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INDEX TO VOL. XXXII.

INDIA

PAGES

AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN AN INDIAN STATE. By *Lieut.-Colonel A. H. E. Mosse* - 132

RECENT PROGRESS ON INDIAN RAILWAYS. By *V. P. Bhandarkar* - 145

FRENCH IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA. By *Stanley Rice* - 159

INSURANCE BUSINESS IN INDIA. By *R. W. Brock* - 190

INDIAN GEMSTONES. By *G. H. Tipper* - 335

TOURISTS AND ARCHÆOLOGY IN INDIA. By *Stanley Rice* - 342

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE ASSEMBLY AND ITS PROGRESS. By *Sir Barjor Dalal* - 351

THE INDIAN BUDGET: PROSPECTS OF FEDERAL FINANCE. By *Professor P. J. Thomas* - 401

HINDUSTHANI MUSIC. By *H.H. the Maharaja of Dharampur* - 410

A FRENCH TRAVELLER IN INDIA A HUNDRED YEARS AGO. By *Philip Morrell* - 415

THE DOYEN OF THE INDIAN PRINCES. By *C. E. Newham* - 428

HEALTH AND HOUSING IN HYDERABAD. By *B. S. Townroe* - 433

WINTER SPORTS IN KASHMIR. By *A Correspondent* - 629

INDIA AND THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT. By *R. W. Brock* - 636

RECENT PROGRESS IN BARODA STATE. By *Sir V. T. Krishnama Chari* 651

THE RISE OF LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIA. By *Dr. Rajani Kanta Das* 742

SOME ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD. By *E. Rosenthal* - 763

ARCHÆOLOGY IN BARODA - 769

INDIA AND THE FORTY-HOURS WEEK. By *Sir Homi Mehta* - 773

BUILDINGS, BRIDGES AND ROAD CONSTRUCTION IN MYSORE STATE. By *B. Munivenkatappa* - 780

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN COFFEE. By *Y. N. Sukthankar* - 834

RURAL BROADCASTING IN INDIA. By *Lieut.-Colonel H. R. Hardinge* - 821

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE ACCESSION OF THE PRINCES TO FEDERATION. By *Sir Patrick Cadell* 1
[Discussion by Lord Peel (Chairman), Sir William Barton, Lord Lamington, Sir Stuart Fraser, Mr. C. A. Kincaid, Sir Malcolm Seton.]

AN ARTIST'S IMPRESSION OF HYDERABAD STATE. By *Mrs. Marguerite Milward* - 23

RURAL WELFARE IN INDIA AND CHINA. By *Mr. C. F. Strickland* - 34
[Discussion by Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes (Chairman), Dr. C. C. Wang, Mr. G. S. Dutt, Sir Selwyn Fremantle, Mr. B. T. Mulwani.]

RECEPTION TO LORD AND LADY ZETLAND - 60

78678

JL
M N36
N36.32

PAGES

THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE, INDIA. By *Sir T. Vijayaraghava Acharya* - - - - - - - - - - - - 64
[Discussion by Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P. (Chairman), Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Amberson Marten, Sir Thomas Ainscough, Sir Louis Dane, Dr. Plymen, Sir Philip Hartog, Mr. C. R. Corbett, Sir Benjamin Robertson.]

THE DEATH OF KING GEORGE V. - - - - - - - - - - 223

OUR EXPORT TRADE WITH INDIA: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND POSSIBILITIES. By *Sir Thomas Ainscough* - - - - - - - 226
[Discussion by Captain Euan Wallace, M.P. (Chairman), Mr. I. F. L. Elliot, Mr. J. G. Nicholson, Mr. C. B. Charters, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Sir Atul Chatterjee, Sir Alfred Chatterton.]

INDIAN OCCULTISM: THE ROPE-TRICK AND OTHER PHENOMENA. By *Major G. H. Rooke* - - - - - - - - - - - - 257
[Discussion by Lord Mansfield (Chairman), Mr. Foster Bailey, Mr. C. A. Kincaid, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Lord Goschen.]

THE INDIAN SCENE IN 1935. By *Miss Rosie Newman* - - - - 285
[Discussion by the Duke of Portland, Lord Lamington.]

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DEFENCE OF INDIA, NOW AND WHEN THE REFORMS MATERIALIZE. By *Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart.* - 463
[Discussion by Lord Winterton, M.P. (Chairman), General Sir George Barrow, Sir Abdul Qadir, Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, Lord Lamington.]

THE INDIAN VICEROYALTY: FAREWELLS TO LORD AND LADY LINLITHGOW 488

RECEPTION TO LORD AND LADY LINLITHGOW - - - - - - - 499

RECEPTION TO LORD AND LADY WILLINGDON - - - - - - - 502

GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: UNITED PROVINCES EXPERIMENTS. By *Sir Edward Blunt* - - - - - - - - - - 509
[Discussion by Sir Atul Chatterjee (Chairman), Sir Miles Irving, Mr. C. F. Strickland, Sir Selwyn Fremantle, Mr. V. N. Mehta, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Sir Louis Dane.]

HINDU SOCIETY AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION. By *K. M. Panikkar* - 541

WOMEN'S WORK IN INDIA: A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS. By *Dr. Ruth Young* - - - - - - - - - - - 555
[Discussion by Lady Halifax (Chairman), Mrs. Rama Rau, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., Mrs. H. M. Gray, Dr. Margaret Balfour, Lady Irving, Miss Mary Sorabji, Sir Albion Banerji, the Hon. Emily Kinnaird, Lord Lamington.]

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS IN BALUCHISTAN: A DOCTOR'S REMINISCENCES. By *Sir Henry Holland* - - - - - - - - - - - 687
[Discussion by Sir Norman Cater (Chairman), Sir Frank Hudson, Sir Denys Bray, Major-General Sir Leonard Rogers, The Ven. C. A. Gillmore, Sir Hugh McPherson.]

ANNUAL REPORT - - - - - - - - - - - - - 706

ANNUAL MEETING - - - - - - - - - - - - - 716

LORD LAMINGTON'S RECEPTION. By *Lady Seton* - - - - - - 721

FAR EAST

PAGES

RECENT PROGRESS IN CHINA. By *E. H. Anstice* - - - - - - 85

THE JAPANESE AND SHANGHAI. By *O. M. Green* - - - - - - 91

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHINESE ART. By *H.E. the Chinese Ambassador, Mr. Quo Tai-chi* - - - - - - - - - - 99

INDIGENOUS AND OTHER NON-EUROPEAN LABOUR LEGISLATION IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES. By *J. Woudstra* - - - - - - - 112

CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH JAPAN. By *Baron Dan* - - - - - 155

JAPANESE INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By *Isoshi Asahi* 169

THE POSITION OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES IN WORLD ECONOMICS. By *Charles Morrell* - - - - - - - - - - - - 197

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHINESE ART: SOME REFLECTIONS. By *Sir Percival David, Bart.* - - - - - - - - - - 297

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHINESE ART IN RETROSPECT. By *F. St. G. Spendlove* - - - - - - - - - - - - 313

PROBLEMS OF LABOUR LEGISLATION IN JAPAN. By *Y. Kamii* - - 355

THE WEAVING AND BATIK INDUSTRIES IN JAVA. By *J. S. Furnivall* - 365

THE CANTON-HANKOW RAILWAY. By *Dr. C. C. Wang* - - - 392

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDOCHINA. By *Octave Homberg* - 419

RUBBER IN INDOCHINA. By *Octave Homberg* - - - - - - 583

THE CHIEF PROBLEMS OF THE WORKING-CLASS PEOPLE IN CHINA. By *Professor Chen Ta* - - - - - - - - - - - - 591

DECENTRALIZATION IN MALAYA. By *Sir R. O. Winstedt* - - - 602

MALARIA IN CEYLON. By *Dr. V. B. Wigglesworth* - - - - - 611

LABOUR LEGISLATION FOR EUROPEANS IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES. By *Dr. H. Cohen de Boer* - - - - - - - - - - - 620

THE FUTURE OF PARLIAMENT IN JAPAN. By *Ernest H. Pickering* - 723

JAPAN'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. By *E. H. Anstice* - - - - - - 734

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES. By *Dr. Cecil Rothe* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 785

MUSICOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO. By *Dr. Jaap Kunst* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 810

FRENCH INDOCHINA. By *Pierre Tap* - - - - - - - - - 824

A CONSTITUTION FOR CHINA. By *O. M. Green* - - - - - - 875

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST. By *Dr. Alfred Marcus* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 107

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF IRANIAN ART. By *A. Upham Pope* 181

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA. By *E. H. King* 377

EASTERN TRADE ROUTES AND THE MIDDLE SEA. By *John de La Valette* 653

DAGHESTAN FROM NORTH TO SOUTH. By *E. H. King* - - - - - 840

ROAD DEVELOPMENT IN PALESTINE. By *I. Melamede* - - - - - 855

PROGRESS IN AFGHANISTAN. By *H.E. the Afghan Minister* - - - 863

THE STRAITS: THE CONVENTION OF MONTREUX. By *Z. Niksel* - - 867

GENERAL

PAGES

SYLVAIN LÉVI: A MEMORY. By *Dr. Ranjee G. Shahani* - - - 104

THE NAVAL CONFERENCE. By "*Captain R. N.*" - - - - - 330

AIR TRANSPORT FROM EUROPE TO THE EAST. By *Lieut.-Colonel H. Burchall, D.S.O.* - - - - - - - - - - - 643

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

WORLD FELLOWSHIP. By *Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband* - 326

PERSONALITIES OF THE CONGRESS OF FAITHS. By *Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband* - - - - - - - - - - 589

INDIAN VILLAGE WELFARE ASSOCIATION. EASTER SCHOOL, 1936 - - 659

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

India.

