resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: It is proposed that Mr. F. H. Brown be elected a Member of the Council. I do not know whether it rests with me to say this, but Mr. Brown takes a very great interest indeed in Indian affairs in this City of London. He is always present at every meeting. I may say that Mr. Brown was elected an honorary life Member last year, and I therefore have to ask you whether you are willing to endorse his being elected a Member of the Council. I cannot imagine a more useful Member.

The Resolution was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.

Mr. F. H. BROWN: My Lord and Gentlemen,—I am obliged to the Members of the Association for electing me a Member of the Council,

thus confirming the action taken by the Council. It has been a very great pleasure for me to serve under Sir Louis Dane as Chairman of the Council, and I have noticed the good feeling with which the work of the Association is carried on by that body. Everything is prepared for us so well by the Secretary that we have comparatively little to do when we come together. I feel that this Association is playing a very valuable part in the work of making India better known and better understood in this country. It is the only important organization connected with India that has an absolutely open platform for the expression of opinion, and is without the least political bias. The motto of the Association is very faithfully carried out—namely, that it exists for the disinterested advocacy of the best interests of the people of India. (Applause.)

Mr. G. M. RYAN: I have much pleasure in proposing the re-election of the following Members of the Council: Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., J. B. Pennington, Esq., Sir Charles Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. I may say they have performed their duties remarkably well, and it does not need me to say anything more, because I feel sure that the Members of the Association will re-elect them.

Sir J. G. Cumming: I have much pleasure in seconding the Resolution that these gentlemen be re-elected as Members of the Council.

The Resolution was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir CHARLES YATE: My Lord and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in proposing the election of two Members to the Association—namely, Lord Middleton and Mrs. Pollen. I am sure everybody here present will be very happy to welcome the widow of our old friend Dr. John Pollen as a Member of the Association, and I beg to move that Resolution. (Applause.)

Mr. F. H. BROWN: I beg to second the Motion which has been proposed. It is very satisfactory for those of us who were warm friends of Dr. Pollen to know that Mrs. Pollen has come to live in London, and I am glad to think she continues to show the interest in the Association which her husband showed.

The Resolution was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir LOUIS DANE: Your Highness and Gentlemen,—I have a very pleasant duty to perform, and that is to propose a vote of thanks to our President for coming here today. Perhaps I might be allowed to say, speaking on behalf of myself and the Secretary, that we are very much obliged to our President and other members of the Association who have referred to the work done on behalf of the Association. The Secretary and Mr. King have to do practically all the work, and the duty of the Chairman and of most Members of the Council is a very easy one, although perhaps we do serve a useful purpose when the atmosphere at the meetings becomes somewhat heated, and some of us are able to administer the necessary cooling douche so that matters can go along smoothly. It is a pity, as I said some time ago, that we are all so very old on the Council; but we have done our best to remedy that, and we have now two most efficient and excellent younger Members in Mr. Richter and Mr. Brown, and as the older Members retire or otherwise disappear, I have no doubt that our successors will be younger men. However, at present there is no doubt very great advantage in having a number of men

on the Council who have known India in the past. We hear a great deal about changes that are taking place in India, but it is a case of *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*, and it is just as well to have Members on the Council with previous experience as well as present experience.

Now, there is a difficulty which I have to mention with regard to our present premises; they are very inconvenient in many ways; for instance, they are not as accessible as they might be. Perhaps they will be soon made more accessible by the construction of the lift which our President mentioned, but we want more room there, and some day, perhaps, we may be able to have better premises, and then we shall appear more prominently in the public eye and attract more Members—especially young Indian Members. I do not suppose I shall have anything to do with the affairs of the Institution when that comes about, but I do hope that some of those who are present here, and who may then have the management of the affairs, will remember this very crying want. People will not climb up three flights of steep stone steps to attend meetings and read the Papers of an Association, no matter how deserving and interesting that Association may be, when they can go to other places on the ground-level, which are much more easily accessible. Now, there is the probability of the London University evacuating the Imperial Institute, and I am sure that all Members will remember the most excellent accommodation which exists in the Imperial Institute, adjoining the Indian Museum; therefore, it would be singularly suitable for our purposes to have access to the splendid halls and corridors which were constructed by the Pettitt family and Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree's relations, and which are earmarked for the use of Indian Societies. That is a thing that we ought to keep our eyes on. Action has already been taken in connection with other Indian Societies to remind the authorities that Indian Societies have a prior claim on these rooms. Then there is another possibility, as I understand—namely, that it has been practically agreed by the Legislative Assembly in these happier times of greater wealth in India that an important and imposing India House should be constructed in Aldwych. That House is to contain what they call Trade Chambers, and suites of apartments to be utilized by various Societies and Associations connected with India. I have already spoken to Sir Atul Chatterjee on the subject, and I hope all of you who have any influence in the matter with the powers that be in India will put in a very strong claim on behalf of this Association. Your Council, in renewing the lease of our present chambers in Victoria Street, have carefully inserted a provision that the lease may be broken at the end of five years. That has been done in order to ensure the possibility of being able to move into either of these desirable sites whenever they become vacant. I see a great many gentlemen here who are not on the Council, but who are in a position to help, and I am sure that they will do all that they possibly can.

I am sure that I have voiced the feelings of all present in offering our sincere thanks to Lord Lamington for all the work he has done in the past as our President, and in kindly consenting to serve for another year, and also for coming here today to preside at this Meeting. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. STANLEY RICE: My Lord and Gentlemen,—My name has been brought up several times very kindly this afternoon, and also Mr. King's. I should like to thank you very much, both on my own and on his behalf, for the support and encouragement which the Association has given to us every year. I should just like to add this: I know Mr. King's work a good deal more intimately than any other Member of the Association, and I think it is very difficult to overestimate the debt which the Association owes to Mr. King. If it were not for Mr. King's business methods and devotion to the Association not only would our membership be very much smaller, but my own work would be about, I think, trebled. I wish to thank you again, both on my own behalf and on Mr. King's behalf, for the very kind words you have used about us this afternoon.

Lord LAMINGTON: Gentlemen,—Once again I have to utter thanks for the kind words which have been said by Sir Louis Dane. I assure you I am very pleased to be here this afternoon. I see here a larger number of Members than I ever remember seeing before, and I may fairly claim that shows the vitality of, and the great interest taken in, the work by the Members of the Association. In these days of June people do not have much leisure time upon their hands, and I think it is a distinct sign that you who are present wish to be associated with the work of the East India Association. I am particularly glad that we are honoured by the presence of the Maharaja of Burdwan. That, again, is another proof that our work is not unimportant.

I was also very glad to hear the words spoken by Mr. Rice in regard to Mr. King. From what I know of him, he is a most invaluable servant to the Association.

In my opening remarks you will remember I referred to the possibility of a lift being put into the premises at No. 3, Victoria Street. I am delighted to think that Sir Louis Dane is alive to the importance of getting accommodation more accessible to those who are interested in the Association and affairs of India. He mentioned two possibilities: one as to premises in Aldwych, and the other as to the Imperial Institute. If I may say so, that is east and west. It will be necessary, I think, to find out which would be the better centre for the carrying on of our work, whether Kingsway or Kensington; that is a very important thing to know. You want to know the area or the situation which Members will find best adapted for the purposes of the Association. That can only be done by general intercourse and discussion to discover what are the opinions of various Members.

Now, I do desire to refer to the fact of the unveiling of the statue of Dadabhai Naoriji. It is only fitting that some words be spoken about the great work which he did. He foresaw the possibility of bringing together those Indians resident or visiting London, and bringing them into association with others who were inhabitants of the country. I mention this because I think it is rather a notable fact that it is this year that his statue has been erected and very properly unveiled in Bombay city by His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson.

I thank you very heartily for the vote of thanks you have passed.

The meeting was followed by a Conversazione.

THE INDIAN NAVY

By P. R. CADELL, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (RETIRED)

I FEEL that at the outset some explanation, if not apology, is required to make clear why I have ventured to agree to the suggestion that I should read a paper on the Indian Navy. The history of that Navy is for the most part a record of the force which, after three centuries of service under various designations, was last year transformed from its stage of existence as the Royal Indian Marine into the Royal Indian Navy. Its services up to the year 1863, which marked the ending, as a fighting force, of the then existing Indian Navy, have been fully set out in the History written by an Officer of that Navy, Commander Low, and the story has been briefly continued in an admirable lecture by a recent Director of the Royal Indian Marine, Admiral Mawbey. It has, however, been, as it seems to me, a reasonable complaint of the officers of that Service that, though the Service has been of so great importance in the origin, extension, and maintenance of the British Empire in the East, the amount of interest taken in it by those not officially connected with it has been very small, and the recognition of its work has been correspondingly meagre. Perhaps, therefore, some account of it may be accepted from an outsider, however inadequately equipped. If so, it may be regarded as suitable that that outsider should be one who has been connected with the Presidency in which the Indian Navy began—a Presidency, moreover, whose name it has borne for more than half its long career: from which, also, its Indian personnel has been drawn in the past, and must continue to be recruited in the future. If any further excuse is

necessary, I may advance personal friendship with many officers of the Royal Indian Marine, dating from the time when, a few days after my arrival in India, I experienced the force of a cyclone at a station where one of the Indian Marine vessels was lost with practically all on board.

The predecessors of the Indian Navy, of one of which it is, as I shall show later, almost the legal heir, must indeed be looked for in the most ancient times. When we remember the vast extent—some four thousand miles—of the seaboard of India, and the antiquity of its overseas commerce, the existence of some form of naval control by the rulers having authority on that seaboard was inevitable. Of the extent of that commerce we have many records. There was close intercourse, of which further evidence is yearly being found in excavations in both countries, between Babylonia and the western lands of India. The references to the trade of the Phœnicians and of the fleets of Solomon are well known. The later trade of the Romans, the Chinese, and the Arabs we know to have been very extensive. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that Chandra Gupta, about 300 B.C., had what may be called a Board of Admiralty. It is interesting to observe that Strabo tells us that this formed one of the six divisions of the Military Department. It would appear, therefore, that the control of naval affairs by military men at a central headquarters, which has so often been a source of complaint to officers of the Indian Navy and of the Royal Indian Marine, has a most respectable tradition of antiquity behind it. In the opinion of the historian V. A. Smith, we may credit Chandra Gupta's grandson, Asoka, with a sea-going fleet, and he certainly issued an edict which dealt with marine matters. The details of the duties of these ancient Boards of Admiralty, however, show us that they had to deal chiefly with inland, or at least coastal, navigation. Although we know that Java and Sumatra and other Far Eastern lands were colonized from the coasts of Madras and from Guzerat over a succession of centuries,

we may assume that the ships mostly clung to the coasts, and that the main object of such state vessels of war as were maintained was to check the depredations of pirates. The activities of pirates are indeed the most constant feature of Indian maritime history down to quite recent times. We know that, before the time of Alexander, the Persians were so afraid of them that they blocked the navigation of the Tigris. Pliny and Ptolemy tell us of the precautions that had to be taken against them. Marco Polo gives an account of their desperate nature when he visited the Indian coast: and they persisted until they were finally extinguished by the Bombay Marine well within the nineteenth century. Whatever importance may be allowed to Indian overseas commerce, and to the efforts made by the greater rulers to protect and regulate it, the most striking fact relating to sea power in the Indian Ocean is the insignificance of its effect on the fortunes of the Indian peoples as a whole. The reason for this is not difficult to find. India was self-contained at that stage of civilization, at least as regards the import trade, while the external pressure that affected its people was applied by land invasions from the north-west. These may date possibly from the arrival of the Dravidians, and certainly from the time of the Aryans, down to the incursions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah. The solitary exception was the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in A.D. 712 (an invasion due in the first place to the outrages of local pirates) and its retention under Arab control for nearly three hundred years before the flood of Muhammadan invasion broke in through the passes of the north-west.

With the coming of the ocean-going ships of the European nations round the Cape of Good Hope, however, everything was changed. Although, as I have said, India must have been practically self-contained, and though sea-borne commerce alike with Europe and with the Far East had greatly decreased, there were two points on which the Indian rulers were particularly sensitive—namely, the pilgrim traffic with

Mecca, and the import of horses from Arabia and the Persian Gulf, on which the armies of the western and southern kingdoms almost entirely depended. When, therefore, the Portuguese had defeated the fleets of the Guzerat Sultans, who had till then called themselves the Lords of the Sea, and the Turkish fleets sent from Egypt, and had also seized the entrances to the Red Sea and to the Persian Gulf, they were in a very strong position, however great their errors and the internal abuses of their administration. They naturally used that position to prevent the English ships which first arrived at the end of Elizabeth's reign from sharing in the trade of India, and it became clear that their opposition could only be overcome by force. The East India Company, therefore, in 1612 fitted out a squadron designedly to repel the aggression of the Portuguese. This squadron, under Captain Thomas Best, almost immediately after its arrival in the roadstead of Surat engaged the Portuguese squadron on October 29, 1612, and defeated it after a three days' battle. If a definite date had to be fixed for the foundation of the British Empire in India, I think Captain Best's battle would have a good claim to it. From that day, at least, began the Indian Navy. Apart from Best's squadron, which of course traded as well as fought, a local service of small craft was formed at Surat, and we are told that service in it was very popular, as trading was permitted to its officers. A victory even more decisive in its results was won by Captain Nicholas Downton over a vastly superior Portuguese fleet early in 1615. This victory induced the Emperor Jehangir to grant the *firman* allowing the English to trade in his dominions including Bengal. This victory also rendered possible the successful embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, who arrived in India in the same year. That great ambassador had no doubt as to the value of sea power. In his advice to the Company he wrote: "By my consent you shall never engage yourselves, but at sea. Let this be received as a rule that, if you will profit, seek it at sea and in quiet trade."

Time would not permit of any detailed account of the services of the Company's marine, which, when the Company's headquarters had been firmly established in Bombay, became in 1686 the Bombay Marine. Anyone who reads its history will, I think, be astonished at the variety and extent of its duties. Though always a small service, it was never at peace: though often starved and ill-found, it always behaved well. It fought against the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French. It had even an engagement with an American ship in 1815, in which the honour, though not the victory, went to the much weaker Bombay ship. It fought fiercely contested actions with the fleets of the Peshwa and of Hyderali, and of the Maratha chiefs of the Bombay seaboard, in addition to engagements with pirates innumerable from the Gulf of Aden to the China Seas. It was always prepared to fight on land as well as at sea. In 1622, by its capture of Ormuz from the Portuguese (when William Baffin, the Arctic explorer, was killed), it began the long story of British influence in the Persian Gulf. In 1670, its sailors defended the English factory at Surat against Shivaji. In 1738, near Tellicherry, it furnished the first European force which fought on land in India with and against field artillery, preceding by a few years the armies of Dupleix and of Clive. In 1848 it supplied, at the siege of Multan, the first Naval Brigade to take part in Indian warfare at a distance from the sea. During the Indian Mutiny it supplied and trained several thousands of men who fought far from their ships.

Naturally, however, its chief service was rendered at sea. It took a material share in the combined operations of Watson and Clive which, after breaking the Angria power at Vijayadrug, restored British authority in Bengal by the recapture of Calcutta, the reduction of Chandernagore, and the crowning victory of Plassey. It rendered assistance of great value to the fleets of Boscawen, Pocock, and Hughes in the fierce struggle with France for the command of the sea, on which the decision of the ultimate power in India depended.