Financial Problems of Indian States under Federation (*Jarrolds*), 206; Annual Report of the Coffee Scientific Officer, 1934-35 (*Dept. of Agriculture, Mysore State*), 208; Between the Oxus and the Indus (*Martin Hopkinson*), 209; Himalayan Wanderer (*Alex. MacLehose*), 211; Transactions of the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta, Vol. VIII. (*Longmans Green*), 211; India in 1933-34 (*Delhi: The Manager of Publications*), 444; A History of India (*Ivor Nicholson and Watson*), 446; Report of the Indian Trade Commissioner in London for 1934-35 (*The Office of the High Commissioner for India*), 447; The Festival of Life (*Bombay: Taraporevala*), 451; Gujarata and its Literature (*Longmans*), 452; Tales Told in India (*Oxford University Press*), 458; A Constitutional History of India (*Methuen*), 674; Mysore Revenue Administration Report, 1934-35 (*Bangalore Government Press*), 677; Administration Report for Cochin, 1934-35 (*Cochin Government Press*), 678; Baroda Administration Report, 1934-35 (*Baroda State Press*), 680; Administration Report of the United Provinces, 1934-35 (*Lucknow: Government Press*), 682; Pérégrinations Asiatiques (*Paris: P. Geuthner*), 159; L'Inde s'entrouvre (*Paris: Librairie Plon*), 160; L'Inde aux cent couleurs (*Paris: Hachette*), 161; L'Inde Sacrée (*Paris: Librairie Plon*), 164; Les Civilisations de l'Orient (*Paris: Crès*), 165; The Government of the British Empire (*Macmillan*), 894; Magna Britannica (*J. Cape*), 898; Jawaharlal Nehru—an Autobiography (*Bodley Head*), 900; Honoria Lawrence (*Murray*), 903; Indian Thought and Its Development (*Hodder and Stoughton*), 905.

Far East.

Secrets of Tibet (*Blackie*), 211; China Changes (*Jonathan Cape*), 212; Singapore Patrol (*Harrap*), 213; Java Pageant (*Seeley, Service*), 214; Coloured Plates of the Birds of Ceylon (*Dulau*), 215; Coral Gardens and their Magic (*Allen and Unwin*), 215; The Romance of the Western Chamber (*Methuen*), 216; A Buddhist Bibliography (*The Buddhist Lodge*), 216; A Manchu Monarch (*Allen and Unwin*), 216; China (*The Cresset Press*), 217; Beauty in Japan (*Putnams*), 218; Annual Report of Java Bank (*Batavia: Kolff*), 218; Japan's Place in the Modern World (*Harrap*), 454; The Problem of Japan (*Nisbet*), 454; The Last Empress (*Murray*), 456; Facing Two Ways (*Oxford University Press*), 458, 685; Report for 1935 of the Chinese Government Purchasing Commission (*London*), 684; The New Culture in China (*Allen and Unwin*), 685; Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking (*Peking*), 908; The New Mongolia (*Heinemann*), 909; War and Diplomacy in the Japanese Empire (*Allen and Unwin*), 909; The Birth of China (*Jonathan Cape*), 910.

Near and Middle East.

Matériel de la Vie Bédouine (*Damascus*), 219; Les Perles Choisies d'Ibn Ach-Chihna (*Paris: Leroux*), 220; Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village (*Helsingfors*), 453; The Business of Exploring (*Putnam*), 453; Le dialecte Arabe de Palmyre (*Beyrouth: Institut français de Damas*), 908.

Art and Archæology.

An Essay on Landscape Painting (*Murray*), 220; L'Art Malgache (*Paris: Boccard*), 220; Hiroshige (*Tokyo*), 221; Geschichte der indischen Miniaturmalerei (*Berlin: W. de Gruyter*), 221; Introduction to Chinese Art and History (*Faber*), 456.

Orientalia.

Epigraphia Carnatica (*Bangalore: Mysore Archæological Survey*), 210; Gaekwad's Oriental Studies (*Baroda: Oriental Institute*), 210; The Baha'i World (*New York: Baha'i Publ. Committee*), 451; The Spirit of Zen (*Murray*), 452; The Book of the Gradual Sayings, Vol. V. (*Oxford University Press*), 452; The Mysore Tribes and Castes (*Mysore University*), 664; The Evolution of Hinduism (*Baroda State Press*), 907.

Miscellaneous.

My Little Russian Journey (*Stockwell*), 221; Gengis-Khan (*Paris: A. Colin*), 222; At the Court of the Last Tsar (*Methuen*), 222; Who's Who, 1936 (*A. and C. Black*), 222; Eastern Industrialization and its Effect on the West (*Oxford University Press*), 203; Annual Report, 1935 (*Imperial Institute*), 449; All About Coffee (*New York: Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Co.*), 457.

POETRY

Poem: The Glory and the Sorrow of the Mountain (from the Chinese of Sien-te-King). Adapted by *John Kavanagh* - - - - - 872

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE ACCESSION OF THE PRINCES TO FEDERATION

By Sir Patrick Cadell, c.s.i., c.i.e.

When I was asked to read a paper on the Accession of the Rulers of the Indian States to the New Federation of India, I accepted the invitation with even more than my usual diffidence. I was well aware of the complexity of the question, and of the fact that no man, with the possible exception of Secretaries of the Political Department of the Government of India, could claim to be fully informed of the circumstances of all the States throughout the subcontinent of India. I was as fully conscious as any critic can be of the slenderness of my own qualifications for the task; and it would perhaps be well, in order that I may disarm obvious criticism as far as possible, that I should state what these qualifications are.

Like many other officers of the Executive Branch of the Bombay Government, I have had political charge of some of the States which were until recently under the care of that Government; in various posts in the Secretariat I have had further contact with the affairs of those States; and finally I have had the privilege of being connected for more than three years with the administration of the premier of that important body of States which constitute the Province of Kathiawar. It may be very reasonably objected that this does not imply any personal acquaintance with the largest Indian States. I do not, however, think that this is a fatal objection; because it is really the medium and somewhat smaller States which present the most difficult problem, and run the greatest risk of losing their identity and status, if any such risk is involved, by entry into Federation. I do not, however claim to have any special knowledge, and I shall certainly not reveal any secrets. I shall only speak as an observer, who desires to pass on to you what he believes he has observed.

Evolution of the Federal Plan

It is necessary first to remind you of a few, though, I hope, very few, elementary facts. The first is that unless the Indian States join in the New Constitution of India, there can be no true Federation. The existing British Indian Provinces may be declared to be locally autonomous, and may be subordinated to a representative Central Government, but that would not make a Federation. It had, however, long been obvious that the conditions necessary for the establishment of a true Federal Government were present in India in the relations between the States and British India. Yet the Indian States Committee in 1929 and the Statutory Commission in 1930 agreed that though Federation might come some day "the evolution will be slow and cannot be rashly pressed." In the despatch of the Government of India, dated September 20, 1930, it was stated, as if it were an indisputable fact, that the Federation of all India was a distant ideal.

It came therefore as a great and, to all those who believed in the inevitability of a change in the system of Indian government, a pleasurable, surprise when the Princes who attended the first Round-Table Conference at the end of the same year 1930, supported by the Ministers who represented other Princes who had remained in India, declared in favour of the principle of an All-India Federation. I need not go into the reasons for what was in most cases a sudden conversion. It cannot be doubted that the main reason was a generous desire to assist and partake in the development of a self-governing India. But there were additional reasons: apprehensions had been aroused in the minds of some, subsidiary hopes were entertained by others.

It is, I think, a recognized feature of sudden conversions, however sincere, that subsequent doubts are liable to arise: dangers are found to be unreal, hopes seem little likely to be realized. I must not be understood to suggest that any of the Princes have ever desired to resile from any undertaking given by them. It is, however, fair to them to point out that their acceptance of the principle of Federation was always conditional. To repeat an expression that was often used, they were to see the picture when

it was complete before finally accepting it. Also they made it clear that such acceptance would be dependent on the admission of certain points which were described as *sine qua nons*. For example, one of these was the provision for the States of a fifty per cent. share in the Upper Federal Chamber. This share has not been provided in the Government of India Act.

At the same time I personally do not think that it can be denied that several of the States, and among these some of the most important, are morally committed to Federation by their participation in the long discussions that took place over a series of years. It may even be argued that they have committed the States which were not individually represented at the Round-Table Conferences, but which had been aware of the participation of the States delegation, and had neither repudiated nor dissented from such participation. It may, I think, be further argued that the principle of Federation had in any case been accepted by them, and that there has been no basic change of principle.

Doubts and Hesitations

As time went on, and as the moment for taking the plunge drew nearer, the unwillingness, or at least the hesitation, to enter the Federation increased, and was strongly manifested at a meeting of the Princes and Ministers held in Bombay at the end of February last. The objections urged at that meeting were doubtless largely due to the inacceptable wording of some of the most important provisions of the Government of India Bill; and it may be noted with satisfaction that those provisions have since been so amended as to meet almost entirely the criticisms of the States. Doubtless also the brief time limit, due to the exigencies of home politics, that seemed to be all that was to be allowed to the Princes, caused some sense of irritation. But the unwillingness to contemplate entry into Federation was based on deeper feelings than these; and it would be as unwise to disregard these feelings as it would be to consider them as offering an insuperable obstacle to Federation.

We may therefore review these feelings as briefly as possible. The most serious of them was, and perhaps still is, that Federation

might mean an early end of the States. I had made up my mind to mention no names in the course of this paper, either of States or of individual Rulers. The excellent precept "No names, no pack drill" applies in other as well as in regimental circles. But I think I may allow myself one exception in the name of the late Maharaja Jam Sahib Ranjitsinhji. Many of you must have known him personally; many more must be aware that he was a Ruler of great ability, and that he combined devotion to his own State and to the Order of Princes with intense loyalty to the King Emperor and to the British Empire. He told me in the spring of 1932 that he did not believe the States would last more than twenty years after Federation. I was considerably surprised at this view, but when I asked other people, some of them Rulers, some Dewans, and others who, after being somewhat extreme politicians in British India, had accepted posts in Western Indian States, I found a singular unanimity that some such period as twenty years would about represent the existence of the States. These views may indeed have been modified by all the subsequent discussion and the care taken over the phraseology of the Act. But whether they have been modified or not, I thought then, and I think now, that these views were mistaken. Even if there is any strong feeling in the States for absorption into British India, which, for reasons I shall give later, I do not believe to be the case, I do not think that the British Indian Provinces, till they find their feet, will offer an example that will be tempting to follow. I think that there will certainly be in those Provinces increased expenditure with the consequent increased taxation, considerable electoral trouble, and the possibility of an increase of intercommunal and intercaste dissension. I think also that the remarkable extent and influence of local patriotism in the States, which was a revelation to me, has not been sufficiently allowed for.

Obviously, however, my opinion has little weight against that of men with far greater opportunities of judgment. Even if total extinction does not follow, it is possible, and in fact probable, that there will be considerable diminution in the power, and therefore as some may think in the status, of the Indian Rulers. Those of you who have had anything to do with the settlement of

outstanding questions or disputes, whether between the Government of India and a State, or between States *inter se*, know how reluctant a Ruler is to agree to anything, however equitable, which may cause him to be regarded by his successors as one who reduced the authority or the territory of his dynasty. This is, I believe, a principal reason for any unwillingness which the Princes may feel to commit themselves finally to Federation.

Treaties and Guarantees

It is, however, just possible that someone may suggest that the extinction of the Indian States as such is not a matter we need worry about. I am not sure that the point is altogether relevant to my subject, but I should like to refer to it very briefly. In the first place the British Government is of course bound by treaties and guarantees to maintain the States; and that obligation seems to imply that the States should not be placed in a position which will entail their early demise. Secondly, I believe it to be certain that the system in the Indian States serves a useful purpose. It is far more consistent with Indian traditions than the necessarily Europeanized system established, and now unchangeable without greater evils, in the British Indian Provinces. It is far more of a personal rule than the administration in a British Province can ever be. The average Indian Ruler is not an autocrat, however autocratic his power may be in theory. He is easily accessible, and he is subject to many influences which bring him into touch with his people. The people of an Indian State must have, it is true, if they are to live happily, certain elementary safeguards—justice in the Courts, and security of life and property. Given these safeguards, however, they have many local advantages and local interests, which they know that they would not continue to enjoy if their State became an outlying portion of a large British Indian Province.

Even, however, if the continuance of the States after Federation is assured, as I believe it will be assured, there are other lesser dangers which the Princes may naturally regard with apprehension. The first is the pressure and extension of the Federal power. The Indian Rulers have been informed, doubtless with perfect

correctness, by the eminent Counsel whom they have consulted that it is the universal tendency in all Federations for the Central authority to encroach upon the powers of the constituent units, however carefully these may be guarded in the Federating Statute. In a Federated India this process may be accelerated by what may be regarded by some as a second dangerous factor, that of paramountcy. The fear is twofold: firstly, that paramountcy may itself be extended further, and, secondly, that it may be used to achieve for a Federal Government what the Federal safeguards would not permit. I do not think that it can be doubted that some of the States would like a more exact definition of paramountcy than that which was, in effect, given in the Indian States Committee's Report that "Paramountcy must be paramount." But I do not believe that the medium and smaller States regard this as of great importance, and in any case they think that an excessive use of paramountcy is less likely under a Federal Constitution when its exercise is expressly vested in the Viceroy alone, and not in the Government of India, as it is, at least theoretically, at present vested.

There is also the possibility, remote though it may be, that a Federated India will follow the example of one or two other Dominions and regard its continuance within the British Empire purely as a matter of convenience or self-interest. Such an attitude would, it is certain, be extremely distasteful to the Indian Rulers whose devotion to the Empire is beyond all doubt.

The Dangers of Abstention

If, however, these be possible dangers in acceding to Federation, it is equally certain that there are also dangers inherent in abstention. The pressure of democratic ideas will certainly be almost as great if the States remain outside as it would be if they were members of the Federation, with the added probability that the Federal Government would be less friendly towards a non-Federating State. It is well known that a most dangerous form of interference with the administration of a State which adjoins a large stretch of British Indian territory has been the invasion from that territory of large bodies of men or "jathas." Hitherto

the British Indian Government has discouraged and successfully prevented such invasions. It is by no means certain that a democratic Federal Government would do so with equal effect. Again, there is the possibility which is sometimes held out before the States that if they do not enter Federation now, they will never get such favourable terms again. This does not, however, seem a very dignified argument, nor one that is likely to prove true. Any State that holds out from Federation is likely to be a source of such inconvenience to adjoining Federated territory that it is not likely that conditions inferior to those enjoyed by States within the Federation would be a sufficient inducement to the recalcitrant to come in.

After all, however, the comparison of the dangers and disadvantages for and against is a somewhat negative process. If we compare the corresponding advantages, States entering the Federation would certainly appear to have a wider scope of usefulness and development open to them. Only by their accession will the building up of a United India be rendered possible, and this result seems to be worth the taking of some degree of individual risk.

The Wishes of the People

It may, perhaps, be suggested that I have dealt too exclusively with the feelings and interests of the Rulers, and have not considered sufficiently the wishes and the aspirations of the people of the States. I can, of course, only speak of my own experience within a limited area, but I can only say that I have not found among State subjects whom I have consulted any strong feeling for entry into Federation. In answer to my questions, I have generally been asked, "Sahib, will it cost more?" I have replied with, I think, perfect accuracy that of course it will cost more. Democratic government is always expensive, and India, with its vast distances, enormous electorates, and inevitably large legislative bodies at remote centres of government, is not likely to prove an exception. Then the answer has generally been, "Then, Sahib, we don't want it here."

But the reflective portion of the population has a deeper reason than mere expensiveness. They see how in British India popular

might mean an early end of the States. I had made up my mind to mention no names in the course of this paper, either of States or of individual Rulers. The excellent precept "No names, no pack drill" applies in other as well as in regimental circles. But I think I may allow myself one exception in the name of the late Maharaja Jam Sahib Ranjitsinhji. Many of you must have known him personally; many more must be aware that he was a Ruler of great ability, and that he combined devotion to his own State and to the Order of Princes with intense loyalty to the King Emperor and to the British Empire. He told me in the spring of 1932 that he did not believe the States would last more than twenty years after Federation. I was considerably surprised at this view, but when I asked other people, some of them Rulers, some Dewans, and others who, after being somewhat extreme politicians in British India, had accepted posts in Western Indian States, I found a singular unanimity that some such period as twenty years would about represent the existence of the States. These views may indeed have been modified by all the subsequent discussion and the care taken over the phraseology of the Act. But whether they have been modified or not, I thought then, and I think now, that these views were mistaken. Even if there is any strong feeling in the States for absorption into British India, which, for reasons I shall give later, I do not believe to be the case, I do not think that the British Indian Provinces, till they find their feet, will offer an example that will be tempting to follow. I think that there will certainly be in those Provinces increased expenditure with the consequent increased taxation, considerable electoral trouble, and the possibility of an increase of intercommunal and intercaste dissension. I think also that the remarkable extent and influence of local patriotism in the States, which was a revelation to me, has not been sufficiently allowed for.

Obviously, however, my opinion has little weight against that of men with far greater opportunities of judgment. Even if total extinction does not follow, it is possible, and in fact probable, that there will be considerable diminution in the power, and therefore as some may think in the status, of the Indian Rulers. Those of you who have had anything to do with the settlement of

outstanding questions or disputes, whether between the Government of India and a State, or between States *inter se*, know how reluctant a Ruler is to agree to anything, however equitable, which may cause him to be regarded by his successors as one who reduced the authority or the territory of his dynasty. This is, I believe, a principal reason for any unwillingness which the Princes may feel to commit themselves finally to Federation.