In all the wars waged from the sea, such as those in Burma, the capture of Java and Mauritius, the conquest of Sind, the wars with China and Persia, it took an important share. It even had a part in the earliest military operations in distant New Zealand. A mere record of these services may give some idea of their extent, but it can convey nothing of the arduous circumstances in which they were performed. Take, for example, the Persian Gulf. During a period of fifteen years, there were eight Commodores, of whom four died, and four had to resign on account of ill-health. In that time, twenty-eight officers out of the small cadre died on the Persian Gulf Station, and four-fifths of the remainder were invalided on sick leave. Officers recently serving remember the old gun brigs which were there stationed, the beams of whose wardrooms were only 4½ feet from the deck. The hardness of service in such circumstances can only faintly be imagined.

Continuous fighting and pirate-chasing was, however, only one part of the duty of the Indian Marine. An almost equal claim to our recollection and our gratitude lies in the surveys which they carried out in all parts of the Eastern seas, rendering possible the extension of our commerce and our authority from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan and New Guinea.

The activities of the Bombay Dockyard must be reckoned among the services of the Indian Marine. With the famous family of Wadia as shipwrights, many ships were constructed for the Royal as well as for the Indian Navy, which were renowned for their strength and longevity. It was the Bombay Dockyard that gave Pocock and Hughes a marked advantage over D'Aché and Suffren, dependent as these were on the distant and inferior facilities at the Île de France.

The Indian Navy ended officially in 1863, and its heir, the Bombay Marine till 1877, the Indian Marine till 1892, and the Royal Indian Marine till 1926, was primarily a non-fighting force, though for a good many years it assisted in the manning of the Defence Squadron stationed at Bombay.

None the less, in the essential work of trooping and embarkation, it rendered invaluable aid in many wars: the Egyptian Expedition of 1882, the South African War, the Boxer uprising, and above all in the Great War, when, in addition, it became once more a fighting force. Many hard things have been said about the transport breakdown in the Mesopotamian campaign and about those responsible for it. Those of us who had to do with war work in Bombay know how great were the difficulties to be faced, and how largely the final triumph was due to the officers of the Royal Indian Marine.

We have traced the direct descent of the Royal Indian Navy from the East India Company's Marine. It is interesting to note, however, that the Navy now established has another, if somewhat collateral, title to its position as the Navy of India. Both the Guzerat Sultans and the Bijapur Kings had their fleets on the Western seas: and the Moghul Emperors, when their dominions reached the ocean, followed their example. We are told by Abul Fazl of the establishment by the Emperor Akbar of an Admiralty Department. It is true that this seems to have dealt chiefly with river flotillas and the depredation of the Portuguese and Arakanese pirates. Nor can the quality of the Bengal Navy have been high when we are informed that "when 100 warships of Bengal sighted four ships of the enemy, the Bengal crews showed fight by flight." Nevertheless, Akbar and his successors maintained ships on the west coast for the Mecca pilgrim traffic. The Moghul fleet proved unable to protect that traffic, and Aurungzeb entrusted the duty to the Habshi chiefs, ancestors of the present Nawabs of Janjira and Sachin, who had been for many years admirals of the Bijapur fleets. These Sidi admirals, however, though strong enough in 1689 to land on the Island of Bombay and threaten its capture, proved quite unable to hold their own against the Angrias, who, from being admirals of the Maratha fleets, had established themselves as an independent piratical power. Still less were the Sidis competent to

protect merchantmen from the countless pirates of the coast. When, therefore, internal factions compelled the English to capture and hold Surat in 1759, it was natural that the East India Company should succeed to the dignity of being the Moghul's representative on the sea. An officer of the Bombay Marine was annually appointed from 1759 to 1829 to be the Moghul's admiral, and flew the Moghul's flag at the main. The post was worth £10,000 a year, and this at a time when the Governor of Bombay's annual stipend was £500 a year, while the ordinary pay of a captain of the Bombay Marine was Rs. 87 a month. In order to make the good thing go round as far as possible, its tenure was limited to one year for each officer. This is, however, the only example I can find of a lucrative office being open to the old Bombay Marine, while neither the Indian Navy nor the Royal Indian Marine ever had any plums at all. Just, however, as the Company in Bengal received the grant of the Dewáni in 1765 and became the natural heirs of the Moghul Emperors at Delhi, so did the Company in Bombay formally acquire the right of succeeding the Moghul in the Indian Ocean.

Sufficient has, perhaps, been said to indicate the extent of the activities of the Service which in its ultimate form became the Royal Indian Marine. As an independent witness to the spirit that animated it, I may quote Colonel the Hon. Leicester Stanhope, an officer who had seen much of its work, who in 1827 said: "Never was there an instance of any ship of the Indian Marine having lowered its flag to an enemy of equal force." As regards the men, it would perhaps be appropriate to quote from a round-robin signed by all hands of the Indian Navy ship *Elphinstone* and sent to the General at Aden in 1858: "We, the *Elphinstone's* crew, having heard that there is to be an expedition against Lahej, humbly beg that you will kindly allow us to serve with the forces, where we flatter ourselves we might be of use in working the fieldpieces, or as Infantry. Would you allow us to be the forlorn hope, as we are living ashore and

have got nothing else to do?" It is pleasing to record that the General met the wishes of the mariners and that they duly stormed Shaikh Othman.

This brief record of the old Marine Service may perhaps be sufficient to support the recent tribute of the Secretary of State for India to its "fine record and unsparing services," which alone, as he said, have made it possible to create the Royal Indian Navy. Valuable as the succession to such traditions must be, however, it is necessary to refer to certain considerations, if only for the purpose of preventing possible misconceptions and of stating difficulties which have occurred in the past, however improbable we may hope their repetition to be. In the first place, there is the very important question of personnel. In the past, the officers of the Marine Service have naturally all been British. It may be observed that even among the officers of the local Indian fleets there was a strong foreign element. The admirals of the Bijapur fleet, who became the Moghul admirals, were, as we have seen, Abyssinians. The leader of the Guzerat fleet against the Portuguese was a Turk. We are told of the many Firangis in Akbar's fleet: Angria's commanders were often English, Dutch, or Portuguese deserters or ex-pirates. The officers of the Company's marine were drawn from many sources. They came from the Royal Navy, or from merchant ships. Sometimes, as in the case of perhaps the most famous of them, Sir William James, they worked their way up from a humble rank on board. But they were all men bred to the sea, and the necessity for such early training has been enforced throughout the period of the Royal Indian Marine. Everyone must be glad that the opportunity for serving their country at sea has been thrown open to the youth of India. If there is at present no tradition of such service among the landed and educated class in India there is no inherent impossibility to prevent its creation, even among those whose home is far from the ocean, if the willingness to undergo the necessarily arduous training is forthcoming.

As regards the lower deck, it is not perhaps generally recognized how predominantly British it also was in the old fighting days. The ships of Best and Downton and their successors were naturally manned by British crews. The smaller coasting ships of the Company's marine doubtless always contained a large proportion of Indians: but the European element in the crews of the larger ships always predominated, and was only reduced when the shortage of men, due principally to the demands of the Royal Navy in the French wars, rendered it difficult to man the ships. Towards the end of the Indian Navy, the British element was constantly increased. It is right to observe that the Indian members of the crew, if not called on to do the major share of the fighting, always seem to have behaved well.

In early times, we hear more of Arab than of Indian sailors in the Indian Ocean: and I believe it is the case that the Indian names for parts of the ship's gear are almost entirely derived from the Arabs. There were in early days many Arab settlements on the west coast, and it is probable that there is a considerable Arab strain among the Muhammadan sailors of that coast, who have always furnished the lascars for the Indian Marine. Formerly they were obtained from the population of Gogho, on the Gulf of Cambay, who, Clement Downing tells us, were looked on as the most courageous men in the Moghul's Empire in his time. It was a Gogho man, we may remark, who guided Vasco da Gama across the Indian Ocean. The supply of men from that part fell off, however, though some of us may remember the Gogho crews on the P. and O. boats, and for many years the lascars of the Indian Marine have been recruited from the coast Muhammadans of the Ratnagiri district. It must be remembered that these men have not for several generations been trained as fighting men. At the outbreak of the Great War, when the troopships of the Royal Indian Marine were transformed into cruisers, some of the lascars pointed out that they had not been enlisted for fighting.

There need be no hesitation in mentioning this, as, the first trouble over, they behaved uniformly well, and earned the praise of the naval officers under whom they served. It is satisfactory to learn that the lascars of the Royal Indian Navy are taking readily to naval training of all descriptions. They come, it may be observed, from a district which did better, I believe, than any district in India, with the exception of those in the Punjab, in recruitment during the Great War. The soldiers from this district fought with much distinction in that war, and there is no reason to doubt that their brethren would fight under good leadership with equal distinction at sea.

No account of the Indian Marine would be complete without some reference to the old Marine Battalion of the Bombay Army.

When the Company's ships were dispatched on war service, detachments were taken from the Bombay Artillery, and I believe on occasion from the Bombay European Regiment, to serve as marines. But ordinarily, and invariably on the small vessels permanently employed in putting down piracy and slave-dealing, the marines were supplied from the battalion raised in 1777 for the purpose. They are repeatedly mentioned for loyalty and good service, of which only one instance need be given. When a party of them was captured by the French on the brig *Aurora* and taken to Mauritius, every form of inducement and pressure was used to make them accept service with their captors, and the comforts of the captured Bengal and Madras sepoys who had joined that service were displayed before them. So far from yielding to temptation, the Bombay sepoys upbraided their brethren from the other armies with such effect that these threw down their arms and refused to serve their captors any longer. Those who have served in the Bombay Presidency will be interested to know that those faithful soldiers were Konkani Parwáris or Máhars, a humble non-Aryan race, who rendered good service in many regiments of the old Bombay Army, but

who have now been squeezed out of the army by the prejudices of their own fellow-religionists. The Marine Battalion received a regimental number in the Bombay Army in 1818, but continued to be primarily available for marine service till the end of the nineteenth century. It still exists, though in a somewhat submerged form, as the 10th Battalion of the 2nd Bombay Pioneers. Presumably, as in the Canadian and Australian Navies, there will be no room for marines in the new Indian Navy; but, if they are required, the material could be most suitably obtained from the recruiting ground of the old Marine Battalion, the district which now supplies the lascars for the navy.

Nothing, I trust, that has been said above will give ground for the idea that the Bombay Marine, invaluable as its services were, was sufficient to protect the coast of India against all foreign enemies. When a European Power intervened, as the Dutch and the French did in various wars, the safety of the English settlements and the existence of English trade depended on the Royal Navy. It was only Nelson's destruction of the French fleet in the Mediterranean that frustrated Napoleon's very serious designs for the conquest of India. Whatever efficiency the new Royal Indian Navy may attain, and however great the assistance it may be fairly relied upon to give to the Royal Navy, it is upon the latter that the security of India against external attack by sea must continue to depend. For the co-operation that will be necessary, it scarcely requires to be observed that complete unanimity between the two navies must exist.

Friction has not been unknown in the past, the most remarkable instance occurring when the senior officer of the Royal Navy compelled the Commodore of the Bombay Marine to strike his broad red pendant. But such cases of friction, which were few indeed among the many instances of combined work, were largely due to the anomalous and ill-defined position of the Bombay Marine and even of the Indian Navy. They may be reasonably expected to be

altogether absent in the future, now that the position of the Royal Indian Navy has been so carefully regularized.

After all, however, the most dangerous enemies of the Royal Indian Navy will quite possibly be found to be those of its own household. The story of the Bombay Marine contains repeated instances of misplaced and expensive economies: undue reductions, badly found ships, and ungenerous treatment both to officers and men. It is obvious that India cannot afford a large navy, and need not do so, so long as it can depend on the strong arm of the Royal Navy. It is essential, however, that officers and men should be well paid, if the service is to be efficient and popular. If we refer to the men alone, we must remember the severe competition of the mercantile shipping for the comparatively small sources of recruitment available. It is equally necessary that the ships should be well found for service in the Persian Gulf, and more suitable, it may be remarked, than the vessels in which the men of the Royal Navy at present silently suffer in that region. Already we hear it said that India cannot afford the cost of even the small navy proposed. If this navy is inefficient, any money spent on it will naturally be wasted. When we remember, however, how largely the revenues of the Government of India depend on foreign trade, and on the duties levied at its ports, and realize further that the marine administration of these ports will be largely in the hands of officers of the Royal Indian Navy, it seems unreasonable and ungenerous to grudge a portion of these revenues for the maintenance of the naval force proposed.

By the creation of the Royal Indian Navy, India has been placed in one more respect on the same footing as the Dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand. Of the many metamorphoses undergone by the Indian Marine Service, we may hope that the final form will be no less distinguished and more permanent than the preceding shapes. Its success, however, lies chiefly in the hands of the Indian Legislature and the Indian People.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, July 11, 1927, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, when a paper was read by Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.), entitled "The Indian Navy." Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert W. Richmond, K.C.B., was in the chair; the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M., Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald H. Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Lady Richmond, Mrs. Cadell, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Miss Man, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. A. B. Kunning, Mr. G. A. Kunning, Mrs. M. Kunning, Mr. H. A. Gibbons, Mr. J. F. Bulsara, Captain G. C. Dickens, R.N., Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Ryland, Mr. Justice Mirza Khan, Mr. W. G. Bason, Mr. W. L. Barretto, Mr. A. S. Osborne, the Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mrs. Martley, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not think you require to hear anything from me at the moment, but if there is anything that is worth while my saying, I should like to say it after Mr. Cadell has read his paper. The subject is one of considerable interest at the present moment; and the historical survey of the Indian Navy which Mr. Cadell has prepared for us is one which will interest you, I am sure, and will serve as a basis for a much-wanted short history of the antecedents of the Indian Navy which is coming into existence. With those few words I will ask Mr. Cadell to read his paper.

The LECTURER then read his paper.

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN said that the paper which they had just heard read was interesting in more aspects than one. Mr. Cadell, who came from the Bombay side of India, could speak with greater authority about the Royal Indian Navy Services than perhaps could anybody coming from the sister Province of Bengal. However, what they were concerned with at the present moment was not merely the development of the Royal Indian Marine Service, but with the necessity of Indian people realizing that, if they were going to develop self-government in their country, they must share the burden with the rest of the Empire to ensure the production of the naval forces of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) In that respect he was rather disappointed in the paper which had been read. He agreed with the lecturer that they must have a contented Service. It was equally true that they must have an efficient Service, but all they had to consider in regard to the future of the Indian Navy was not only how much India could afford in order to build up a Navy for itself, but what would be its utility outside the minesweeping areas of India itself. A great deal was said last year at the Imperial Conference with regard to the Singapore base. It also had been suggested in certain quarters that India should pay its quota towards the Singapore base. They had there with them as Chairman a past Commander-in-Chief of the East Indian Squadron, and no doubt he would be able to give them some of his views, or at any rate those which he was privileged to give, holding the official position that he did. But Indians had to realize and emphasize to those outside India that, whilst the idea of an Indian Navy was excellent, and that with progress India must possess a Navy of its own, they must not forget what was happening in China today; they must not forget the Red menace, which was a real menace. (Hear, hear.) They must remember that India's frontier was more important to India at the present moment than an Indian Navy. Therefore, for a long time India would have to look to and rely upon the Royal Navy to protect its shores, and would have in consequence to concentrate its own activities on its frontiers in order to prevent such unfortunate incidents as the Penjdeh one recurring. (Applause.)