Treaties and Guarantees

It is, however, just possible that someone may suggest that the extinction of the Indian States as such is not a matter we need worry about. I am not sure that the point is altogether relevant to my subject, but I should like to refer to it very briefly. In the first place the British Government is of course bound by treaties and guarantees to maintain the States; and that obligation seems to imply that the States should not be placed in a position which will entail their early demise. Secondly, I believe it to be certain that the system in the Indian States serves a useful purpose. It is far more consistent with Indian traditions than the necessarily Europeanized system established, and now unchangeable without greater evils, in the British Indian Provinces. It is far more of a personal rule than the administration in a British Province can ever be. The average Indian Ruler is not an autocrat, however autocratic his power may be in theory. He is easily accessible, and he is subject to many influences which bring him into touch with his people. The people of an Indian State must have, it is true, if they are to live happily, certain elementary safeguards—justice in the Courts, and security of life and property. Given these safeguards, however, they have many local advantages and local interests, which they know that they would not continue to enjoy if their State became an outlying portion of a large British Indian Province.

Even, however, if the continuance of the States after Federation is assured, as I believe it will be assured, there are other lesser dangers which the Princes may naturally regard with apprehension. The first is the pressure and extension of the Federal power. The Indian Rulers have been informed, doubtless with perfect

elections have embittered and perpetuated communal feelings, Hindu and Mussalman, Brahman and non-Brahman. We used to be told by some people that such communal feeling did not exist in the States, in bright contrast with British India. Of course it always has existed, but one community was always top dog, and the minor community accepted the inevitable with greater or less good grace and was as a result not ill-treated. Of recent years, however, communal ill-feeling has been painfully apparent in a good many Indian States, and it is at least possible that a system of popular elections would further embitter this ill-feeling. There is, of course, in most States a class of educated men who most legitimately desire to participate in public affairs. It may be hoped that, on the entry of a State into Federation, it will be possible to utilize this class without adopting entirely the system of popular electorates which is now inevitable in British India.

States Representation at the Centre

There are a few other points which are not unconnected with the accession of the Princes, and particularly the smaller States. The first is their representation in the Federal Assemblies. I personally think it a matter of deep regret that it has not been thought possible to give individual representation in the Legislative Houses to a larger number of Indian States—that is, to all whose right to enter the Chamber of Princes has been admitted. There are at least 109 of these, and it would perhaps have been possible to have given each of them a seat in the Upper House, supplementary to the additional seats allotted under the Act to the larger States, while retaining the representation of the States at forty per cent. of the whole, without making the Upper House too unwieldy, and without adding greatly to the expense, since the States would gladly bear the cost of their own representatives. There is an excellent precedent for this in the old German Constitution, and the States which are being allotted only a half or a third or some still smaller fraction of a seat feel deeply that their historical identity, often very ancient, is thus lost. It has been suggested that the conjunction of States in one group may lead to their ultimate amalgamation for electoral and indeed for all

purposes. But this will prove impossible in practice, and as a result many of the States will practically be disfranchised for long periods, at least in the Council of State.

Salutes

Then there is the question of Salutes. As everyone knows, the most absurd anomalies exist at present, for which in many cases there is no historical basis. I must adhere to my principle of avoiding names, but I may say that there is one State which has been divided into a senior and a junior branch, with populations respectively of 80,000 and 70,000, each of which enjoys a salute of 15 guns, while other States with populations of several lakhs each receive much smaller salutes. It is well known that the States which were formerly under the political care of Local Governments receive salutes markedly inferior to the salutes of States which have been so fortunate as to have been in direct relation with the Government of India.

It is not merely a matter of dignity, but one of practical importance, since salutes supply the easiest criterion of the standing of a State. For example, it was, I believe, announced that the salutes would not be taken as a basis for the allocation of seats in the Upper House. Yet no one can examine the distribution of seats without realizing that the salute had much influence in that distribution. The Government of India have often promised to revise the table of salutes, and are said to be once more engaged in the task, which is sometimes described as Herculean. And yet it would not appear that it need be so very Herculean. Obviously it is not possible to reduce the number of guns enjoyed by any Ruler, except on the rarest and most extreme grounds of misconduct. But it would seem possible to treat a salute of a particular number of guns—say, fifteen—as an attribute of sovereignty, and to bring all States who are entitled to any salute at all up to that number, leaving those whose salute is in excess of it to continue to enjoy their privilege.

Sea Customs

There is also the question of Sea Customs, which is of vital interest to the States which have harbours to which steamers can

come. This is far too complicated a question for me to examine here, but I would like to suggest three points: first, that the suggestion made by the Davidson Committee, and adopted by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, that a maritime State should after Federation enjoy the right only of retaining the Customs duty on goods consumed within its own territory is entirely insufficient and illiberal considering the natural position value of such a State, and the money which it has in most cases spent on its port. Secondly, that, while a much more generous allowance should be made, it is, in my opinion (though I fear this will scarcely be popular with the States concerned), necessary that the collection of Customs should be administered by Federal officers. Thirdly, that no distinction such as exists at present should be continued after Federation between the privileges and concessions allowed to the different maritime States, which agree to enter into Federation.

The Small States

I should like to allude very briefly to the smallest class of States, those referred to in the Indian States Committee's Report as Class III., and described as consisting of "Estates, Jagirs, and others." There are no less than 327 of these, but this number is not quite so formidable as it appears, as 286 of them are to be found in the two areas of Kathiawar and Gujerat. As they only comprise a little over one per cent. of the area and population, and three-fourths of one per cent. of the revenue, of the Indian States as a whole, you will understand that it is impossible that they should have any appreciable representation in the Legislature, or that they should develop any advanced system of administration. Doubtless it would be preferable if they could voluntarily disappear, either by absorption or amalgamation. But the treaties and engagements with them are as sacred as those made with their greater brethren, and it may be hoped that no pressure need be put upon them, but that they may continue, so long as they desire to do so, under the present comparatively adequate system of local administration supervised by political officers.

State Co-operation

I would also like to emphasize the necessity of continued and in fact increased co-operation among the States, whether they are within the Federation or not. The absence of such co-operation is indeed the weakest point in the defence of the States. The Chamber of Princes has, it is true, done a great deal for the States. It is admitted, however, to have suffered from two great defects: the abstention, entire or practically entire, of several of the largest of the States, and the absence of an adequate Secretariat which would ensure continuity of policy. The abstention of the greatest Indian Prince has been a far more serious loss to the Chamber of Princes than the absence of the United States is to the League of Nations, to which in some points the Chamber of Princes is curiously analogous. It was for this reason that the Council of Ministers was set up, which has done such admirable work in the consideration of the Government of India Bill. Yet it must be remembered that that Council was self-appointed and thus to a large extent informal. The continuation of some such body, appointed on a more representative basis, would appear to be highly desirable, particularly for the examination of proposed instruments of accession.

Finally, I would venture to suggest that there is no great need of hurry in deciding on the question of accession to the Federation. It is desirable that the States should be given ample time for consideration. It would also seem desirable to require a certain standard of organization and administrative system before a State is admitted to what should be regarded as the privilege of Federation. If a State is administered on a bad system, enquiry will be necessary sooner or later. It would appear better to make such enquiry before, rather than after, entry into Federation.

I am afraid that my paper may appear too full of dark doubts and my conclusions too indefinite. But the situation is not one on which anybody can be safely dogmatic. It was, I think, not inaptly summed up in a letter which I recently received from an old friend in a Deccan State. These are his words: "I feel that Federation is a dark horse, to say the least about it. It may be a

good horse in the stable, but it may prove to be an arrant jade when actually taken out." Now this prophecy seems to me, for the reasons I have given, to err on the gloomy side. But, whatever the disposition of the animal may be, we may be certain that in the old racing phrase, "It's the riding that does it." We could not have had a rider with better hands to ready the steed than the present Viceroy, Lord Willingdon; and we may be sure that the distinguished nobleman who has been nominated to succeed him will display the skill that will assuredly be necessary if the performance of the noble animal is to do credit to its breeders and trainers.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, October 16, 1935, when a paper entitled "The Accession of the Princes to Federation" was read by Sir Patrick Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E. The Right Hon. Earl Peel, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.B.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Amberson Marten, Sir James Crerar, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Stuart M. Fraser, K.C.S.I., Sir William Barton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Lady Cadell, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Lady Pearson, Lady (James) Walker, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mohan Singh, the Hon. Emily Kinnaird, Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mr. L. Birley, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. H. K. Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Colonel W. F. Hamilton, Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran, Mrs. B. D. Berry, Mrs. Weir, Miss C. K. Cumming, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Dr. Andreas Nell, Mrs. Foden, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. V. N. Agate, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Dr. K. N. Sitaram, Miss E. Watts, Miss E. Keymer, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Miss Ashworth, Mr. Philip Morrell, Mrs. R. M. Milward, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mr. George Pilcher, Miss Mackie, Colonel H. J. James, Mr. G. K. Patel, Mr. B. P. Bhatt, Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Jones, Mr. John W. Stone, Mr. H. Meacock, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Miss Ommaney, Mr. Syed M. Sayidulla, Mr. J. H. Carpenter, Mr. M. Qadir, Miss Marten, Mr. David Woodford, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is not necessary for me to introduce to you Sir Patrick Cadell, who is going to read his paper on "The Accession of the Princes to Federation." He is well known, and had a highly distinguished career in the Bombay Presidency, and later was President of the Council of Junagadh State, so that from different points of view he has been able to judge of these questions for himself.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think we shall all agree that we have heard a very comprehensive paper by Sir Patrick Cadell. I find myself very nearly in agreement—I say very nearly—with many points which he has brought forward. He has raised the fascinating question of what were the precise motives that induced the Princes to make their famous offer of entry into Federation. I like the question because it is a highly speculative one, and speculative questions are always much more interesting than practical ones. I take it that one of the answers to the proposition is to look at the map of India. It is extremely difficult to see how for very long that particular dis-

tribution of units and governments could go on in India without a very much closer tie than exists at present. I invoke the old and familiar question of the Customs against which the Princes have constantly protested—that of being in a position of having to pay these Customs through their subjects, and at the same time having no voice in the distribution of the money itself. I quite agree with many who contend that the advantages they get from the security of the army is really a payment in kind for these Customs contributions made by their own subjects. But I suppose that dominant in their motives at least was the feeling that in discussions and negotiations with the Government of India they had not really the authority which they would have liked to have, and that if they became part of the Government themselves, their position would be very much strengthened, and also the very legitimate ambition which they naturally had to take part in the general affairs of the Government of India.

Our lecturer has commented on the danger pointed out to the Princes by their legal advisers—a danger of which they are conscious themselves—that the tendency of federations elsewhere has been of a centralizing character, that more and more the constituent units have got to yield more of their authority up to the Central Government. No doubt this is true, but the Indian Federation, as both its opponents and supporters agree, is unique in the world. I am inclined to think that the very fact which has been urged against Federation of the different character of the units—that some are governed on democratic principles and some governed by the Princes—that very fact would tend at least to delay for a long time any sort of increase of that tendency which has been observed in other federations. Indeed, I have always regarded it as one of the advantages of Federation in India that these units were of a different character, because they would bring out of their different experience much of value to the Central Government by the mere fact that they were governed in different ways. It is a matter of mere guesswork what the future is going to bring forth, and it is rash even to express an opinion on such a subject, but it is quite probable that the States will for a long time maintain their position and authority as contrasted with the Provinces. No doubt democratic government is an admirable thing, but it does develop certain unfortunate evils and vices which has caused it to be superseded in many of the countries of Europe.

Another point I would like to say a word upon is that of individual representation of what the lecturer calls the middle States. That is rather an interesting point, and I agree with the lecturer that it would have been an advantage if this could have been effected, without the construction of too large a central body. I think that it was suggested at the first Round-Table Conference that as the powers that were to be granted to the Central Government were limited—certainly limited in comparison with the great powers to be exercised by the provinces and States—it would be much better to have a correspondingly small body, and that there should be a single Chamber which would be quite competent to keep the executive in order, and would have a range of activity sufficient to occupy its time. That, of course, as you will remember, was strongly advocated by Sir Akbar Hydari.

That idea passed away partly because British India had an attachment to an Assembly and partly because the Princes themselves felt very strongly what the lecturer has said that they would get very small representation; in fact, they feared that the representation of the great States would be too dominant in this diet. Therefore the diet was superseded by the subsequent scheme of two Chambers—the Assembly and the Council of State. The Princes were accorded representation of 40 per cent. of the total in the Upper and 33 per cent. in the Lower Chamber. While thus the two Chambers were more or less equal in authority, the balance of numbers was given to the Lower Chamber. If disputes were to be settled by joint session, it was felt that where the decisions were very closely contested, the view of the elected Assembly should prevail. Again if the middle Princes were separately elected and the Assembly grew in size, you ran the risk of getting very large and unwieldy Chambers. Everybody is agreed from the point of view of carrying on administration and criticism that a smaller House is the better. There was pressure, as you see, on both sides, and if you had given full representation to the middle Princes in the Upper Chamber, you would then have expanded the representation in the Lower Chamber. The Federal authority has only a limited range of duty and authority; and it became essential in one way or another to limit the size of the Chambers. When Parliaments are large in numbers and with limited functions, they generally tend to become mischievous. So it was on some general consideration of that kind that unfortunately we came to the conclusion that it was not possible to give that full representation to the middle Princes which certainly on general grounds one would have desired.

I must admire the skill with which the lecturer having told us that paramountcy must be paramount, intimated he was dissatisfied with the definition and proceeded gracefully to pass on to another subject. He suggests that before Federation there should be a certain standard of administration. I am not at all sure what is a good or bad standard of administration, because our views differ so widely. Some people like efficiency and some do not. I think if you were to suggest to possibly reluctant States that before they acceded and decided what the terms were on which they would accede, there should be an inquiry launched into their internal administration to see whether it was good or bad, there would be a steady refusal on the part of those States to move forward in the direction of Federation. I am inclined to think that the very suggestion of it would indicate to them that Federation was a very dangerous system which implied interference with their own internal administration.

We know that the question of paramountcy, by which I mean the control exercised by the Viceroy as the representative of the King-Emperor over the Princes, may to some extent change its character when a Federal Government is established. It seems to me that it is even more important than it was before—anyhow, quite as important—that there should be this free and intimate consultation among the Princes, and that the greater States should be fully represented in these Councils.

I should like to say finally that I am very much indebted to the lecturer for having put an immensely complicated subject into such a few words

with such point and with such clearness that I think even those who were not familiar with the subject beforehand will get a very good idea of what some of the chief problems are connected with the entry of the Princes into Federation.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON: One point has not been touched upon by the lecturer, and that is the States coming into Federation are expected to operate as a safety-valve in the very complicated piece of constitutional machinery which British statesmen have evolved for the future Government of India. As the lecturer has said, most of the States, and particularly the bigger States, are morally bound to come in. The spectre of paramountcy does deter some of them; they imagine a situation in which you have an ultra-democratic Viceroy on the one hand and on the other a Congress prepared to be sweetly reasonable on condition that the Viceroy should utilize paramountcy to hasten democracy in the States. It is a very live issue, and I feel sure the British Government will make an endeavour to meet the Princes on the point as far as possible.

As regards this question of a safety-valve, the alignment of parties in the new Federation is of interest. I think most people will agree that the Congress will have a working majority at all events, so far as the British-Indian contingent is concerned. Congress policy is to dissolve the British connection. Those who wish to maintain it—the Moslems, the Europeans, the Anglo-Indians, and perhaps a small handful of Moderates—will form the Opposition. Let it be understood that the Opposition consists mainly of Moslems—82 out of 250. How will the Princes' representatives fit into a political mosaic of that kind? I think it is not generally realized that the States are almost entirely Hindu. Hindus will be 98 out of the 125 representatives of the States in the Federation. Is it likely that the Hindu representatives from the States will forget seven centuries of Moslem domination, which none of them liked very much, and work with the Moslems against their co-religionists? They will not always find each other's society congenial.

Then there is the question of grouping in the States themselves. We have 22 Moslems, 98 Hindus, and 5 Sikhs. Of these Hindus, 48 are Rajputs and 16 Mahrattas, which means that the Mahrattas and Rajputs between them have two-thirds of the representation of the States that matter very much. With their prestige and their numerical superiority the major influence of the States in the Federation should lie with them. Most of you will remember that two centuries ago the fate of India practically lay in the hands of the Mahrattas and the Rajputs. If they had combined then, if instead of the Mahrattas carrying on a war *à l'outrance* to compel the Rajputs to accept their overlordship, the two great races had combined, they might have built up a Hindu Empire which would in all probability be in existence today. Now it looks as if Providence has again put into the hands of these two great peoples the obligation to come to a great decision in the interests of India. Will the feud impede the process? I see no reason why it should be revived so long as the British connection lasts. There will be many difficulties in the way, but if the Mahrattas and Rajputs give a lead to the rest of the States the problem should be solved. There will be difficulties, I say, and jealousies, and if these tendencies prevail, then I am afraid the prophecy of various Ministers and of his late Highness the Jam Sahib, to which the lecturer has referred, will be justified. If they stand together, there is no reason why it should be.

A strong alliance between the leading States is the absolute essential, and, as our chairman and also the lecturer have mentioned, what they need to make that alliance effective is some form of confederation among themselves —a form of Federation in which perhaps all the States except the very minute ones will be interested and represented and have a chance of influencing policy. And if there could be such an instrument of policy, I feel sure that it would be able to exert a very strong moral influence on the States themselves and would help to ensure that the administration of all the States was up to a reasonable standard; and at the same time it should help the Hindu representatives of the States to come to some reasonable agreement with the opposition in the Federal Assembly.

A strong unified policy is absolutely essential, and the most important point in that policy is, I think, the maintenance of the British connection. If that goes, everything goes. What alone can maintain it is an economic partnership between Britain and India. Congress will, by attacking British commercial interests, endeavour to break the British connection; it is up to the Princes to prevent them. They have suffered and have been heavily penalized by the tariff policy of Congress; they will now have an opportunity of challenging that policy both as regards the States and India as a whole. If the Princes work together, if they combine, I do not see why they should lose their identity. If they work at cross purposes, if they do not support the paramount Power, then there is no reason why the paramount Power should support them. They will disappear from the map; whether the British Empire will go with them or not is another question.