Sir REGINALD CRADDOCK said that he honestly confessed that he would not like to have had to pass an examination upon the subject of Mr. Cadell's lecture. One had only a general idea of the record of the Indian Marine and its predecessors in Bombay, and, therefore, one found Mr. Cadell's account of the origin and early progress of the Indian Marine extremely interesting. However, when it came to a question of the Indian Navy as a new organization, and a force that was to supplement the British Navy, he found himself in considerable agreement with what the Maharaja of Burdwan had said. Before the war a question was raised by the Home Government as to whether India should not contribute more to the cost of the Royal Navy, and in support of that proposition figures were submitted to show what the various Dominion Governments contributed in the matter of ships or in money towards the cost of the Navy. Those were contrasted unfavourably to India's contribution in most of the papers, but he would like to point out that those papers were entirely silent about the very much greater annual contribution which India was making to the Empire in the maintenance of the Indian Army. (Hear, hear.) He would like to know how far the educated classes who put forward the demands for an Indian Navy were prepared to supply the recruits for that Navy. Naturally in a great sub-continent like India you would not get a large number of people with what was known as the "sea sense," which predominated so much in countries like the United Kingdom and Japan. (Hear, hear.) No doubt the personnel as regards the lower deck would be drawn almost entirely from the maritime populations of India. He should think that very likely material might be found on the Chittagong side. Chittagonians played an important part in inland navigation in Burma. However, the scheme was a new departure, and it would have to be for the reasons mentioned by the Maharaja of Burdwan—namely, financial reasons, on a small scale—because India would have to devote her resources to the defence of her frontiers rather than to the defence of her coasts, and that she could only do so long as she had the protection of the Royal Navy. (Applause.)

The Rev. H. U. W. STANTON, D.D. thought that the career offered by an Indian Navy might take the imagination of some young Indians whom he had known, but they did not at all understand what it meant. With regard to the Army, there had been difficulties about Indian officers coming in and associating on real terms of comradeship with British officers. There was a very long tradition of a different kind, which it would be difficult to break down. It had been said that the populations from whom the Navy would be recruited would be mainly the maritime populations. But this should not in any way bar men who lived far inland. Kashmir was about as far from the sea as any place in India, but the boys trained there by the Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe had turned out first-rate water-dogs. The lads who had manned the Srinagar Mission School Regatta and passed their swimming test for five miles or more might well turn out to be good officers for an Indian Navy. Further, one wanted to know for what kind of duty this Navy would be used. The Maharaja of Burdwan had mentioned minesweeping. This marine scavenging was most necessary in modern warfare, but was that the only thing that the Indian Navy would be asked to do? Even in the beginning of things there should be a prospect of work which would attract young fellows who had good stuff in them to take it up.

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON said one small contribution he would like to make to the historical part of the paper was with reference to the marked inferiority of Indian fleets in naval engagements with European ships. It was partly due to the structural defects of boats built in India and the limited extent to which iron was used in their construction. In the actions which took place the superior strength of the Portuguese and in later times of British boats was a very decisive factor. Actions were fought at close quarters, and the Indian boats were unable to withstand the shocks to which the European boats were comparatively immune. In calm water the inequality was not so apparent, but in even a very moderate sea experience soon taught the Indian mariners that discretion was the better part of valour, and they wisely avoided fighting under such a severe handicap.

Mr. GEORGE PILCHER said his only qualification for speaking on this subject seemed to be that he attended a lecture which Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond gave in the Hall of the Mission to Seamen in Calcutta shortly after the war. The mere fact that the Admiral should have found it necessary to speak to the European population of Calcutta on the subject was, he thought, indicative of the need in which India stood for some direct touch with the Navy, and for a more real and intelligent appreciation of the naval problems of the Empire of which she herself is a part. He and his colleagues in the House of Commons had long discussions on the little Indian Navy a few weeks ago, and he learned a good deal then about the proposal and what it meant; he also learned a good deal about what it did not mean. They had four or five divisions before they got that little Bill through on the Second Reading. It was opposed mainly on the ground that it was leading India along the dangerous path to militarism. It was also opposed on the ground that, so far from being a concession to the Indian sense of patriotism and national self-consciousness, it was yet one more step taken by a tyrannical and abominable Government to repress the Indian people. Undoubtedly it was, in truth, the intention in making the concession to concede something to Indian Nationalist sentiment, and to help Indian Nationalists to understand something of the Imperial problems which they were so terribly anxious to assume. There was one point which he had in mind and would like to mention. That was the question of adequate pay for the officers of this Indian Navy. He had heard from several members of the old Indian Marine, and he understood that they were invariably put off when they asked for adequate pay with the suggestion that they were not a fighting Service, and that they were already getting better pay than the officers of the Mercantile Marine. Now they had become a fighting Service, and from what he had seen of the actual figures which had been sent to him the pay was still totally inadequate for decent living in Bombay as they knew it today. He hoped this point would be constantly pressed on the attention of the Secretary of State and the Government of India. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: I have listened to Mr. Cadell's paper with very great interest, largely because I myself had a good deal to do with the starting of this Indian Navy, or rather with this resuscitation of an old force. There was an Indian Navy up till 1863, which had up to that time been a fighting force maintained out of the revenues of the East India Company That was done away with for various reasons, with all of which I am not acquainted; but there was the question of jealousy which had been referred to, and it was also at a time when the ruling idea in defence was that the fighting forces of the Empire should be provided by the Mother-Country. It was considered more convenient that the colonies and everybody outside this country should make their contribution, not in ships and men, but in money.

Mr. Cadell has by no means exaggerated the matter with regard to the necessity of the old Indian Navy. The volumes written by Commander Lowe on the subject show what extraordinarily fine fighting was done during those early days. But one naturally asks the question: Is there any necessity for India to make any contribution to the sea today? One can never say there is any exact necessity; one cannot lay down hard-and-fast rules. The country can only afford a certain amount. The Maharaja of Burdwan very properly drew attention to the fact that India had very large land frontiers and considerable commitments in defence of those frontiers, but there is a point with regard to that which deserves consideration. Territorial defence is unquestionably a very large problem which India has to consider, but I think although we may not ask India to take any large share of the defence by sea, when the question of Indian defence is discussed, the word "defence" should not merely connote the defence of a frontier from invasion. The defence of any country is the defence of its interests, and those interests might be affected either by tribes coming down from the hills, or by the stoppage of the trade upon which the life of a very large proportion of India depends. The import trade of India has been given as 241 crores and the export trade as 299 crores, a trade of

540 crores altogether, which one might safely call £400,000,000; that is the trade oversea. It is a very large interest, for it means the employment of a very great number of people. If that trade were stopped, all India is going to suffer.

Then comes the question: What can this small Indian Navy do for the defence of trade? We are told that the Navy consists of six sloops today; what it may eventually become is a matter of what India can afford. What is the value of a "sloop"? If you look at the figures as regards shipbuilding during the late war, one thing will strike you very forcibly—the number of sloops built by this country. War experience showed the need for them. I am not going to say that the *Emden* would have been stopped by a sloop, but a good many sloops would have made a lot of difference. One or two sloops would have made a ship of the *Emden* class, which had not very heavy guns, at least a little bit anxious of hanging about off the spots where she picked up prizes. That is the kind of service the old sloops of the Indian Navy performed. They escorted ships round the coast, and protected them from the privateers which infested those waters. When Napoleon was in Egypt the whole defence of the trade in Bengal round about Calcutta was taken over by the small vessels of the East India Company. Although the numbers are at present small, yet they can render a valuable service to India, and can establish, and I hope keep up, an association on the sea with the Indian people which I think it is very desirable indeed should exist.

With regard to the figures which were brought forward to show how much the other Dominions contributed towards defence before the war, I think it is an invidious and unfortunate thing to do. You can always make one Dominion or one part of the world appear to the disadvantage of the other by figures. We have not Imperial Federation, and I do not suppose we shall have, but unless we have there can be no accurate mathematical equalizing of the burdens. The most that can be done is for each to contribute what it reasonably can, and the biggest burden for some time will fall upon us.

As far as the personnel of the Indian Navy is concerned, Sir Reginald Craddock referred to Chittagong, and I think it is recognized what a fine recruiting ground it is.

With regard to the question whether officers who enter from India direct come in on the same basis as others, my answer is that the intention was that they should go through the same training and be treated in exactly the same way as officers entering from this country.

I should like to conclude my remarks by saying that the Indian Navy starts with a very considerable tradition. It includes the tradition of actual Indian ratings serving at sea in the shape of the Bombay Artillery. The record of the Bombay Artillery gives me reason to believe that the seamen of Ratnagiri or Chittagong of today who come forward and serve in the ships will render as good account of themselves as the Bombay Artillery of the past. I am perfectly convinced that the material is there. When I was going into this matter at one time I had many conversations with officers of the Merchant Service of Calcutta and elsewhere, discussing the fitness of the lascar. It would please all who are interested in India, as we are here, to hear the unanimously favourable opinion given by Mercantile Marine officers of the good qualities and fine service which the lascar is capable of rendering. If they get bad officers you will not get good men. That applies to all navies. In the long run it will be a question of officers, and I sincerely hope they will be forthcoming, to carry with them the recollection of this extraordinarily fine tradition which they have in front and behind them. They have a record extending over nearly 300 years, and I hope that tradition will be instilled into both officers and men and all will be made to realize that they are the upholders of this old fighting tradition. If they are brought up in that spirit, this small fighting service will become very efficient, and one which will play its part—I do not say an absolutely proportionate part—in the defence at sea, and form a valuable part in the defences which are so important to the country. (Applause.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Chairman's words have left me very little to say.

His Highness the Maharaja of Burdwan suggested, though in very kind language, that my paper says very little about the future, and about the active work of the Indian Navy. I can only say that the paper had a time limit, and I had to avoid any subject on which my knowledge was not very great.

With reference to the remark regarding the recruitment of boys from up country, the Chairman has told you that there is no impossibility in theory, and I hope in fact, for boys to come from all parts of the country, but it will depend very much on the character of the boys themselves. They cannot all be officers, the room for whom must be limited. A very interesting feature of the history of the old Indian Marine is that so many of the European sailors were supplied by the old Marine Society; they sent a constant supply of boys collected from all parts of the United Kingdom, and these formed the backbone of the personnel of the lower deck of the old Indian Navy. If something of the same kind could be done in India, in the way of collecting boys from different parts of the country, whether by Missionary Institutions or by others, and if they could be trained, I am sure it would be an addition to the strength of the Indian Navy.

The question of recruiting grounds is a matter very much in the hands of Indians themselves. You must not forget that caste feelings will come in. I do not necessarily mean religious feeling. It must be remembered that the sea is a place where you can make it very uncomfortable for a person who is not suited to the rest of the crew.

It is not for me to add anything to what Sir Herbert Richmond has said with regard to the further uses of the Navy. My paper was intended very largely to be historical, to establish that naval tradition exists, to show that there is continuity, which, it may be hoped, will be taken advantage of by the new Indian Navy.

Mr. STANLEY RICE proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Cadell for his excellent paper, and to the Chairman for presiding over the meeting.

The proceedings then terminated.

The following letter has been received from Colonel Sir Charles Yate:

July 15, 1927.

"To the Hon. Secretary, East India Association.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am sorry that, owing to my absence from London, I was unable to attend Mr. Cadell's most interesting lecture on 'The Indian Navy,' on the 11th inst. I see that mention was made by Mr. Cadell of a previous lecture on the same subject by Admiral Mawbey, a former Director of the Royal Indian Marine. That lecture, and the discussion on it which was subsequently added, is published in the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution,* vol. lxix., No. 475, August, 1924, and I trust that this may be noted, as some of the members may wish to refer to it.

"Yours sincerely,

"CHARLES E. YATE."

THE LABOUR PROBLEM IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO

BY DR. DIRK FOCK

(Late Governor-General, Dutch East Indies.)

JAVA, the most extensively cultivated island of the Netherlands Indies Archipelago, is densely populated and is thus able to supply all the labour required for agriculture, industry, and mining. In the other islands, however, this is not the case. In Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes—to mention only the larger islands—the population is very sparse. More especially in Sumatra, extensive districts have been and are being brought under cultivation. The necessary labour, therefore, must be imported. Originally, when a beginning was made with the cultivation of tobacco on the East Coast of Sumatra, the majority of the work-people employed were Chinese, but very soon Javanese were also recruited and imported. Naturally the employers, who, when engaging these people, contracted for their services for a certain period, wished to have some assurance that the employees would not, on insufficient grounds, cease work and quit their service. They advanced money to the work-people and paid the cost of their journey to Sumatra or to those other islands where their services were required. Moreover, an untimely cessation of work would occasion great difficulties, in view of the fact that those regions are very sparsely populated, so that it would be impossible to obtain other work-people at short notice.

For this reason, a clause was introduced in the Ordinance to the effect that the workman who, on insufficient grounds,

lays down his work or quits the service is liable to punishment. An action brought against the workman in the civil courts for breach of contract and claiming compensation is useless. The employer has no redress, as the work-people, as a rule, are entirely destitute of worldly possessions. An order to pay compensation would simply result in the employer incurring expense without any result whatever.

The fact that a breach of the labour contract constitutes a penal offence has met with considerable opposition. The so-called "penal sanction" is condemned by many people. In the Dutch Parliament, and later in the Volksraad, after the institution of that Indian Parliament, the matter has been repeatedly discussed, and both the advocates and opponents of the measure have stated their views. Its abolition has been considered, and the problem formed the subject of considerable controversy in the Press. It is generally realized, however, that the penal clause is absolutely necessary. Measures, indeed, must be taken calculated to lead to its gradual abolition, but there can be no question of such abolition at present. It may be extremely interesting to consider the question from a Western juridical point of view and then proceed to anathematize the penal sanction, but this is not the correct method. The question here is what the conditions in the Netherlands Indian Islands necessitate and how far one is justified, in view of these special conditions, in deviating from Western standards of judgment and action. Although Dutch conceptions of justice have been applied wherever possible in the Netherlands East Indies, it has always been a principle that deviation from it must be made where special conditions in India demand it.

Now, the sparse population of the islands in question renders measures essential which in the West are not necessary. The opening up and bringing under cultivation of unpopulated regions would be impossible without the

help of a coercive measure which compels the work-people to carry out the obligations which they have incurred voluntarily and under a proper guarantee. One may generally object to making such breaches of contract a penal offence, but for the Netherlands Indian Islands such objections should not and must not be allowed to count. Strict Government control is necessary, however, in order to prevent abuses. In the first place, the recruiting of labour should only take place under Government supervision. The conditions of the contract must be made clear to the work-people before it is signed. Everything the contract contains must be brought to their knowledge and as fully as possible explained to them by or in the presence of the official appointed for the purpose.

The provisions of the contract itself are naturally of first importance. A clear statement as regards rights and duties is the first requirement which must be met. Good wage regulations, good housing accommodation, and medical attendance must be assured to the workman. And should the employer fail to carry out the obligation which he, on his side, has incurred, there is no question of punishing the workman should he stop work or refuse to continue. On the contrary, it is the employer, as the party at fault, who is then liable to punishment. Again, wherever the employer falls short in the treatment of his work-people, punishment of the latter for breach of contract is absolutely excluded. Cases of bad treatment, alas! do occur, but the Netherlands East Indian Government has taken all the measures necessary to reduce the same to a minimum. There exists a Labour Inspection Service—which has been considerably extended during the last few years—whose task it is regularly to inspect the various estates, inquire into the conditions, and afford the work-people an opportunity of airing any grievances.