Lord LAMINGTON: Let me first express my pleasure at being here this afternoon to listen to my old friend of Bombay days, Sir Patrick Cadell. I have been fortunate to listen to his paper, and we have been fortunate to have in the chair Lord Peel, who has been so thoroughly versed in Indian affairs and administration. Sir Patrick Cadell's paper is very undogmatic as to the future, and very naturally so in these days of change. We have only to look at countries of Europe, Germany and Italy, and even the United States to see that changes are taking place in the characteristics of the peoples of those countries. What will be the effect on India if they become subject to psychological changes? Take, for instance, the caste system. Has it broken down permanently, or if we were to leave India, would it be again a recognized custom amongst the Indian people? These are questions which must affect the welfare of the Indian States themselves. Not long ago I was trying to find out whether there was any distinct preference by people who wished to live in the Indian States or in British India. I could never find any distinct choice for the one or the other; and it seems to me that in those changes which are taking place amongst the human races of the world there is less likelihood to be a change in India where they already have a system of kingship. A benevolent autocracy

being so long established, democratic principles are less likely to make inroads; or, on the other hand, a system of rule that has so long prevailed is unlikely to degenerate into a dictatorship that requires to be protected by guards and other devices, as is the case in Europe. On the contrary, in India the Princes are ruling with the consent and affection of their own people.

It seems to me most probable that our lamented friend, the late Jam Sahib's estimate of twenty years for the States, is quite wrong. It is far more likely that the Indian Princes will be maintained for many generations to come, and that there will be no violent change or any desire to be incorporated in British India. I admit it is a very difficult question as regards the internal economy of the States and their relationship with the Government of India as to Customs, railways, posts, and so on, are all very intricate questions, very difficult to deal with; and this may be an obstacle to the Indian States surviving as separate entities. The smaller States, Sir Patrick Cadell mentioned—200 odd—should form a strong confederacy amongst themselves and so be able to resist any pressure that may come from outside.

Sir STUART FRASER: When I came to hear this paper I thought how interesting it would be if we had a Ruling Prince present, who is faced at this moment with the difficulty of framing his own agreement of accession, to give us, if he would, his comments on Sir Patrick's paper. I, of course, cannot say what is in the minds of Princes generally, but I do happen to have many friends amongst them, and to have heard some of these points discussed. For instance, as to the origin of Federation, historians, who are apt to write that things happen in the way which reason dictated, will probably record that the Princes acceded because they wished to take a share in the government of a Federated India and put a united India before all other considerations. It may, of course, be so in some instances; but I am sure that in the case of a large number of Princes, when they ask themselves why they supported the idea, the reply would be: "Well, we did not at first quite understand what Federation meant. We did not grasp that it meant the sacrifice of certain of our sovereign rights which we have to surrender into a common pool for the sake of what is supposed to be a common interest and ambition; but we did understand that it was the wish of Government that it should take place, and our leaders, many of them the cleverest men amongst us, said it was a good thing for us, and so we find ourselves now committed to it."

Again, as to the reasons which may keep them out of it, I cannot believe that fear of paramountcy is one which really affects many of the Princes. Surely, paramountcy, if we look at the way in which it has worked any time in the last twenty-five years, is a bogey in so far as it is represented to be a danger of the Government of India depriving the States of their rights and status. As a matter of fact, paramountcy has been exercised by the Government of India only with the greatest reluctance—too often with undue delay—and only to save a Prince from the ruin which might otherwise have overtaken him. In their hearts the Princes know this, and so far from fearing paramountcy if they enter the Federation, may they not rather

say to themselves it is the one thing we can look to for protection against the possible encroachment of an unfriendly Federal Government? Taking note of how the Congress Party regards the Indian States, we can rely upon the Crown's observance of our treaties and the defensive reserve of power behind the Crown, denoted by the term "paramountcy," which we know has been used in the past never to destroy, but always to preserve.

The general danger which, I think, many of the Princes fear is the change in the nature of their rule, even when their houses are put in order, by the democratizing of their States, not so much from pressure by the Federal Government as from the march of events. A Ruling Prince will have to send representatives to the Chamber, to take part in the Government of the great Indian continent. When those men go back to that State, is it conceivable that they will not then demand to exercise in their own State something of the democratic powers which they are exercising for India? They will; and the Princes know and fear, as any of us would do, that the nature of their personal rule, however benevolent, must inevitably change very rapidly indeed with the spread of democratic ideas in India under the new system. With regard to the special problems involved, if I imagine myself, for example, in one of the Kathiawar States with which Sir Patrick Cadell is so familiar, one with a big port and a huge revenue from the Customs, I should find it difficult to answer this question: "Is it worth my while to accede if, as I recognize, under the principles of Federation my Customs revenue in whole or in part must pass under Federal management?" That is the sort of individual difficulty which is facing many of the Princes, and commands our sympathy. They now understand that they have to make the sacrifice of some of their sovereign rights. Some of those they may be prepared to pool, but I fancy in many cases the importance they attach for historical and financial reasons to certain of those rights will present a hard problem to solve when they sit down to draft the actual agreement of accession which must come into existence before they form part of the Federation.

Mr. C. A. KINCAID: I am afraid I am very much handicapped in making a speech on this subject by the fact that for the last seven years I have been living abroad and serving as consul; but during my service in India I was for eleven years in close connection with the Political Department. It was my good fortune that I should meet and become friendly with several of the Princes, both in the Bombay Presidency and in Central India, and I shall confine myself to telling you two stories told me by them which I think will illustrate one the pessimistic and the other the optimistic side of events held by two of their Princes. One day when I was staying as a guest of one of the most distinguished, most able, and most charming of them, we were driving together some way out of his capital town, and I said to him casually: "What do you think of the future of India? Don't you think that the Congress and the extremists generally are trying to scrap your State?" He replied: "Most certainly they all talk about it and publicly express their intention to do it when they get a chance." And he said, pointing to an open ground, "On that plain my ancestor, with the whole

of his troops, met the Mogul Empire, was defeated and died. There, too, I shall try to save my State and die for its independence."

On another occasion, at the Willingdon Club in Bombay, I was talking to another great Prince, whom I may also claim as a friend, for I was born in his territories. I said: "What will you do when they try to scrap your State?" He said: "Mr. Kincaid, I have in my forts Rs. 30 crores, not your beastly paper money, but silver rupees. If they try to scrap my State my armies will cross the Jamna. The treaties my ancestors entered into with the English people I shall keep, but not when you cease to exercise rule in India." I said: "But you will be defeated at once by the Indian Army." He said: "With my 30 crores of silver rupees I shall soon win the Indian Army on my side, and I shall get myself crowned Emperor." "You will, in fact, Maharaja Sahib, be the new Yudishthira." "Yes," he said; "I shall be Samrat of Bharatkhand (emperor of Hindustan)." I said: "I hope your wishes may be fulfilled." But unfortunately death claimed him before the opportunity arose. I would only say this, in conclusion, that I regard the Federation of the Princes and the India Bill with the ardent hope that it will be a success, tempered with very grave doubts that it will be a complete failure.

Sir PATRICK CADELL: First of all, I would reply to one of the chairman's very kindly criticisms. He spoke about the unwisdom of having any standard of examination for the States to federate. I did not mean any severe standard. I may say that this was not my own idea, but was suggested to me by a friend in India from one of the States. Perhaps I could make this clear to you by a simple comparison. You know that nearly all the public schools of England have a common entrance examination, the same examination for all the boys, and they have to undergo that examination before they go to the public school, after which there is no further examination. It is very much simpler if you have a standard like that before instead of after entry, as a necessary qualification. I do not suggest any searching test, but the provision of such elementary safeguards as an independent judiciary, and also some limitation of the Ruler's powers of spending the whole revenue of the State on himself. I need hardly say that that standard has been reached in the great majority of the States already. Also I do think that it is undesirable and perhaps undignified to go to the States and say, "Do oblige us by coming into Federation." It would be preferable to get the States to appreciate that it will be an honour to take part in the Government of India.

With reference to what Sir William Barton said, I think it is rather beyond the scope of my paper to discuss all that is going to happen after Federation, particularly as regards the distinction beween Muhammadan and Hindu States. It is easy to surmise, but it is difficult to give it a name.

With regard to the representation of the smaller States, the chairman rightly pointed out the objections to too unwieldly a House. My point was that, if you enlarge the Council of State so as to allow much larger individual representation of the States, even then the Upper House would be considerably smaller than the Lower House. Under the new Federation the two

Houses would sit together when they disagree and decide by a majority of both Houses. That really puts the power almost entirely in the hands of the Lower House; and this, though I did not mention it, is a minor grievance of the Rulers that, though in the Council of State they have a larger proportion of representation than they have in the Lower House, they will be entirely outvoted when the two Houses come together.

I am glad to hear Sir Stuart Fraser emphasize the sacrifice involved on the Rulers by their entry into Federation. I think some people are inclined to blame, and no doubt more will blame in future, the Rulers for their hesitation. But it is undoubted that they are going to give up a great deal of their power by such entry, and though it may be true to say that they would have had to give it up in the long run in any case, they would not have had to do so for at least another generation. I hope that, when you hear the States being blamed, you will remember this renunciation and this risk. Personally, I think that risk is worth running, and I earnestly hope the States will also think so and undergo it. I, personally, hope and believe that the States will survive, but the future is certainly doubtful for them. Like Mr. Kincaid, I was myself born in an Indian State, and I am as anxious as he and many others are about their continuance. But it seems now too late to consider any alternative. India is committed to Federation, and the only manner in which that Federation can be worked successfully and safely is by the Rulers agreeing to enter it.