The task of the Inspection officials is a very responsible

one and necessitates considerable tact and patience. Towards the work-people, they must act in such a way as to inspire confidence, so that the latter will not hesitate in bringing up complaints, even when the employers or their servants have enjoined silence, under threat of reprisals. Fortunately, most employers fully realize the fact that ill-treatment is in every case reprehensible, and issue to their servants the strictest injunctions to refrain from it and give the work-people that considerate treatment to which they are entitled. Most employers are conscious of their duty to see that their work-people are contented and happy. Anyone visiting the various estates—those, for example, on the East Coast of Sumatra, which are the most important—can convince himself that the work-people are provided with good housing accommodation and excellent medical attendance, and gets the general impression that they are well looked after. There are exceptions, of course—that cannot be denied—but if these did not exist, there would be no need of Labour Inspection. Cases of ill-treatment, however, are dealt with in the criminal court and the offenders are severely punished, while those servants who prove not as conscientious as they ought to be in their instructions to treat the work-people considerately are relieved by the managements from their position of responsibility. Twenty-five years ago and earlier, before the Labour Inspection was instituted, many regrettable incidents occurred, but even at that time, when such things came to light, a very serious view was taken and the offender severely punished. To-day, however, the position is very different from what it used to be, and regrettable incidents, when they occur, are really exceptions. The standard of the Europeans employed is steadily improving; the leaders do everything in their power to eliminate abuses; the supervision is strict, while the management is much more efficient. Should, by exception, a European of an inferior

sort find his way into the estates, he is quickly discovered and rendered incapable of exercising his pernicious influence.

Apart from the question whether such a serious fact as ill-treatment of the work-people would not just as likely occur if cessation of work on the part of the workman or refusal to do the same within the period of his contract had not been made a penal offence, it is indisputable that good treatment of the work-people on the part of the employers is an indispensable condition for the penal sanction. Good housing accommodation and good medical attendance are absolutely necessary factors. It is pleasant, however, to be able to state that there are employers who go beyond the requirements and interest themselves in the education of the children of their work-people. On the East Coast of Sumatra one of the great companies has equipped a school where these children can have elementary education and practical instruction in agriculture. The children, under supervision, lay out little gardens, and demonstrations are given of the work done in the cultivation carried on in the district. Nor is the physical development of the children forgotten. Gymnastic exercises, beneficial for children, are practised daily. The Javanese children have Javanese teachers, who naturally are best able to judge how the children of their own race can acquire the greatest possible benefit from the instruction given. In this way a generation of agriculturists is developed who, as free workers in that locality, will be able to put into practice the knowledge they have acquired.

The aim should be to bring about such a condition of things that the penal sanction will no longer be necessary. It is thus a question of what is the best way to achieve this end. As soon as there is a settled population in the districts concerned or in their immediate vicinity so that it is no longer necessary to resort to imported labour, the problem

will be solved. The great increase in the population of Java renders the question of emigration there more and more urgent. Emigration for a certain number of years, however, is of no use. The emigrants must settle permanently in those regions to which they have gone. Amongst the Javanese emigrants who have engaged to work in plantations in the Dutch colony of Surinam, there are already many who, on the expiry of their contract, remain in the colony, acquire a piece of ground, and settle down permanently. The Government of Surinam, where the population is also sparse, gives these people every encouragement by granting them land on advantageous terms and in general by promoting the small-holding system as much as possible. The climate of Surinam, like that of Java, is a tropical one. In that respect, therefore, there is no objection to emigration. An objection to many, however, is the great distance which separates Surinam from Java. The labour contract for Surinam provides for free passage home to Java after the contract has expired. Should the emigrants, however, settle definitely in Surinam, acquire a piece of land, and receive a sum to meet the expense of settling and planting the ground, they forfeit the right to the free return journey. The chance of their ever seeing their native country again is then very slight. That is something which weighs very heavily with the Javanese, who is greatly attached to the country of his birth.

The prospects are better, however, if they emigrate and settle in Sumatra or in one of the other islands of the Netherlands East Indian Archipelago. Owing to the shorter journey and the minor expense involved, revisiting their birthplace is a comparatively easy matter. Settlement in one of these islands, therefore, has greater attractions than settlement in Surinam, although many do settle in the latter colony. The expectation is justified, therefore, that many

Javanese would be willing to settle in the other islands of the Dutch East Indian Archipelago, if they are assured, at least, of a free and decent existence. It is a question of their being able, after the expiry of their labour contract, to set up for themselves as small-holders on their own ground. These small-holdings must be situated in the vicinity of the great plantations where the small-holder would have the chance of finding employment as a free worker during the time he was not engaged in cultivating his own piece of ground. The difficulty in the way of such a colonization lies in finding suitable land at not too great a distance from the great plantations.

These, in their turn, must co-operate as much as possible. Such co-operation is in their own interest. If they claim, as they do, that the penal sanction for imported labour must be provisionally maintained, they must show themselves conscious of their duty to do everything in their power to render the penal sanction superfluous. It is to the exceptional position, due to the sparseness of the population, that the penal sanction owes its existence, and it is the duty of those in whose interest it was introduced to do everything possible to bring about a change in that exceptional position. In the organization of the great estates, this is a factor which will have to be reckoned with. Difficulties exist—there is the question, for example, of the rotation of crops—but the great employers, whilst naturally first considering what is necessary for the proper cultivation of the estates, must always seek to promote a good system of colonization.

The Government lends its support to the colonization of Javanese in the southern part of Sumatra, and this is enjoying a large measure of success. The Government has brought over a number of families from Java, Javanese villages (kampongs) have been built, and the Government has advanced money to the emigrants to defray the pre-

liminary expenses of settling and planting the ground. Where necessary, the Government also makes itself responsible for irrigation works. The result gives a general impression of prosperity. Beautiful rice-fields have arisen, while the cattle stock is gradually increasing. All this is known in those districts in Java whence the emigrants have come, and during the busy harvest season relatives and friends cross over to lend a hand with the work.

The Sunda Strait is all that separates this colonization district from Java, so that the emigrants are comparatively near home; but the distance to the East Coast of Sumatra and the other islands of the archipelago is not so great as to constitute a serious obstacle. In the southern part of Sumatra, however, settlement takes place on free land in a district where there are very few large estates. Land there is therefore easily acquired. If the great estates, however, consider their own interests and lend their co-operation, it will be possible to overcome all difficulties, and colonization, also in the neighbourhood of the large estates, is certain to prove successful. Naturally all this will require time, but that is of little consequence, provided the determination to succeed is present.

In the last few years the regulations with regard to the work-people imported from elsewhere have, as far as possible, been made more stringent. The term of the labour contract must naturally be limited—in no case must it be longer than five years. After the expiry of the contract, however, a renewal was possible on the same terms, but only for a period of three years. With regard to the latter, the Government has now tightened up the conditions somewhat, thus rendering less ample opportunity for a renewal. The employers, naturally, are only too glad to engage for another term those employees whose contracts have expired, as they prefer experienced workmen to novices. On the other hand, there is the consideration that

those employees who have worked through their first contract of five years have fully compensated the employers for the expense entailed in transporting them thither, so that there is no longer justification for continuing to subject them to special conditions.

Some years ago the question was discussed at length in the Volksraad, on which occasion the Netherlands East Indian Government made it clear that it did not wish to revoke the penal sanction at present, that the measure was still indispensable and would presumably remain so for a long time. At the same time, the Government has given proof that it has no intention of upholding the penal sanction longer than is absolutely necessary. It declared itself prepared to institute a Commission for the East Coast of Sumatra, which would study the question, periodically bring out reports, and eventually make proposals with regard to changes in the existing stipulations.

The Commission was instituted under the presidency of the Governor of the province of Sumatra's East Coast. It was urged that a native, by preference a Javanese, should have a seat in the Commission, as in that way the complaints of the work-people would find a freer channel of expression. The suggestion was acted upon and a Javanese was appointed a member. From the side of the assistants—those who, under the management, are engaged in the work of supervision—the standpoint has been advocated, till now without success, that they also should be represented in the Commission. Although there is no definite reason for appointing an assistant as member of the Commission, there is no special objection to such an appointment. At the same time, it is advisable to restrict the number of members, as otherwise the work of the Commission would become needlessly heavy. The Government can also always ask the advice of the Commission whenever it considers this necessary, while the fact alone that it exists constitutes a

guarantee that the interest in this question will never be allowed to relax. In co-operation with the Labour Inspection, the Commission can exercise only a salutary effect.

Of great importance also is the good work which the great estates on the East Coast of Sumatra have done, and are still doing, in improving hygienic conditions. The death-rate is steadily decreasing, whilst statistics on the prevalence of various diseases amongst the work-people show that a considerable improvement has occurred. The excellent work done, therefore, is not confined to providing good medical attendance, but on the principle that prevention is better than cure, effective measures have been taken to prevent the outbreak of disease as far as this is possible. The employers realize, of course, that this is in their own interest. Healthy work-people do good work, whereas work-people suffering from illness are unable to work at all.

The opening up and cultivation of various islands of the Netherlands East Indian Archipelago, outside Java, must be energetically taken in hand. For Java the time is approaching when emigration on an extensive scale will be unavoidable. On an over-populated island the struggle for existence must become very difficult.

When it is considered that around Java there are many islands which remain in a condition of economic stagnation owing to lack of population, one realizes that capital ought to be supported when it is willing to bring about a change for the better in these islands. Naturally there must be guarantees that the work-people who are willing to work in those islands and who are conveyed there will lead a comfortable existence, and that everything possible will be done to prevent abuses.

Those opposed to penal sanction have mentioned the word "slavery," but this is absolutely inaccurate and out-of-place. It is here a question of the observance of a contract voluntarily entered into and extending over a certain period—a contract which for the other contracting party involves considerable financial outlay and great difficulties should the contract not be observed. The work in the fields must be carried on without interruption; otherwise the harvest is lost, or, at any rate, a considerable part a failure.

The wish is general that a good system of colonization will lead in time to the abrogation of the penal sanction, and along these lines all efforts must be directed. Till that moment has arrived, however, the penal sanction must be upheld, with due observance of all measures taken in the interests of the work-people.

INDIAN MUSIC AND SIMULTANEOUS HARMONY

By Miss Bani Tagore

It is generally held that in Indian music there is no place for harmony; it is melody alone that counts. The general impression seems to be that harmony has never been introduced into Indian music, nor has there been any occasion for it up till now. The word "music" has, of course, been taken in its wider sense to include not only vocal but instrumental music as well, and the word "harmony" is used in the sense of "symphony" or sounds in combination.

It is known to every musician that there are seven principal notes with their respective sharps and flats, which latter may be termed as secondary notes. A tune is formed by a combination and permutation of the principal notes with or without the secondary ones. Each such tune, when played in different octaves, high and low, or when different concordant tunes are combined into one single tune, gives birth to a Râga or melody-type, pure or mixed, respectively. When this melody-type appears before us with a definite shape, the basic type of the melody, or, rather, the spirit of the tune or the melody, becomes manifest to our mind's eye.

If the different notes of a tune are played in an agreeable succession of simple and single sounds and so regulated as to give a pleasing effect, we get a melodious tune or a sweet melody. On the other hand, if any one of the notes is played discordantly, it jars on our ears, and the tune or the melody loses its life. Every song thus stands on one or other such melody or tune, pure or mixed. The basic

tune manifests itself through every song. In fact, it is the tune that should be termed melody; but by implication, a melody-type or even a song based on a tune is also called a melody. But in harmony different consonant notes are so played in relation to every note of the basic tune, that the tune does not sound discordant to our ears—consonance touches every note of the tune and the tune itself as well. In fact, "harmony" has been defined as "any simultaneous combination of consonant or related notes." In harmony "it is the cluster of notes rather than the individual note which has special value."

Was harmony known or unknown to the early Indian musicians? We find in ancient Sanskrit books on music the word "Raktam"* to mean "that which is produced by a combination of the sounds of all stringed instruments, wind instruments, and those of other kinds" (*vide* the "Sangît Ḍarpaṇa" and other Musical Treatises by Narada). Besides this, in the ancient Sanskrit books on music are found such words as "Bibâḍî" or dissonant, "Sambâḍî" or consonant, which necessarily connote simultaneous playing of notes. From words like these, it will perhaps not be wrong on our part to surmise that simultaneous harmony was not in this country altogether unknown in ancient times. Words like the above could not have been put in, unless the coiners of those words had in their mind some idea of harmony.

"In discussing all subjects relating to the construction of chords, it is necessary to find names for the various kinds of intervals." That this has been done in Indian music will be apparent from the exposition of the various musical intervals as given in a Tamil work "Tivakaram." "It is also rather interesting," says Mr. Herbert Popley, "to find that the different intervals are described in relation to one

* *Cf.* "The Note on Harmony," by Trevisa, as published by Bateman in A.D. 1582.

another. Sâ to Gâ (C to E) is recognized as a third, Sâ to Mâ (C to F) as a fourth, Sâ to Pâ (C to G) as a fifth, and Sâ to Dhâ (C to A) as a sixth ; the fourth being called a 'friendly' interval, the fifth a 'related' interval, and the third and sixth 'enemy intervals.' The Nâtya Shâstra shows a clear perception of the various intervals—octave, fifth, fourth, tone, minor tone, and semi-tone." Thus an important step seems to have been taken in the direction of combined harmony.

It may perhaps be safely said in the words of Raja Sir Sourindra Mohan Tagore, D.MUS., C.I.E., that Indian music abounds in melody, but it is not void of harmony. It is no wonder that the musicians of the olden days had the idea of harmony developed in them. Whoever has heard the music of the aborigines—*e.g.*, the Kôls, etc.—must have realized that simultaneous harmony does play a good part even in their music. It is needless to say that there must have been combined harmony in the ancient music of the Aryans too, when it is found even in the music of the aboriginal non-Aryans. I have heard that my great-grandfather, the late Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, used to speak of harmony (in the sense of combined harmony) clearly existing in the tunes of the Vedic hymns of the Sâma Veda.

For various reasons, which will be stated later on in the proper place, the knowledge of harmony has been lost to the musicians of this country since the great war of the Purânic age ; or, if not then, certainly since the advent of Buddhism. But it is said that, long after the Buddhistic period, the great singer Miân Ṭânsen, of the Court of Akbar the Great, could produce chords out of his throat—he could produce the combined sound of Sâ and Gâ or C and E, etc. In this effort of Ṭânsen to produce a chord we can see a faint attempt at expressing simultaneous harmony. Even so great an exponent of Indian music as

Miân Ṭânsen, who is said to have stirred the very depths of nature by his music, seems to have realized simultaneous harmony as being congenial and not detrimental to Indian music.

We cannot think that the theory of harmony as enunciated in the ancient Sanskrit books on music was unknown to a master musician like Ṭânsen. Probably the idea of reintroducing harmony in Indian music came very naturally to his mind by itself, or it may be that, owing to the advent of the Europeans in this country at that time, the European method of harmonized music reached his ears ; and the trained ears of Ṭânsen, a musician well versed both in the theory and practice of music, having realized the beauty of harmony, he tried to express it vocally. It is not known if he made any special effort for the improvement of instrumental music, as he did for that of vocal music. Had he tried to re-establish harmony in the instrumental music, it would surely have found a permanent place there. However, it seems to be almost certain that in Indian music simultaneous harmony was not altogether unknown.

How is it, then, that we do not find harmony in the Indian music of comparatively recent days? It will not perhaps be unreasonable to suppose that one of the causes of the disappearance of harmony is the disappearance, owing to the Kurukshetra War, of the old musicians well versed in the art and science of harmony. We have seen how only the other day hundreds and thousands of savants of Europe well versed in the arts and sciences had to sacrifice themselves in the all-engulfing fire of the late European War. In view of this fact, we can safely say that hundreds of musicians were sacrificed in one way or the other in the great Indian War of Kurukshetra.