Sir MALCOLM SETON: I think we can congratulate ourselves on having had a most unusually interesting discussion, and I rise to propose a vote of thanks to the author of the paper and the chairman.

I had been studying the map of India for a good many years, but two things I realized for the first time when travelling in India itself were the great importance of the Indian States, and the absence in most cases of any marked boundaries, geographical or racial, between them and the British provinces. I do not intend to enlarge on the history of the States, but it is rather interesting to think of the different ways in which they might have come into closer relations with British India. I think it is not a generally known fact that when an Indian Legislative Council was first set up, the Raja (as he then was) of Patiala was a member of it. It was felt, however, not to be the best line of development to introduce Ruling Princes as members of the old Legislative Councils of those days. On the whole, there was rather a tendency to keep the States and British India apart. It is not very much more than twenty years since subjects of the States have been eligible for admission to the Indian Civil Service. All sorts of influences have been tending to push India towards a greater unity. Some of you will remember a very able and sinister pamphlet published in the days of Lord Minto, entitled "*Choose, ye Princes!*" I do not think for a moment the Princes were frightened by that warning, but it set some of them thinking, and Indian Princes, justly proud of their inheritance and their race, began to reflect on their position in India and have become increasingly unwilling to set themselves in opposition to what the majority of educated Indians felt to be the best line of development for their country as a whole. Then there

were other possible motives to induce them toward Federation, and, as we have been reminded, there are very important considerations on the other side which make them feel that they have a great deal to lose. I am not going to venture to express an opinion as to which course they are likely to take.

It is a particular pleasure to move a vote of thanks to Sir Patrick Cadell as a very old friend of mine, and I had the privilege of serving under Lord Peel during his two spells of office as Secretary of State for India, and always found him very tolerant of my infirmities. We are grateful to Sir Patrick for coming to lecture and to Lord Peel for coming to preside, and for telling us a great deal we did not know that was of intense interest as to why exactly the final plans of the Constitution have taken the form they have. I beg to move a vote of thanks.

AN ARTIST'S IMPRESSIONS OF HYDERABAD STATE*

By Mrs. Marguerite Milward

Last spring I had the good fortune to visit Hyderabad State. I went there to make a collection in sculpture of the heads of aboriginal tribes. The oldest and most interesting are to be found in the Deccan. To realize my object I went to many parts of the State, which has an area nearly one and a half times that of England and Wales. I can do no justice in a short time to its history, its old walled cities, its fortresses, its rivers, or its wonderful temples. In art treasures as in so much else it stands first among the Indian States, possessing as it does the incomparable Ellora and Ajanta caves.

I have decided to try only to give you a few impressions of the city of Hyderabad and its neighbourhood. It was founded in 1589 by Muhammad Kuli, the fifth Kutb Shahi king, and was first named Bhagnagar. From the time, in 1687, when the fortress of Golconda was stormed by the great Aurangzeb it was in the hands of the Moguls till the first Nizam made it his capital. The city proper is situated on the right bank of the Musi River, surrounded by old walls enclosing about six miles by three miles, with thirteen entrance gates, but one does not notice them much. The city has now spread out to at least sixteen square miles, while the municipal jurisdiction extends to fifty-three square miles. It has a population of roughly 467,000, and is the fourth largest city in India, and sixth in the Empire. The distances one has to travel to pay visits in Hyderabad are amazing; it is quite usual to drive fifteen miles to a dinner party.

I stayed at the Rocklands Guest-house, under an immense red rock which burnt me by night and by day, and is very typical of the Deccan, land of rocks. Opposite my house were the public

* Record of a social meeting of members of the East India Association held on October 30, with Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the Chair and Rai Bahadur M. B. Sethi as host. The lecture was illustrated by lantern views.

gardens. Inside is a small zoo, tigers swimming in a pool; the museum, a charming little building with two open wings; a lovely lotus pond; and a fine Town Hall, where I had the privilege of hearing a speech from Dr. Mackenzie, Principal of the Osmania University. Later I called upon him and was most delightfully welcomed and shown a raised plan of the new university. There are twenty-four acres of ground, and the plan includes women's quarters, stadium, and a museum. It is a great vision of the future to be realized in about fifteen years. The language of instruction is Urdu, and this is the first university in India to make a vernacular instead of English the medium.

Let me take you into the old city of Hyderabad across the river. There is only a trickle of water now, but a raging torrent after the rains. I am told that when great visitors are expected a sluice-gate is opened and the river is made beautiful. It is a great wide stretch running between very unique parapet walls, crenellated like battlements. Well-laid-out public gardens run along between it and the imposing Osmania Hospital built in Saracenic style. On the opposite side of the river is the City High School, and next to it the High Courts, which is for me the most beautiful building in modern Hyderabad, and makes an unforgettable picture in the changing evening lights with reflections in the river.

The old bridge Purana Pol belongs to the Hyderabad of 300 years ago. As I drive over the river the traffic is suddenly stopped, shrill police whistles are heard, there is great bustle and we are all beckoned into side roads. His Exalted Highness the Nizam is passing in his smart little car with three beautiful daughters in brilliant saris on the way for his daily visit to his mother. The saris of Hyderabad are the most colourful I have ever seen: ruby reds, peacock blues, embroidered with gold.

We emerge from the side road and, crossing the great river, go under an archway to the city. There is a curved road beyond the arch. Whenever I get out of my car to take photographs the police come to my aid, keep off the cyclists, and generally protect me. Everybody stares—it is evidently strange to see a woman on foot. There is a stream of people selling various wares;

camels pass laden, little zatakas (decorated carts) and always cycles are in the picture, for everyone seems to ride a bicycle in Hyderabad!

Further on are the four gates called the Char Kaman, built in 1593 over four roads to opposite ends of the city. The one I go through is called Machli Kaman, arch of the fish—a badge of high rank, I do not know why. In the very centre of the city is the beautiful Char Minar, a massive square composed of four minarets 180 feet high. Four roads radiate from the base. The picture of this building is on the Hyderabad coinage, for there are two monies here: British Government, and Hyderabad, which is worth a little less. It may be complicated but is necessary to have some of each. This part of the city is 300 years old, soon, alas! to be demolished and rebuilt under town planning improvements. Little bazaars line each road. Here are the flower stalls where jasmine and roses divorced from stem and leaf are turned into beads, and strung into magnificent heavy scented garlands, with festoons and pendants twisted with tinsel. A street at right angles is the old bracelet street. The poorest in Hyderabad can wear rubies and diamonds! Skilled workmen sit in rows in tiny open shops with a charcoal brazier in front of each, putting hot sealing-wax, bits of coloured glass and dabs of gold on to many-sized hoops. The effect is charming.

But picturesque Hyderabad is changing rapidly. A splendid publication reports the progress of the Hyderabad City Improvement Board, 1933-4. The President is the heir, Prince Moazzam Jah Bahadur. These improvements comprise the development of open spaces (which twelve years ago were paddy fields) to build a greater Hyderabad. I visited a model village. There are wide roads and modern houses, built round squares with playing-field, pavilion, and swings in the middle. There are four different types of houses, to be rented from Rs. 1 to Rs. 10 per month. The scheme is to build 3,000 at least. They are cleverly planned round a verandah with enclosed yards, modern and airy, yet respecting old purdah customs.

The picturesque bazaars and slums are all condemned. New model houses, drainage, and open spaces have turned them into

health resorts. There is no more fear of plague and epidemic, as in the days of mud huts. Next time I visit the city there will be a new line of shops with arcades radiating from the beautiful old Char Minar. Forty-seven acres of slums in this vicinity alone have been cleared, half the area has been made into open spaces, and wide roads and drains constructed; neat model houses line each side of the roads.

The rules and regulations of the city forbid the taking of photographs of the palaces of the Nizam. The buildings of the Chaumahala Palace are very handsome, and I walked round the courtyard. The palace of the Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, President of the Council, is of great size and has an old-world look. Nawab Salar Jung's magnificent rambling old palace being hidden in buildings and trees cannot be photographed. I visited his unique collection of Eastern and Western *objets d'art*—pictures, marbles, and, best of all, books of miniatures. I was amazed to see black and white swans in the courtyard fountains. A very original wooden house belonging to the Nawab is full of queer corners and lovely wood-carving.

I struggled up to the top of the Char Minar to see if I could get a better view of this crowded city. It is a masterpiece of Kutb Shahi architecture. When I mounted up the very narrow stair between old chunam walls, passing a little mosque halfway, I was appalled to find at the very top only a little band of ornamental leaves between myself and destruction. Not to be defeated, I went down on my hands and knees, as I dared not stand, and crawled round with the dust and the birds to obtain my coveted view. Golconda fortress and the palace of Faluknama (where great visitors stay) made landmarks in the distance. The Mecca Musjid close by also looked wonderful from above. It is 225 feet long and holds 10,000 worshippers. At the side, jutting out, is a corridor containing the tombs of all the Nizams and their families. Hyderabad is full of mosques; it is a city of minarets. The Jumna Musjid, one of the old ones, is completely hidden and hard to find. The most elaborate and handsome of the mosque is the Mushirabad outside the city; there is a courtyard and old wall all round, and the decoration is striking.