It does seem rather strange that the lost art of combined harmony has not been revived or more fully developed

the congregational spirit is less developed, we see that harmony in music has, as it were, received a set-back, and in its place madrigals, serenades, etc., corresponding to the tunes having more melody in them, have come more to the front. The derivation of the above words also gives support to this view.*

It is our firm conviction that the third and the most important reason for the want of harmony in Indian music is the rise and spread of religions of asceticism. Since the massacre of the Kurukshetra War, national feeling and speculation had undergone a fundamental change. A deep sense of the futility of existence penetrated every thinking mind, and new cults began to rise. Of these, one alone was fated to become a mighty tree—Buddhism. Buddhism, with its characteristic fundamental pessimism, was the natural product of the age. Thus since this massacre a deep indifference towards this mundane world, particularly towards the pleasures and gaieties of this world, permeated the mind of the Indians. Had it not been so, a religion like Buddhism with asceticism and indifference to all the concerns of the world as its life and soul, could not have become so deep-rooted in the soil of India. Asceticism and indifference are opposed to the idea of a large concourse of men gathering with no other object than enjoying pleasures. Asceticism wants to remain self-centred. Naturally the spirit of playing music and singing in company was gradually lost, and with it harmony in music was altogether lost sight of in course of time. It was then that melodies, by which one could sit in a lonely corner and commune with one's self, or at the most with a few co-religionist devotees, became very popular, and thus very naturally the musicians also directed their attention to the improvement of melodies and were successful. Solitude is the best field for the cultivation of our melodies.

* "Dictionary of Musical Terms," by Stainer and Barrett.

Notwithstanding the fact that melodious tunes are a great help in expressing one's solitariness and indifference to this world, it is not quite correct to say that it is altogether impossible to express those ideas through harmony as well; but, needless to say, to do it by harmony requires great skill in the musician. Beethoven's Sonata Pathétique and Funeral March are pieces harmonized; but, when played properly, they awake in our minds a feeling of indifference to this world. At the same time, it cannot be gainsaid that, however one may try to express the ideas based on solitariness by harmonized music, one cannot get away from the fact that through it runs an undercurrent of comparative noisiness, the very simultaneous multiplicity of sounds contributing to the formation of that impression of noisiness, etc. Similarly, however much one may try to express by melodies the feeling of pleasure or the heroic spirit, which are best displayed in the presence of a large congregation, one cannot but feel a comparative solitariness, an impression of communing with one's own self peeping through them.

The ultimate aim of Indian music is to sing of the relationship of the transient with the Great Eternal, of the human soul with the soul of the cosmos; it tries to waken up man to be in tune with the Infinite, to make the finite lose itself in the Great Infinite. In fact, Indian music in general can be said to have its basis in spirituality, as will be evident from the words "Nâḍa Brahma," which are intended to signify the idea that the basic sound of music is one and the same with God. The busy world by day may in a sense be likened to harmony with its concords and discords; and the still night-world may be compared to melody with its string of simple, consecutive, and quiet silvery sounds. Mr. Fox Strangways has hit the right point when he says: "One (Indian music) shows a rejection of what is transient, a soberness in gaiety, endurance

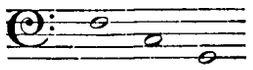
in sorrow, a search after the spiritual ideals of life. The other (European music) shows . . . an eager quest after wayside beauty." Harmony imitates, as it were, the nature in its external dress; whereas melody, as expressed in Indian music, tries to delve into the innermost secrets of the Divine in man and nature. Hence, it will not perhaps be very far-fetched if we take harmony as the material and melody the spiritual side of music. In the Western world anyone with eyes open will easily see that the material side has developed, because there the love of material pleasures is so very strong; in India, on the other hand, the spiritual side of music has taken root, as the people here are more prone towards spirituality.* It is for this spiritual leaning that the music of India has attained so high a place that it will take the Westerners years to master its science and to get at its true spirit.

Harmony, though obliterated to a large extent, has not totally disappeared from Indian music; there still remains the shadow of harmony. Râg-râgiṇîs cannot disappear altogether from the music of the West, and likewise harmony cannot altogether disappear from the music of the East. The reason is that ordinarily the principal ideas of man, or of a number of men constituting a society, are practically the same in the East as in the West. The people of the East feel joy and sorrow as much as the people of the West. It is not possible for any Indian to keep himself shut up wholly in the cave of asceticism and indifference to worldly matters; at times a spirit of joy, some pleasurable impression, is sure to get the upper hand over him. Neither is it possible for a Westerner to keep

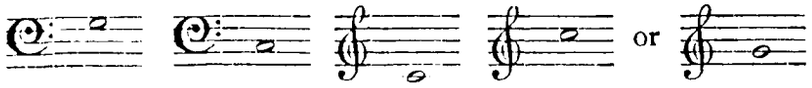
* *Vide* Professor Max Müller's "India: What can it Teach Us?" 1896 W., p. 95 and pp. 98 to 101.

Vide also article on Fine Arts, Ency. Brit., 11th ed., vol. x., p. 372: "Taine's philosophy of fine art consists in regarding the fine arts as the necessary result of the general conditions under which they are at any time produced—conditions of race and climate, of religious civilization and manners."

himself always immersed in the whirligig of mere pleasures; at times he is sure to feel the pangs of pain and sorrow. The only difference is that the people of the West prefer pleasures to sorrow, and the ingrained spirit of the Indians is to embrace sorrow more than the pleasures of this world. When sorrow is awakened in the heart of a Western musician, he tries to express the tune of sorrow through harmony. It is from such efforts that Beethoven's Sonata Pathétique, etc., the famous sweet-tuned Irish melodies, and the nocturnal serenades have arisen. Similarly, when a wave of pleasure or any other idea, which should have its full play in society, tries to well out from the heart of an Eastern musician, he tries to express the echo of the same through melody. This has given birth to the light music called *Tappâ.*

We can also perhaps find traces of an effort in harmonizing in the method of setting the strings of a Siṭâr. There are three principal strings to a Siṭâr or Ṭriṭantrî Bîṇâ, and hence it came to be called Si (which means in Persian three) ṭâr or strings—*i.e.*, a three-stringed instrument. The principal strings of a Siṭâr are set to the three principal notes F, C, and G. Their positions are 

In the Western music each of these notes is made the basis of the Primary Triads (in the key of C). In the Siṭâr, besides the above three, four other strings are set to



Evidently these four strings are set in consonance with the above-mentioned main strings. Of the seven strings, the first three, the fifth, and the sixth strings are fixed. The fourth is variable. This fourth string is more often tuned as stated above; but sometimes it is tuned according to the Bâḍî Swara (the predominant note) of the Râg or Râgiṇî.

When this string happens to be tuned to Gândhâr (E), as in the case of Râgiṇî Iman Kalyân, we get the major chord of C from the open strings.

From the method of setting the strings, it is easily seen that the inventors of the musical instruments and the musicians in this country had certainly some knowledge of combined harmony. We have tried and found that double stops and chords of three notes, which are practically the nucleus of harmony, can very well be played on the Siṭâr. The Siṭâr is made in imitation of the *Been*. If harmony is possible in the Siṭâr, there is no reason why it should not be possible as well in similar other instruments like the Esrâj, Been, etc.

Because it is not in vogue, the present-day master musicians of India contend without due consideration that it is not possible to introduce combined harmony into either vocal music or instrumental music as played on the Siṭâr, etc. Had it been found impossible, why, then, did Ṭânsen try to bring out harmony even vocally? Although it is only the melodies that are played on the Indian musical instruments by the musicians of these days, we can still find the elementary form of combined harmony in the production of harmonious sounds, even when playing a melody by striking simultaneously with the notes of the melody certain strings which form the intervals of the Octave and Fifth, Octave and Octave, Octave and Fourth, etc. From the fact that in the stringed instruments like the Siṭâr, etc., there are some strings specially arranged for the production of combined harmonious sounds called *Jhankâr*, it is evident that these instruments were not made simply for playing melodies alone, but were invented with the playing of combined harmony directly or indirectly in view as well.

We are not prepared to accept the statement that harmony was unknown in this country, or that it is not possible to introduce or develop harmony in either the vocal or

instrumental music of this country; or that even if it is possible, it will not sound pleasant to the ear. Neither should it be said that, if an effort be made in the direction of introducing and developing simultaneous harmony in Indian music, we shall be simply importing the Western music *in toto*. If a tune or a melody is at the present time harmonized, it should not be considered as altogether an innovation. We may call it a renaissance of harmony in Indian music.

THE RÔLE OF INDO-CHINA IN THE FAR-EASTERN PROBLEM*

By Edmond Tranin

[Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, Colonial Editor of *Pays de France*, for some years special correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*, the author has travelled extensively in Asia, and was also the first to cross Africa by motor-car.]

Indo-China is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful French colonies, and may be described as the strategic point on which the whole French colonial system in the Far East hinges. And yet many distinguished Frenchmen have envisaged the sale, at a not distant date, of this rich possession, forgetting its vital importance, not only for France's future as a colonial power, but also for the security, or rather the equilibrium, of French policy in Asia.

In virtue of treaties which were not concluded with the sole object of conquest, the French are now in Indo-China. Chieftains, sometimes even the people themselves, called France to their aid. At the beginning the guiding principle was not the welfare of the people, for the needs of territorial and colonial expansion were also kept in view. Much time has elapsed since the first campaign in Cochin-China in 1858. The initial error committed by the soldiers who governed

* The present and the previous article (published in the July issue) in this section have been supplied by members of the French Colonial Institute (4, Rue Volney, Paris). The President is Admiral Lacaze, formerly Minister of Marine. M. Delmont, the Deputy, and M. Gheerbrandt, the Director, are other officials of this organization, which has been recognized by the French Government as of public utility. Its aim is to promote interest in the French Colonies through lectures and meetings. Separate committees exist to deal with medical and legal questions and general development. Each of these committees is presided over by a leader in the world of politics, science, or the arts.

the country was to pursue a policy of assimilation. It is true that France felt that she could not but be inspired by the principles of justice and democracy in ruling peoples as diverse as the Cambodians, the Laotians and Annamites, who border upon each other, and constitute the Indo-Chinese Union. But the old methods have become antiquated and ineffective—the new policy is that of associating and collaborating with the indigenous peoples. The great problem was how to inculcate the principles of individual liberty in peoples who, thus far, had only grasped the conception of collective liberty. But it should be remembered that mutual confidence is the mainspring of political action, and the indigenous population can now breathe and prosper, which was not always the case in the past. Thus Annam at one time was subjugated to China, though that occurred in the tenth century B.C.

Now, however, the evolution of the Yellow Race is progressing at a rapid pace. In fact, at the eve of the Great War there was a general call for emancipation in all countries. The Indo-Chinese in particular followed this movement, without losing sight of what they owed to France in the way of education, sanitation, freedom of thought and speech.

It would not be amiss at this point to explain the policy adopted in public instruction. At the beginning, many recommended primary education in French; fortunately common sense prevailed, and it was seen that to take the first steps in instruction in an unknown tongue presented formidable difficulties, for though the child might gain some rudimentary idea of French, that would not help it to attain the first rudiments of knowledge, which was the real object.

Hence teaching commences in "quoc-ngu," the popular tongue, with parallel lessons in French. As the child gradually reaches the higher standard, the lessons are increased, and begin to take the place of the native idiom, and when it arrives at the stage of secondary education, the pupil

can pursue his studies entirely in French. Indo-China has thus become the centre of French intellectual influence in the Far East. The Ecole d'Extrême Orient at Hanoï is the fortunate possessor of one of the best libraries in Asia. The former librarian, Miss Suzanne Karpelès, now Director of the Royal Library at Pnom-Penh, has, it will be recalled, recently delivered lectures in England. The University of Hanoï admits students from all parts of Asia, and its degrees rank with those of France. This institution includes a school of (1) Medicine and Pharmacy, (2) Law and Administration, (3) Training for Teachers, (4) Public Works, (5) Applied Sciences, (6) Veterinary Practice, (7) Agriculture, (8) Forestry. To these are shortly to be added courses in (9) Electricity, (10) Commerce, (11) Fisheries and (12) Navigation. The Indo-Chinese are thus able to study in their own country, according to their capacity, these branches of knowledge.

M. Sarraut signed the decree to establish this University in the middle of the Great War, in 1917, like Napoleon signed a decree regarding the Comédie Française whilst Moscow was in flames, and he himself hemmed in by the Cossacks. In order to emphasize the importance of this step M. Sarraut invited M. Joubin, rector of the second University of France (Lyons), to become the first Minister of Education in Indo-China, thereby showing the important place that colony was intended to take in the intellectual life of the world.

It need not be pointed out that this plan is preferable to young students coming to France to obtain degrees, attending too many lectures, cramming books without understanding their contents, assimilating blindly the doctrines of Voltaire, Diderot, and especially Rousseau, and, without really grasping our ideas, forgetting the worthy precepts of their forefathers.

Thanks to the new University there is a great desire for the acquisition of knowledge, and there is at Hanoï, Saïgon, Pnom-Penh and Cholon a most welcome atmosphere of

artistic and philosophical aspiration which is unfortunately lacking in many French towns.

When France proclaimed her adherence to the principles of justice and democracy upon which the great allied victory was based, she was not likely to forget her duties to her colonial property. I have attempted to describe the great intellectual progress of Indo-China. The question may now well be asked whether France's colonial method corresponds with her ideals, and whether her colonial policy in Indo-China, which is now marching on the direct road to the higher grades of modern civilization, does not also stand in need of modernization and adjustment to suit a people in evolution and living in the present age. Every sensible man must reply that this need exists.

The Indo-Chinese must needs wish to lead a fuller and a more elevated existence. They must aspire to a new nationhood the like of which has not yet been seen, where Frenchmen born in the country will have forged all manner of links with their own fellow-subjects become Frenchmen by making the French culture their own—links of every kind—of relationship, of intellect, of powerful common interests, all destined to make obligatory and natural a life lived in common, and tending to make Indo-China eventually independent, but French in heart.

There are in the Far East Great Britain, Japan, the United States (Philippines) and France (Indo-China). French people sometimes do not understand the lack of knowledge—often only assumed—exhibited at the conference table of the considerable importance of French interests in Eastern Asia. The French possessions in the Far East, peopled by 25 million souls, give her the right to have her say when the future (I cannot, alas! say the solution) of a problem which interests the whole world, the problem of the Pacific, comes up for consideration. I cannot forget—and I mention it to justify my previous remarks—that the lack of knowledge of our interests in China and the Pacific sometimes goes so far that at the

Washington Conference in 1921 France was at first excluded from the debates on Asia, and was only admitted to them after a protest had been registered by her delegates.

Formerly there reigned a kind of balance of power in the Far East. This was due in part to a Western policy (in Western I include America) which was indeed well inspired, and in part to economic conditions.

This equilibrium has been destroyed.

Far be it from me to seek to incriminate in the least our friends and allies, be they the U.S.A. or Japan, though the former have certainly not exhibited on every occasion that unruffled diplomatic calm which seems to be the characteristic of the Old World. One need only mention the incident of Yap, the threat of a military expedition when some American tourists were arrested by Chinese bandits.

But it would be an exaggeration to deny the existence of the Pacific problem.

I need not lay stress here on the victories, followed by conquests, which Japan brought about at the expense of China and Russia, her growing influence in Manchuria, and the successes which led in 1915 to the capture of Tsing-Tao and the treaty of the Twenty-One Demands.

The tide has since turned. After the lapse of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the provisions of the Washington Conference, and the fixing of the proportion of capital ships (5-5-3), Japan had to evacuate Tsing-Tao, and the Concordat of the eight nations relative to the emancipation of China relegated the Twenty-One Demands to the waste-paper basket.

Many Frenchmen favour an economic treaty with Japan regarding Indo-China. They see in this a means of avoiding a rapprochement between Japan and Germany. Japan is a great purchaser of Indo-Chinese goods, but only sells there one-thirteenth of what she buys. She asserts that this disproportion is due to the tariffs which obstruct her trade as much as, if not more than, that of her rivals.

There is nothing wrong in this demand. What is more

disquieting is the League of Asiatic Nations intended to comprise Afghanistan, Persia, China, the Soviet Republics to the east of the Caspian—in short, all the countries that border on British India. They seem to move round an unexpected pivot: Turkey.

Japan has just appointed an ambassador to Angora, and perhaps it would not be too ridiculous to imagine her taking an interest in this new League of Nations, the objects of which we all hope and believe are pacific.

And to return again to the "Pacific" Ocean, is there not a risk that it will belie its fair name?

With their thoughts bent on a defensive policy—*i.e.*, to prevent the foreigner from taking up a position where he may become dangerous, the United States began by fortifying Hawaii. They then went to war with Spain, took Cuba and erected defensive fortifications. In order to avoid any possible conflict, President Roosevelt declared in a great speech at Watsonville in 1903 that the domination of the Pacific Ocean could not well belong to any power but America.

It is to be hoped that the defence of the Panama Canal will not one day occasion the concentration of all the Atlantic squadrons—perhaps Japan does not harbour any illusions upon that point.

The general opinion seems to be that in the unlikely event of a conflict the forces would be unequal. But in any such calculation allowance must be made for the military qualities and extraordinary spirit of sacrifice of the Japanese. Even after a general mobilization of the army and navy, there would be sufficient people left to furnish for the war industries what is, with the exception of the Chinese, the cheapest labour in the world. A Japanese workman can subsist on rice and water, is contented with an infinitesimal salary, does not easily become tired and is suitable for all delicate work. He would be a wonderful worker for a war factory, and France has been able to appreciate his qualities during the Great War.

On the other hand, Japan is not a fertile country, does not produce any of the necessaries in the way of raw material and even sufficient rice to feed its people. Hence it is interesting to note that during the last eight years Japan has been laying in very large stocks of iron, steel, copper, chemical products, coal, sheet iron, rice and other food products at high prices. The importation of copper in particular is worthy of notice. Before the War Japan was the greatest exporter of this commodity after the United States, and exported 60,000 to 70,000 tons annually, while since the War some factories import as much as 15,000 to 20,000 tons. Factories for chemical products are being constructed, and in this category some European countries, especially Belgium, find in Japan their best customer.

I shall not speak here, though I have the necessary statistics available, of the preparations that are being made 5,000 miles away on the other side of the Atlantic by the United States. Suffice it to say that before proposing the Disarmament Conference, or rather before even speaking of the limitation of armaments, the United States prudently filled up the gaps which had placed them far behind Japan.

But there is one other factor to be considered. Though the numerical superiority of the Americans is evident enough, the same can also be said of their strategical disadvantages. The result of two or three unsuccessful scraps and a few actual combats would be to place the whole fleet in a critical position. The American Navy at the end of the first month will have consumed 400,000 to 450,000 tons. Hence it is that these great difficulties in the way of provisioning the fleet must have had something to do with the American proposals for the limitation of armaments. If it is impossible to reprovision the formidable armada which would be brought into operation against Japan in time of war, with the Philippines as the only base, it would, on the other hand, be fairly easy to supply the small

squadrons which would suffice to hold in check the few ships that the Japanese have been allowed to construct. And therein lies the essence of the matter. As the American Navy is the strongest of all in Pacific waters, the plan of limiting the tonnage of capital ships to 35,000 tons, and reducing their number, would permit of it dealing successfully with the Japanese Navy, for the large volume of provisions which it would otherwise have been necessary to transport from America across the length of the Pacific under the constant menace of Japanese submarines would be greatly reduced. There are still some people left in France who think that the Washington Conference has not definitely established the world's peace, which, however, we all as sincere pacifists so much desire. The quicksands of international politics in the Far East would be a great peril to France were it not that her security in Indonesia and the Pacific depends on her relations with Indo-China, and these relations become, as I have shown above, more intimate every day. Indo-China has the Governor of whom she stands in need in M. Alexandre Varenne, as was testified by the reception that was accorded to him upon his return to Hanoï.

In the opinion of our public men the policy of a Franco-British entente extended to Asia is the surest guarantee of peace for those powers who might eventually become belligerents. Japan has shown by her attitude during recent events in China that she has a special desire to be on good terms with France. Those who feared the contrary and who expected her to create difficulties in the Far East have been proved wrong. But it must be repeated that collaboration between England and France in Asia is the real keystone of the arch which has been built with such difficulty, but also with such mutual loyalty. These two powers have adjoining possessions in India and Indo-China with identical needs. The two powers are able to exchange merchandize to satisfy each other's requirements, but are not rivals in trade, so that no hostility

is possible on that ground. It is true that these two peoples are very different and have developed on totally diverse lines: they have also perhaps distinctive aspirations which must be taken into account. But England and France have at the same time a common political object—viz., to assure the peace and prosperity of India and Indo-China. The dangers of the situation are twofold—(1) Bolshevism, and (2) a war which would be fought in the Pacific, but for which Indonesia would have to pay the cost. Neither country can afford to dissociate herself from Japan, who should prove a valuable ally against Bolshevism, whilst united they can protect the great work that they have accomplished in Asia against the social cataclysm which would not fail to destroy the future of both nations.

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON ARCHÆOLOGY—I

By Warren R. Dawson

Although more than three years have elapsed since the appearance of the first volume of Dr. Howard Carter's deeply interesting narrative of the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen and its treasures, the interval has been anything but a period of leisure for its author. Into those three years, or such parts of them as the climate of Egypt permitted to be spent in the Valley of the Kings, Dr. Carter and his assistants have packed an almost incredible amount of labour, both mental and manual. The second volume now before us is, if possible, even more interesting than the first, for it describes the opening of the sealed burial chamber, and all the laborious operations which culminated in the unwrapping of the royal mummy.*

It is a truism to say that the tomb of Tutankhamen and the marvellous array of precious objects lodged within it constitute the most important single archæological discovery ever made, not only in Egypt, but in the whole world. The tremendous task and the still heavier responsibilities which this find laid upon the shoulders of the discoverers fell solely upon Dr. Howard Carter when the deeply regretted death of the Earl of Carnarvon in April, 1923 (a few months after the discovery), deprived him of the satisfaction of seeing the full results of years of patience and research. To lighten Dr. Carter's burden the generous help of several experienced archæologists was placed at his disposal, but in the second season an unfortunate series

* "The Tomb of Tutankhamen: Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter," by Howard Carter, Hon. D.Sc. Vol. ii., with 153 illustrations from photographs by Harry Burton. London: Cassell and Co., Ltd. 31s. 6d. net. The first volume was reviewed in the Asiatic Review, January, 1924, p. 154.

of events arose, which at one time threatened the whole enterprise. After long and difficult negotiations, arrangements were finally made which enabled Dr. Carter to resume the work which circumstances had compelled him temporarily to abandon, and from that moment work proceeded smoothly. It was due to all concerned that an account should be given of these events, which in their time loomed so ominously over the horizon, and Dr. Carter has accordingly related in his preface with great forbearance and generosity the events with which he found himself at grips, and which must have been vexatious and exasperating to a degree when they obtruded themselves upon the exacting and responsible work in which he was immersed.

It will be remembered that at one end of the antechamber—the outer room with which the first volume mainly deals—there was a sealed doorway, which, on being opened, disclosed the burial chamber within, almost entirely filled with an enormous gold-covered shrine. This shrine proved to be the outermost of four. In order to dismantle these massive shrines it was necessary to remove the whole of the partition wall between the two chambers, and even then the very restricted space made it a matter of extreme difficulty to unfix and move the heavy panels of the shrine without doing injury to the ornamented gold-work with which they were entirely covered. Between the outer shrine and the second was a wooden framework supporting a pall. The doors of the second and succeeding shrines were sealed, and had not been opened since their final closing after the King's mummy had been laid to rest. When these three pairs of doors had been successively opened, the end of a beautiful sarcophagus of yellow quartzite was revealed.

Before the sarcophagus could be opened, all the shrines had to be dismantled and removed, a work requiring the utmost foresight and skill. When all this had been successfully accomplished, the necessary tackle was erected to raise the lid of the sarcophagus. Every stage in the proceedings presented problems to solve and difficulties to overcome, and it is a wonderful achievement to have moved a mass of gilded woodwork, weighing in the aggregate several tons, without the slightest injury to the delicate ornamentation with which it was covered. It must also be remembered that all this difficult work was carried out in the stifling heat of a small underground chamber where there was scarcely room to set foot.

When at length the heavy lid of the sarcophagus, which weighed over a ton, was lifted, a massive gilded coffin was found resting on a lion-headed bier. This coffin with infinite difficulty was opened, and found to contain another, which in its turn disclosed a third. The two outer coffins were thickly covered with beaten gold and inlaid with coloured glass and stones, but the innermost coffin was of solid gold. During the funeral ceremonies large quantities of a semi-liquid unguent were poured upon these coffins, the agglutination of which added enormously to the difficulties of Dr. Carter's work.* When, after the most delicate and intricate manipulations, the two inner coffins were taken out of the outer shell, they were found to be firmly glued together by the mass of resinous and fatty unguents with which they had been so liberally coated. It seemed impossible at first that these two coffins could ever be taken apart, but Dr. Carter's ingenuity and resource discovered a means, and at last the inner coffin containing the boy-King's mummy lay ready for examination.

The ceremonial anointing of the mummy had proved to be most destructive. The decomposition of the unguents set up a complex chemical action, which to a great extent destroyed the fine linen wrappings and the tissues of the body. The head was well preserved, and when the wrappings and diadems with which it was covered had been

* The practice of pouring unguents over mummies has hitherto been misunderstood. A mummy in the British Museum, for instance, has its brilliant cartonnage casing covered with a mass of dark liquid, which the compiler of the official guide-book mistakes for bitumen.

taken away, living eyes once again gazed upon the countenance of the young King after an interval of more than three thousand years. The only disfigurement which the features have suffered is the inevitable flattening of the nose by the pressure of the bandages. In spite of this, however, as Dr. Carter remarks, "the face was refined and cultured, the features well formed, especially the clearly marked lips, and I think I may here record . . . the first and most striking impression to all present: namely, the remarkable structural resemblance to his father-in-law, Akhenaten—an affinity that has been visible on the monuments" (p. 113).

This strong resemblance to Akhenaten raises the possibility that Tutankhamen may have been the son of the heretic king, and that his wife was therefore his half-sister. One of the Tell el Amarna letters from the King of Mittani to Akhenaten conveys greetings "to thy wife, to thy other wives, to thy children," which lends considerable support to the suggestion that in addition to his principal wife, Queen Nefertiti, who is known to have been the mother of his daughters (one of whom was Tutankhamen's queen), Akhenaten may have had other wives, by one of whom he became the father of Tutankhamen.

However this may be, it is one more point of added interest to the many curious facts already brought to light by this wonderful tomb. It makes it all the more regrettable that means could not be found to examine the mummy by X rays, for such an examination might have provided anatomical evidence bearing on this possible relationship with Akhenaten, and it might also have provided some clue as to the cause of the King's early death.

The mummy was literally loaded with exquisitely wrought jewellery, amulets, and weapons. Another new point of great historical importance is revealed by the fact that one of the daggers had an iron blade, the earliest known applied use of that metal. It is tempting to describe some of these treasures, but space forbids. The tomb of

Tutankhamen has produced works of pure and applied art which surpass all powers of description, and the excellent photographs in Dr. Carter's book must supply to the eye the impression which no mere description can convey. Particular note should be made of the resemblance of the features of the mummy with the superb gold portrait-mask which was placed over the head.

In an appendix Dr. Derry gives an account of the mummy and of the anatomical evidence of age afforded by the bones. It may here be noted that the bad condition of the mummy made an examination of the bones possible, which would not have been the case had the mummy been well preserved. From this point of view, therefore, its damaged state favoured research. The account of the technique of embalming is, however, disappointing. The series of royal mummies in the Cairo Museum is, with certain breaks, continuous from the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty to the middle of the Twentieth. It is, however, just at the period of Tutankhamen and his immediate successors that the most serious gap in the continuity occurs, for no royal mummies have hitherto been preserved between those of Amenophis III. and Seti I. It was, therefore, much to be desired that a description of Tutankhamen's mummy should have been made comparable in fulness of detail with those of all the other royal mummies published by Professor Elliot Smith, by whom they were examined. There are certain points of special interest which seem to require more elaboration in the account of Tutankhamen's mummy. For instance, it is stated (p. 155) that the embalming incision "is placed parallel to a line drawn from the umbilicus to the anterior superior iliac spine and an inch above this line." This indicates that the incision is horizontal, or nearly so; and if the description is correct, the position is unique, for the embalming incision in all other cases is either vertical (from the iliac spine towards the margin of the ribs) or else oblique (from the same point downwards, following the line of the groin).

These two positions, according to the period, are invariable in the case of mummies of kings. Again, no explanation is given of the presence, on each finger and toe, of a gold stall or sheath. It is known from other evidence that these stalls were fitted in order to prevent the loss of the nails when the epidermis was macerated in the salt-bath, to which the mummy was submitted during the earlier stages of its treatment. The stalls, when placed on the digits soon after death, would fit quite snugly; but after the shrinkage sustained by the tissues during the subsequent desiccation they would become loose, and several layers of linen bandage have consequently been wrapped round the fingers and toes before the stalls were refitted on the finished mummy. It would also have been interesting to learn whether the perforation made for the purpose of removing the brain was in the ethmoid or the sphenoid bones.

Reverting for a moment to the question of possible kinship with Akhenaten, Dr. Derry (pp. 153, 154) does not agree that the skull of that King exhibits a condition of hydrocephalus, and he implies that Akhenaten's skull is comparable with that of Tutankhamen. In this opinion it is impossible to concur: there cannot be any doubt that the slight malformation of Akhenaten's skull was due to pathological causes, and Professor Elliot Smith's original opinion that a slight degree of hydrocephalus is recognizable has been confirmed by Professor A. R. Furguson and others. Dr. Derry is of opinion that the mummy of Amenophis III. in the Cairo Museum is not really the body of that King (p. 147). He considers that the peculiar technique employed in the preparation of this mummy indicates a later date, because the limbs had been packed beneath the skin in order to plump out their shrunken forms, and to give to the body some resemblance of the shape and fulness it had when alive, a custom which became general under the Twenty-first Dynasty. To one who had studied the technique of embalming in Egypt, the difference between the method of packing the limbs of the mummy of Amenophis III. with resin-soaked linen and that in use in the Twenty-first Dynasty of packing the limbs with mud or sand is at once apparent. The position of the arms and the situation of the embalming wound and other details of treatment show that the mummy belongs to the Eighteenth Dynasty, and cannot be as late as Dr. Derry suggests. The fact that the mummy of Tutankhamen had not been packed as had that of Amenophis III., proves nothing more than that the methods employed in the case of the latter were a temporary innovation, for which there are many parallels in the history of mummification. Indeed, Dr. Derry himself refers (p. 146) to just such a departure from the practice of the times in the case of certain Middle Kingdom mummies, which were prepared without incisions, although contemporary mummies have the embalming incision, which had been in use for centuries before the Middle Kingdom, and remained the general rule for centuries after. It is not until the time of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty that it became at all common to embalm mummies by a technique which did not involve an incision, and even then the practice is the exception and not the rule.

Dr. Derry brings forward some extraordinary arguments in support of his opinion that the so-called mummy of Amenophis III. is not really the body of that King. He states, for instance (p. 147), that the coffin in which this mummy was found bears the names of *three kings*. This is incorrect, for although the coffin has *three cartouches*, two of these are the pre-nomen and nomen of a single king, Seti II., who can at once be dismissed from the discussion, because his mummy was found in another coffin, and is now in the Cairo Museum. The third cartouche is that of Amenophis III., and was added later when the mummy of that King was put into a coffin that had been previously occupied by Seti II. The identity of the mummy is confirmed by the hieratic inscription on its shroud, in which the name of Neb-ma-re (Amenophis III.) is plainly legible.

This inscription records the date on which the mummy of Amenophis was re-wrapped. The suggestion made by Dr. Derry, as we have already noted, is that if the mummy with the artificial packing be really that of Amenophis III., it is probable that the custom would have been followed in the mummies of his successors, Akhenaten and Tutankhamen, and in this connection the extraordinary statement is made that "had his [Akhenaten's] body and limbs been packed in the manner described by Professor Elliot Smith for his supposed father, some indication at least would assuredly have remained of the process" (p. 148). In view of the fact that nothing but the bones remain of Akhenaten's mummy, it is clearly absurd to claim that they can afford evidence of material packed under the skin!

We have devoted considerable space to what may appear at first sight unimportant details, but this digression has been necessary in order to emphasize that every point must be weighed and carefully considered when discussing the technique of mummification, which has such profound historical and archæological significance. The attempt to disprove, by such arguments as we have indicated above, the previously established facts relating to Amenophis III. and Akhenaten merely confuses the issue, and contributes nothing at all to our knowledge of Tutankhamen.

Of the appendices to Dr. Carter's book, three deal with many interesting points of chemistry and technology, and another—by Professor Newberry—with the floral remains of the bouquets and wreaths found in the tomb. It is very interesting to note that a number of fruits of the mandrake was identified in one of the floral wreaths. The mandrake is not a native of the Nile Valley, and this discovery for the first time affords definite proof that the plant was known to the ancient Egyptians—a statement that has been confidently made, hitherto entirely without evidence, for many years. A drug called *didi* occurs not infrequently in the medical papyri, and many years ago Brugsch believed

that he had identified the word with the Hebrew *dudaim*, "mandrake." This identification is philologically impossible, and *didi*, moreover, is not a plant, but a mineral, a particular kind of hæmatite. In addition to its occurrence in the medical papyri, *didi* is mentioned in the Koller Papyrus as a product of Nubia, and other texts speak of it as a colouring agent, producing a bright red hue. It is surprising to find that Professor Newberry adheres to the old view, and states (p. 194) that "it is probable that it [the mandrake] is the *didi*-fruit (*cf.* Hebrew *dudaim*, 'mandrake'), often mentioned in Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom." As a matter of fact *didi* occurs as a drug long before the New Kingdom, in a papyrus of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Professor Newberry makes the interesting observation, based on the flowering period of the plants in the tomb, that the burial of Tutankhamen must have taken place in March or April.

Dr. Carter's book is a fine record, well produced, of his important and difficult task efficiently and thoroughly accomplished. There still remain two chambers in the tomb to be cleared, and we hope that when he has concluded his long and difficult undertaking, he will give us a third volume, and so complete the record.

We must now leave the Nile Valley and pass over to Babylonia. Dr. Campbell Thompson, whose valuable works on Assyrian medicine, botany, and chemistry we have already noticed in this journal,* has recently published a catalogue of the Late Babylonian Tablets in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.† The importance of such catalogues cannot be overestimated, because although

* ASIATIC REVIEW, July, 1924, pp. 522-526, and October, 1925, pp. 669-671.

† "Catalogue of the Late Babylonian Tablets in the Bodleian Library, Oxford," by R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A. Luzac and Co. 1927.

many great libraries contain Assyrian, Egyptian, and other ancient documents, their usefulness is to a great extent lost unless the student has a means of ascertaining the nature and particulars of these documents. The British Museum, for instance, has a fine series of Egyptian papyri, but no catalogue of them has been published, and the student is therefore in complete ignorance of what treasures the mute cabinets in the museum may contain. The tablets catalogued in the present volume cover the period from the ninth year of Nabopalassar [early seventh century B.C.] to the 219th year of Arsaces [*i.e.*, 23 B.C.]. The greater number of them are business documents, usually called "contract tablets," but the collection also contains some interesting religious, astronomical, magical, and epistolary texts. Some of the letters are written to absent recipients, who appear to have left their affairs in a neglected state, and they remind us of the sound rating given to an absent husband in a letter from his wife contained in a Babylonian tablet which we quoted in a former article.* Here is an extract from Dr. Campbell Thompson's collection (p. 38):

"I have not had concerning thee by letter a word. Why have I not seen a single letter from thee ever since the day thou didst depart, and why dost thou not trouble thyself for all my forethought on thy behalf?

"All the stores for the workmen in the chest are exhausted."

Another letter, although more polite at the beginning, contains a similar complaint (p. 39):

"May Nana and Sutiti [deities] grant peace and life to my brother. As for me, I am well by the grace of god: Bel-iddin, his brothers and his sisters, and all the household are well.

"Behold, all the stocks of the people of Borsippa are exhausted: now, behold, none ordereth food or covering for the woman Arne. . . ."

The most interesting text in the collection is the tablet (A.B. 249) inscribed with a ritual for observation of

* ASIATIC REVIEW, October, 1925, p. 646.

eclipses. It describes the appearance of the moon in eclipse, which was an occasion of public lamentation, not dissimilar, as Dr. Campbell Thompson points out, from the demonstration which is made in modern Arab villages to scare the evil spirits attacking the moon. Another interesting parallel with modern customs is noted in connection with the phrase of the text: "I am a man of Dilmun, who hath come o'er the marshes in his boat." This is to be explained from a comparison with the modern skiffs of the dwellers in the Euphrates marshes, which may be described as crescent-shaped in profile with curved pointed bows and stern (p. 30). The expression, "O my heart, O my liver," recalls the opening words of the 30th spell in the Egyptian "Book of the Dead," which begins:

"O my heart of my mother,
O my breast of my upbringing."

The collocation of words also reminds us of the Hebrew "Heart and Reins." In the Babylonian phrase the liver takes the place of the kidneys (reins), and plays an important part in divination as practised by the Babylonians and Assyrians, as Jastrow and others have demonstrated.

Dr. Campbell Thompson's catalogue is arranged in a clear and convenient form, and is provided with a very full index of personal and geographical names. The cuneiform text of the most important tablets is reproduced in a series of plates at the end of the volume.

In the life of the ancient Egyptians magic played an extremely important part. It is so closely interwoven with religion and mythology that no clear dividing-line can be discerned. Magic was, moreover, the basis of medicine, and the use of prescriptions of drugs and the earliest forms of manipulative treatment and surgery were but elaborations of the manual rites of the magician. The manual rites were the accompaniment of the oral rites, and it was only when the former gained the supremacy over the latter, and were finally divorced from them, that rational medicine can be said to have begun.

Much has been written on the subject of Egyptian magic, and many divergent views expressed. There was accordingly ample room for a clear summary of what is known of the subject, and Dr. François Lexa, of the University of Prague, has produced an interesting study of Egyptian magic to meet this demand.* The period covered by this book extends from the ancient empire to the Coptic (early Christian) epoch. Dr. Lexa's definition of magic is practically summed up in the following sentence: "C'est l'activité tendant à produire l'effet dont la connexion avec cette action n'est pas subjectivement explicable par la loi de causalité." He deals with the application of magic to the needs of the living and of the dead, and discusses the various rites and methods employed in the service of the magician. In the second volume are collected translations of magical texts and extracts of texts. These begin with the Pyramid Texts of the Fifth Dynasty, and cover the whole ground to the time of the Apa Shenoute (fifth century A.D.). This second volume, although obviously the result of much labour, is disappointing, for the texts translated *in extenso* are those which are already well known, and for most of which reliable translations are already available. The vast amount of interesting magical material contained in the hieratic papyri of Leiden and Turin is hardly touched upon, only a few short extracts from these documents being given. It is regrettable, moreover, that the references were not submitted to a more thorough check, for in a scientific book accurate references are of the first importance. The citations of some of the Leiden extracts are scarcely recognizable as they are given. For instance (Vol. ii., p. 55) we have 1345/IIII6-IV5, which is a bewildering way of quoting Papyrus No. I 345, Recto, fragment I, page 3, line 6, to I, page 4, line 5. A better arrangement of the type could have expressed the

* "La Magie dans l'Egypte Antique." Tome I, Exposé; Tome II, Les Textes Magiques; Tome III, Atlas de Planches. Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1926.

reference thus: I 345/I, iii, 6-iv, 5. The reference to extract No. IV (p. 58) puzzled me when I looked it up in my copy of the papyrus. It is given as 1348/IV3-5. On referring to the papyrus, I 348, page iv, lines 3-5, I found myself in the middle of a model letter, and not a magical text at all. The reference should be I 348/Verso, page iv, lines 3-5. Again, it would be difficult to recognize (in the absence of punctuation) 1348/VI4-VIII7 as a reference to I 348/Verso, page vi, line 4, to page viii, line 7. All the other Leiden references are equally obscure, and often incorrect. On p. 64 the British Museum Papyrus Salt No. 825 is called "Salt No. 325." The reference on p. 48 to Turin Papyrus 135/6 is incorrect; it should be 135/10. These examples are selected from amongst many. This criticism of them is not mere hair-splitting: incorrect references are one of the most serious obstructions to study, and unless the student happens to be well acquainted with the texts, it would often be impossible to find the passages referred to.

The third volume is a portfolio containing seventy-one admirable collotype plates, which illustrate the amulets, signs, and other details of the stock-in-trade of the magician.

There is one other point which we cannot refrain from mentioning—that is, the new and disconcerting forms under which Dr. Lexa presents many familiar names. At a time when Egyptologists are endeavouring to infuse some system and uniformity into nomenclature, it seems pedantic in the extreme to employ for such generally accepted names as Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Thoth, such substitutes as Ousirew, Eset, Nebthet, and Thowt.

The teaching of ancient history in schools until very recently always began with Greece and Rome. It is now, however, happily being perceived that the ancient empires of the East, especially Egypt and Assyria, have had a great influence on the destinies of mankind. Messrs. Blackie have inaugurated a series of elementary historical

text-books under the general title of "Rambles through History," and two books of this series are now before us.* In these two splendidly illustrated and charmingly written little books Mr. Donald Mackenzie, whose many works on ancient history and mythology are so well known, has unfolded a pageant of human activity extending over three millennia, and provides a charming introduction to larger histories of the ancient East.

* "Ancient Egypt" and "Babylonia and Assyria," both by Donald A. Mackenzie. Blackie and Son, Ltd. 1s. 6d. each.

CORRESPONDENCE

SIR GANGA RAM

To the Editor of THE ASIATIC REVIEW

DEAR SIR,

The most interesting account of the late Sir Ganga Ram which appeared in *The Times* a few days ago made no mention of the very valuable work he did in the way of social reforms and public beneficence.

He has devoted earnest attention of late years to promoting the remarriage of Hindu widows. The Society which he formed for this purpose in Lahore, the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha, is doing a real and most useful work. It encourages and arranges widow marriages, and works for the removal of existing prohibition and prejudices. A large sum is yearly spent by the Trustees of this Society, and will be spent until the Trustees consider that the practice of widow marriages has become as common among all classes of Hindus in India as among any other Indian community, and that therefore special help is no longer needed. During 1926, 3,172 widow remarriages were reported, but it is to be noted that the number is much larger because in the vast majority of cases information has not been sent to the Society. The Report says: "It is very difficult to make any progress with so many widows in our homes, who, instead of being helpful to us, are a painful burden on our shoulders. They are so slavishly kept, that, not finding peace and happiness under the parental roof, some of them change their religion to get a decent and comfortable life." A sum of some £14,000 was spent in 1926 in promoting the cause, and the list of voluntary donations amounts to about £8,000.

Sir Ganga Ram's Trust Society also supervises the *Sir Ganga Ram Free Hospital at Lahore*. This has been going for six years, and last year 764 in-patients and 91,335 out-patients were treated.

The said Trust also supervises what is called the *Hindu Students' Career Society*. The office is at Maclagan Road, Lahore. It aims at placing within the reach of young Hindus facilities for training them to careers of self-help, and in helping such Hindu students domiciled in British India as are in the opinion of the Trustees deserving of help by way of scholarships, with the object of enabling them to prosecute professional studies other than those purely legal. Some of the scholarships are refundable. Some of the scholars have completed their studies, and of those some have refunded the advance they took. Five have got billets as civil engineers.

In connection with this effort there is a bureau called the *Sir Ganga Ram Business Bureau and Library*, the object being "to attract young men to neglected fields of business and manual labour." These efforts do not meet with very much encouragement as yet. The Report says:

"Service is the cry and the watchword for everyone. Manual labour and painstaking professions are quite distasteful and humiliating to the younger generation as yet, but there are indications of steady progress." About forty-seven persons have been settled in life either by personal advice or consultation with the bureau. The reading-room receives seven dailies and sixty journals, under the headings of History, Trade and Commerce, Literary, Arts and Crafts, Agriculture, Science.

Another valuable branch of public beneficence under the Sir Ganga Ram Trust is called the *Hindu Apahaj Ashram*. It aims at giving relief to persons of Hindu birth who cannot earn their own living through old age or physical incapacity, and cannot be supported by their relatives. "The world-wide problems," said the late Sir Ganga Ram, "to provide for the old and the infirm is one which has not yet found a satisfactory solution in India." The institution appears to be carefully organized. This effort is comparatively new. It has been in existence for little more than a year.

The above sketch indicates some of the great efforts which have been inaugurated by this great-hearted and able Hindu gentleman for using the means which his high ability in scientific work of a practical character have enabled him to acquire, and we may feel assured that some of these benevolences will, at least in part, be continued by the wise and careful dispositions he has made.

We are informed that the total income of Sir Ganga Ram Trust Society now amounts to nearly one lakh a year (£7,000).

We deeply sympathize with his son, Mr. Senak Ram, in his great loss; and wish him every success and blessing in the important social position to which his lamented father's death has called him.

W. COLDSTREAM.

69, WEST CROMWELL ROAD,
LONDON, S.W. 5.
July 18, 1927.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

JAPAN AND KOREA

BY STANLEY RICE

IF there is one quality in the Japanese nation which must strike the student of their history more than another, it is the quality of humility. They have never been too proud to learn. They have frankly admitted that "they order this matter better in France," and having made up their minds about it they have set to work with a thoroughness which in Europe we are accustomed to associate with Germans. What they were in the beginning no one seems to know; they came early into contact with China on the one hand, and Korea on the other, and they confess that both were superior civilizations, from which they assimilated much. From China they borrowed the very doubtful blessing of an ideographic language, which was grafted on to the national tongue, but there seems to have been a party which advocated the entire abolition of Japanese and the substitution of Chinese *en bloc* and ready-made. From China, too, they imbibed Buddhism, and thus add India to their debt; and although Shintoism, the foundation of which is ancestor worship, may have been evolved indigenously, the very fact that it is the groundwork of Chinese civilization, and was also prevalent in Korea, probably strengthened and confirmed the idea of filial duty, which is very marked in India, but reaches its culmination in the Far East. Of Japan's debt to Korea it is hardly possible to speak in such definite terms. The neighbouring continental culture seems to have had a more general, a more imperceptible, influence upon the Japanese, as perhaps the Roman culture had upon the barbaric northern nations of Teuton stock; but the Japanese have never made a secret of, nor have they any desire to disown, their obligations to the Koreans. Nor has Japan ever shown herself intolerant of religion as such. She has welcomed the Buddhist and adopted his religion; she admitted Christianity at a time when she was inclined to look upon the

foreigner with a rather fearful suspicion, and though there were times when she persecuted Christians—notably in the Government of Hideyoshi, who began his career by marked favours towards them—it was because she suspected them, rightly or wrongly, of being a danger to the State, in that they seemed to set up an *imperium in imperio* by setting up the doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope as a spiritual prince, independent of, and in the spiritual sphere superior to, the divine or semi-divine Emperor. That suspicion certainly received encouragement, if there be any truth in the story that the Spaniards, anxious to impress the yellow barbarians of the might of Spain, boasted in an unguarded moment that some day the King of Spain would invade the islands, overthrow the national Government, and abolish Japanese independence. And then the door was shut. For 250 years the Japanese remained secluded from the outer world; it is difficult to believe that that seclusion was absolute, and it is certain that an inward evolution was going on all the time; but to Europe Japan was as though she was not. The fateful year 1853 arrived. The Japanese bowed to the inevitable, and, making a virtue of necessity, set to work with characteristic energy and thoroughness to transform themselves into a nation on the Western pattern. Everyone knows the story: everyone has wondered at the miracle.

And yet was it a miracle? It is true that the Japanese have always been imitators, but there is an art in imitation, which falls not far short of originality. Are we not all to some extent imitators, though with less than Japanese candour we prefer to talk of influence? Worthy imitation takes its original, and by moulding and adapting, by introducing new ideas and a form which gradually becomes individualistic, eventually reaches the rank of originality. So it was, in the realm of music—and instances in other realms will as readily occur—that Haydn blazed the trail for Mozart, and yet Haydn could never have written the G minor Symphony. So it was that the earlier sonatas and symphonies of Beethoven are regarded almost as imitations of Mozart, and yet the later ones—the Waldstein Sonata, for example, and the Symphony in A—are the purest Beethoven. Unworthy imitations die of their own unworthiness; the way to Limbo is carpeted with the manuscript of would-be copies of the successful novel. In this sense the Japanese have excelled in discrimination; they have imitated without ceasing to be national. They have put aside national arrogance; they have learned

where they have not been ashamed to confess themselves ignorant—and they are what they are. China, with a long lead in the race—China, herself the teacher of Japan—has never been able to do this. She clung tenaciously to her notions of superiority; she brought wars upon herself and humiliations by this absurd doctrine, and when at last she forced herself to believe that there was something after all in what the West had to teach—not indeed in ethics, nor in religion, nor in the art of administration, in which she was content with what she had evolved—but in material power and wealth, and even in science, she believed, at first at any rate, that she had the secret when she had adopted the mechanical devices of the West. The Japanese War taught her that a navy does not consist of warships, and that an army is not invincible because it has rifles. But never yet has she learned the lesson of humility: the lesson that, if you mean to imitate, you must imitate intelligently and not slavishly, thoroughly and not superficially, in the spirit rather than in the letter, by grafting foreign ideas on to the national stem, not by planting them in barren soil.

Professor Nitobé, in a book of disconnected essays,* puts these reflections into somewhat more philosophical form; he credits the West with the supreme virtue of the recognition of Personality, the East with an outstanding share of Perception. And this Perception is manifested, in one aspect at least, in selective Imitation. For imitation, as he points out, may be worse than unworthy and futile; it may be positively mischievous, if the imitating people either adopts the wrong and vicious institutions, or imports the bad with the good indiscriminately. Justice, or rather impartiality, however, compels us to doubt whether this self-complacency, which claims for Japan that she has known how to choose the good and reject the evil, can be upheld without qualification. Good and evil, it would seem, are not always inseparable. The attainment of a goal can generally only be bought at a price. And so when Japan decided, or was compelled, to abandon the isolation in which she had lived in unbroken peace for two centuries and a half, she was very soon engaged in a war with China. Though no one suspected the degree of efficiency to which she had brought herself, it proved to be only a trying of the wings for the greater flight of 1904. And again in 1914, though Japan did not bear the brunt of

* "Japanese Traits and Foreign Influence," by Inazo Nitobé (Kegan Paul). 7s. 6d.

the War, she took her part in it both by land and sea. Three great wars, which thus took place within a quarter of a century, were, in the preceding three centuries, a liberal allowance. Nor is the price to be paid in war alone. As every country has found that enters upon the race for wealth which means power, prestige, and world status, the joy and the beauty are said to be departing from what was once the fairyland of the earth. Tokyo is a forest of factories; Yokohama a forest of ships with, one supposes, the same dreary quays and the same drab outlook as those dreariest of English landscapes, the ports of London and Liverpool. The lure of the towns has begun, and with the lure of the towns the inevitable lure of meretricious excitement and of questionable manners.

Yet, for all that, Japan has not abandoned her nationality; it is given to no one always to choose wisely, and, on the whole, within human limitations she has as a nation chosen wisely. It may be impertinent for a foreigner in his arrogant ignorance to assert that Japan has never yet (with the possible exception of Hideyoshi) produced a man of outstanding genius; it may be that in her much cherished seclusion she has disdained the world-wide reputation which has come to others. But if it be set down to ignorance, it is at least pertinent to quote the opinion of a Japanese. After considerable thought, stimulated by a chance remark of an American journalist, Professor Nitobé has "come to the conclusion that our achievements are due not to towering figures who lead us, but to an impersonal collective entity—a sort of corporation consisting of mediocrities. . . . The rise of Japan is due primarily to a strong and well-manœuvred national unity on the one hand, and on the other a quick adjustment to the material superiority of Western civilization." Those are qualities which in their combination are lacking both in India and in China. In India there have undoubtedly been commanding figures, who might have achieved world-wide reputation if the world had given Asia her due; but there has never been a whole-hearted national effort, at the most only an impulsive, half intelligent, half superstitious following by the people of the leaders, whose influence waned as enthusiasm cooled. In China the corporation has certainly consisted of mediocrities; but the mediocrities have all been employed in quarrelling and fighting among themselves, thinking that a better occupation for wise men than the education of the people in the ways of the modern world. The Chinese have achieved enthusiasm without the effort required for

fruition; the Cantonese plan is rather to throw overboard, as antiquated and worn-out lumber, all that went to make the nation rather than to accept the mixed cargo of foreign ideas and Chinese institutions. Even so, the movement cannot be called national—for out of the uncounted millions only a small fraction have caught the fever, and of that fraction one does not know how many have seized the chance to make their personal hay while still the golden sun is shining.

The Japanese have avoided this hysteria; the corporation of mediocrities has managed to assimilate—not without some at least of their vicious tendencies, which have been added to or substituted for the national vices — ideas borrowed from the West, and yet have not sacrificed the characteristically national institutions. At one end of the scale is the reverence for the Emperor, for Professor Nitobé in a telling phrase—"If the object of the War was to make the world safe for democracy . . . it looks as though the Peace does not make democracy safe for the world"—shows that he at least puts no faith in the absurd travesty of democracy which has led to universal suffrage and is heading fast towards Socialism and ultimately towards Bolshevism. But the Emperor is no irresponsible autocrat. His kingly duties are impressed upon him at the time of his coronation in the most solemn manner. For a whole night he keeps his vigil as in the days of Christian chivalry, and "not far off thousands of his faithful subjects are keeping watch, but every voice is hushed: for the whole nation keeps vigil with him tonight." What he does is of no importance to us; the effect upon the mind must be tremendous and the memory of that night vigil cannot desert him until he too joins his ancestors.

And at the other end of the scale—perhaps the Japanese themselves would not admit that it is the other end—are such trivialities as the tea-ritual and the making of verses. The making of tea is more, much more, than the shaking of a cocktail. It seems to have had a quasi-religious origin, and is perhaps comparable to our celebration of May-day, apparently a survival of some Pagan festival of spring, which, though still observed on Magdalen Tower by white-robed boys, has elsewhere become a secular rejoicing that spring "is icumen in." The tea ceremony is a ritual, with rigid rules of etiquette and symbolic suggestions of equality, of simplicity, and the reign of Peace. Nor is verse-making less characteristic. It may seem easy to the European to write little verses of seven-

teen syllables only, dealing with a mere suggestion of a trivial matter, just as it seems easy to write poetry to those who can rhyme "love" with "dove" and "moon" with "June."

> "Into an old pond
> A frog took a sudden plunge,
> Then is heard a splash"——

That does not sound difficult and hardly worth saying, yet it seems to be one of the most famous Haikus in the Japanese language. The Japanese see all kinds of suggestions in the lines; the great master of the art claimed that it contained a discipline for the whole of life.

But if she still keeps her old playthings, if we may so express her exquisite art, Japan has, with the adoption of Western ideas and Western science, also taken upon herself the burden of Colonial expansion which seems to come with the acquisition of power, as history has shown us successively in the case of Spain, Holland, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, for, as Professor Ramsay Muir has remarked, the instinct of every nation which has become conscious of its unity tends to make it aggressive. The Island of Formosa (Tai-wan) was perhaps the legitimate spoil of the Chinese War, not indeed as a spectacular display of victorious superiority, but rather as an important, valuable outpost to an island Empire newly emancipated from its voluntary seclusion. The annexation of Korea, which was completed in 1910 after several years of a protectorate with the protector very much in predominance, may rather be regarded as a necessity. For Korea, like Japan, had at one time enforced a policy of national seclusion; but, unlike her, she had not improved the occasion by good government and the energy of a progressive people. To do her justice, she was greatly handicapped by her equivocal position in regard to China, whose suzerainty was owned and disowned, claimed and disclaimed, by one or the other party to suit the circumstances of the occasion. This state of things was specially irritating to Japan, who from her geographical position was the chiefly interested neighbour. It was the relations with Korea that brought about the Chinese War, and it was the subsequent action of the European Powers, France, Germany, and Russia, in depriving Japan of the Liao-tung Peninsula which warned Japanese statesmen of the danger of an apathetic acquiescence in the various acquisitions in the guise of leases and concessions which followed. Japan, in fact, was beginning to learn the implications of emerging from her long

seclusion. Germany took Kiao-chow, Britain Wei-hai-wei; France was not concerned with the north, but Russia, the real potential enemy, was installed in Liao-tung, which she herself had forbidden to the supposed weakness of Japan. Korea was threatened with Russian domination on three sides: the land frontier marches with Manchuria, which was practically in Russian hands; on the west lay Port Arthur, the coveted warm-water harbour; and on the north Vladivostok, a potential menace since the Russian occupation in 1860. The weak Korean Court lay open to persuasion, and if necessary to coercion, by a nation which had already shown her hand in her dealings with China, and whose ambitions in the Far East were written in history. The Russian War was fought on the broad principle of Russo-Japanese relations, and in these Korea had so large a share that Japan was gradually led from a declaration of a sphere of influence to the assumption of a protectorate, and eventually to undisguised annexation.

In his book on "The New Korea"* Mr. Alleyne Ireland has observed that—

> "there exists, indeed, a certain type of mind to which the contagion of misrule conveys no threat to domestic tranquillity on the other side of a frontier to which the circumstances of American territorial expansion and of the extension of British rule in India teach no lesson. Intelligent observers, however, are aware that bad government can be as poor a neighbour as bad health."

That is the justification for the annexation of Korea. It is the principle which the lusty supporters of self-determination *sans phrases*, the idealism of President Wilson, whose country, having already annexed a considerable part of the continent upon the self-same principle, would never be likely to face the dilemma again, and the Liberalism of Lloyd George, which outran his political sagacity, will not admit, however plainly the facts are presented to them. It is, of course, right and proper that a nation should govern itself; the sacred principle of liberty and independence demands it, and perhaps wherever the contrary principle is applied there will in the long run always be a party of nationalists and always a party of dreamers who, ignorant of the facts or not choosing to recognize the inexorable march of events, will scream bloody Imperialism in the sacrosanct name of Democracy or any other catchword that suits their purpose. But all history proves that while a nation may safely be left to "determine itself" (such is the happy phrase) so long as it is innocuous, it cannot be

* "The New Korea," by Alleyne Ireland (New York: Dutton).

allowed to be a menace to its neighbours. That is why those who cry out against the "oppression" of subject peoples and the "exploitation" of other people's countries have had nothing to say against the veto imposed upon the amalgamation of Germany with Austria, and have never observed that self-determination in Europe has always permitted disintegration but never federation. You can in the cant phrase of the day cry "Hands off" this, that, and the other, till you are weary, but you will not alter the fact that the policy of nations is determined primarily by the balance of power and by national self-interest.

On the other hand, it is equally true that no nation can be justified in assuming control of another's country which does not conform to the accepted canons of today. A new spirit is apparent in colonial policy. The recent declaration of the Colonial Office, in the case of Kenya Colony, that the paramount interest of a colony must and ought to be the welfare of the inhabitants and the mandates of the League of Nations, which always contain clauses intended to safeguard the native populations and to contribute to their prosperity, enunciate what is in effect a new doctrine in respect of primitive peoples. The case is naturally altered when it is a question of an advanced and civilized nation, proud of its past and conscious of its own self-respect. For very many years now the doctrine which is now called new has been in rigorous practice in India, though in the early years it must be admitted—and has often been admitted—to the shame of England, that a mistaken policy and a false morality led to outrageous and quite unpardonable conduct. Although the contrary has been argued, it is certain that no average normal boy ever enters the public service in India with any thought except to make a living in an attractive career; if he entertains any fantastic idea that he is bound on a mission of white civilization to the benighted heathen, or even that he has received a "call," secular or sacred, to do good without thought of reward, he is simply not normal. And it is equally certain that the average normal man, when he leaves India, looks back upon a career in which his one obsession was to do the best he could for his people, with only very occasional side glances at his own prospects or rewards. This digression upon India may seem beside the point; but the Japanese proceedings in Korea seem to suggest that they have drawn very freely upon India as their model, all the more so because, as we have seen, they have never been too proud to learn in other schools; they

have shown wisdom in choosing the best schools, and if England admittedly leads the world in colonial administration, India is the greatest, as it is the oldest, example of colonial administration on a large scale. There are, too, other points of contact. As India, according to her boast —a just boast for whatever it may be worth—was a highly civilized people or peoples at a time when naked Britons were running blue in the forests and Druids were sacrificing human beings to the sun on the altars of Stonehenge, so Korean civilization was at one time far in advance of that of the Japanese, who acknowledge Korea to have been in part their preceptor. And as in various ways, which we need not stop to specify, the civilization of the white races outstripped the earlier civilizations of the brown, so it has come about that Japan, having assimilated that white civilization to her own needs, has outdistanced Korea. The pupil has become the master, and in exactly those branches of human activity in which the English have shown themselves superior to the Indians. The results, judging by Mr. Ireland's book, promise to be exactly similar. In many respects, to some of which brief allusion will be made later, the Japanese Government is beyond all question and all comparison better than the old, effete, apathetic, and corrupt native government; the material and intellectual progress of the people is always marked and sometimes startling, with this reservation, that the statistics of schools, banks, finance, commerce, and the rest which make such complacent reading are not always a true index to the happiness of the people. A blue book may sometimes be a white lie. But behind all there is, on the part of the Koreans, a certain dissatisfaction, as there always will be when a government, however demonstrable its achievements, is an alien government, and on the part of the Japanese a certain arrogant assumption of superiority. The policy originally followed, and perhaps copied from the French, of appointing military men to rule the country —a policy never adopted by the English in advanced countries—resulted in a serious explosion, and in such severe repression that it had to be abandoned—and shortly afterwards a resident bishop said that "it must be fully recognized that the Japanese Government has by no means as yet won the hearts of the Korean people: rather they are further off from that today than fifteen months ago." Nor does it appear that much progress has been made. A recent report says that Japanese domination in Korea is still unpopular, and that some form of home rule govern-

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 contemplated 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 BENGALE 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 Santineketan, where Dr. Geddes worked in a professional capacity. Santineketan 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 numbers 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 Pañchatantra 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 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 archæological 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. Iyenagar 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.

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 importent 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.

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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 Ægean 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.

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.