From my point of vantage I can see Husain Saga, which divides Hyderabad from Secunderabad. Where formerly there was only waste ground there is now a park for the people. I drive along the great dam almost daily; it is 2,500 yards long, and in the sunset light is one of my most vivid recollections of Hyderabad. Khairatabad is on the other side of it, a residential quarter where the Crown Prince lives. Secunderabad is the largest military station in India. Bolaram is merged into it and is a healthy quarter in which to live. Quite outside the city on the Banjara road many residential houses are being built in very modern styles. It is a desolate rocky region, lately opened up, with superb views of Hyderabad city, its lakes of water and blue hills in the distance. These tanks are a great beauty in the landscape. Mir Alam with a dam of eight miles long was the first drinking-water reservoir. Osman Saga, the overflow, is most picturesque. Now a new dam has been constructed at Gundypet which cost millions. It is a vast lake with a beautiful garden where it is the fashion to give dinner parties in the moonlight. It makes an oasis in a desert, for all around is a strange wild country arid and bare, without so much as a blade of cultivation, and except for a group of experimental dairy and poultry farms, not a single human dwelling: nothing but rocks of fantastic shapes.

Golconda lies between Hyderabad and Gandipet. This fortress has a large place in the history of the terrible fighting that occurred in the Deccan. One only has to look at Golconda and the fortresses of Bidar, Golbarga, Daulatabad, to realize how every man's hand was turned against his neighbour in those days. Golconda was constructed by the Raja of Warangal, afterwards ceded to the Bahmani kings, and in 1512 became the capital of the vast kingdom of the Kutb Shahis. There are three miles of walls around it of strong crenellated stone with eighty-seven bastions at the angles, and some of the old guns are still there. Of the eight gateways and drawbridges four are still in use. There are seven lines of wall, one inside the other; my first view of this staggered me; it is beyond imagination. I climbed up and up one sunset, up the 1,000 steps to the seventh heaven, through the gateways of the seven walls, with moats all around me. The Banjara gate at

the bottom by which I entered, with rooms for guards everywhere, had high teak gates studded with sharp-pointed iron spikes to prevent the elephants from battering them down.

The old buildings inside the fort are all in ruins, a mass of palaces and mosques. There is an old deep well; the steps are roughly paved and it is hard work to climb. I reached the summit by various gateways and stairs and picturesque ruined defences. On the very top is the ruin of the two-storied barah-dari, a cleaned-up, whitewashed palace, quite out of keeping, where lunch parties are often given. There are great views of Hyderabad and the hills and rocks. There is a huge boulder even on the very top of Golconda. These rocks are terrible, they strike terror into my soul. Fantastic shapes of prehistoric animals and men, uncouth, unbalanced, masses posed in the air, they look as if they must fall at any moment—the sports ground of giants who had forgotten to put away their playthings.

At the foot of Golconda are the tombs of the Kutb Shahi kings who had fought so desperately and are now lying peacefully in a shady garden of fruit trees. They are almost all alike; the most striking is the tomb of Kuli Kutb Shahi, founder of Hyderabad. It is 168 feet high, and there is a unique gallery between the square and the domes. All are built of beautiful black basalt or green stone, and the shape of the domes is peculiar to these tombs.

In like manner at the foot of Bidar fortress there are many tombs. They are of earlier kings than the Golconda dynasty. The Barid Shahi kings lie in one place west of Bidar, while the twelve tombs of the Bahmani kings are the most remarkable. They all consist of the same square buildings with bulbous domes, but one has a façade of blue tiles, very beautiful in colour, and another is a famous painted tomb unique in India and a noted place of study for the reason that it is covered with so many kinds of Persian script, all in gold on a bright background.

Bidar fortress is in itself a poem; yet that does not seem at all the way to describe such solid masses of sandstone walls! It appears that the stone used was soft and easy to work when first cut and hardened in the process of time, but it is now like iron.

It was begun in 1426 by a Bahmani king, Ahmad Shah, who sacked Warangal. Eight times it was besieged and never taken because of the strength of its defences; then a great military stroke by Aurungzeb in the year 1656 placed it under the Moguls, until the coming of the Nizams, when it had to surrender with the rest of the Deccan forts.

There is a solid drop of 300 feet on two sides of the fortress; it looks even higher. Bastions add to the effect of height with the old guns still in place, guns of a forgotten age inlaid with designs and highly polished. There are line upon line of defences, in most places a triple moat and four walls, all crenellated, rising ever higher and higher. Walking along the battlements one requires very little imagination to people them as they used to be. There are holes for pouring boiling oil on the invader, man-holes for guns, old stone receptacles for gunpowder. There are moats, drawbridges, secret underground passages connecting the whole, and remains of an amazing water supply which circulated round the battlements. The palaces and zenanas are more ruined than the fortifications, but perhaps they were built too hastily by succeeding kings. Pretty bits of blue tile still remain—heavenly colours—the blue was made of powdered lapis lazuli! The contrast of hard bastions deep red coloured in the sun and these lovely surfaces of soft deep blue is striking. One of the loveliest of the zenana palaces is all mother-of-pearl on a ground of polished black basalt. The designs are mixed with elegant Persian script describing the lady-love as "a pearl in the heart," or "as beautiful as a flower."

Unforgettably romantic is the music gallery. It is an old Hindu custom that at the gate of a palace there should be music played at sunrise, midday, and midnight. Two drums and a flute keep up this ancient custom, which has gone on for 200 years. One of the musicians is blind. I got up in pitch darkness to hear the sunrise music. The first sign of dawn is heralded by four low beats of a big drum, then there is silent waiting for the sunrise to play the air. Each part of the day it changes. The midnight tune hands on the tradition of the dying day to the newborn, with wishes for it to be a day of blessing. From the ramparts there is

a vast view of an immense blue deserted plain; there is with me always the moaning and sighing of the wind—for Bidar is 2,800 feet above sea level.

But Bidar is not only a famous fortress. In 1472 one of the earliest colleges was built here. According to the builder it received divine approval, and is so fine in its ruin that I regret it has not been restored. One minaret has fallen to the ground, but the other, 100 feet high, is a gem. It was all blue tiles in a herring-bone pattern. The ruined rooms are still occupied by groups of students clinging to the old atmosphere of learning.

About eighty-six miles from Hyderabad lies Warangal; a very ancient part of the State. It was the kingdom of the Andhras in 280 B.C. The old fort of Warangal was captured by a Bahmani king in 1422, and when that kingdom broke up it fell to the Kutb Shahis of Golconda. Four miles north-west of the old fort is the 1,000-pillared temple of Hanumkonda, the ancient capital. One expects a vista of pillars; but it is not so at all. According to inscriptions it was erected by Pratapa Rudra in 1162, who was not really a Chalukyan though he built in their style. Like so many of these temples, it was of such an elaborate description that it was never finished in the reign of one king. Before it could be taken up again the invasions from the north put an end to all art.

Chalukyan art until sixty years ago was very little spoken of, and I do not know any early examples. It seems to have appeared in full bloom. The best specimens are in Hyderabad and Mysore. Special features of these temples are the raised platforms, star-shapes, and exceedingly beautiful pillars. I entered first the great Madapan, partly in ruins and built with an amazing quantity of pillars, of which 132 are free standing. It is all of granite in great blocks put together without mortar, and gave me the impression that the report that it was shaken by an earthquake is undoubtedly true. Not feeling safe, I hurried out and down some steps to the main building. In between it there used to be a Nandi pavilion, now fallen, but the huge bull remains—a very fine example in granite magnificently carved with chain and

ornaments—sitting so peacefully between the temples. The temple proper stands on a high base, and is singularly plain outside; the rich mouldings, however, make a great effect in light and shade in the brilliant sun.

This temple is a triple one, having three shrines arranged around a central hall, each equally magnificent, dedicated to Siva, Vishnu, and Surya. (I was told the king and his two brothers each had a shrine.) There is a magnificently carved door for each shrine, and an inner door and rich mouldings on the steps between. All the carving and decoration is in hard dark basalt which takes a polish like black marble. The very best work has been lavished upon the shrines; there are six groups of astounding figures, the left doorway being the most beautiful. The figures on each side (courtiers, I imagine), men with high headdresses and women *hanchées*, were very finely conceived and carved. Behind the figures a fine piece of conventional design grows up on each side of the door. The outer doors are decorated with pieced work in which the Chalukyan builder excelled.

Best and most striking of all is the circular centre of the temple with four black basalt pillars carved in fine detail with flat squares, rich moulds, and dainty conventional patterns, with bands like polished marble in between to set off the carving. This polish was done by hand. The ceiling is carved in great slabs. A Nandi and an elephant guard the doorway. Another example of a remarkable Chalukyan temple is Mahadeo's temple at Ittagi in Raichur District.

Outside Warangal fort are four Kirti Stambas, and excavations now in operation of a temple built by Ganapatidéva in A.D. 1300. Only a few pillars are standing at one end, but the platform and mouldings of a great temple can be traced. I was met by the archæological expert in charge, a real artist, and I was allowed to explore everywhere. This is a most strange temple. Why these four Buddhist-like archways of the old wood construction type? Artistically they have no merit and are strange entrance gates to a Hindu temple dedicated to Siva. The stone of the arches is of very grey granite, and a Hansa or swan was originally at each end of the arch and comes often into the designs. Between the arches

is a space of 480 by 433 feet; the temple may have been of unusual size and splendour.

An excavation of this kind is wildly interesting and a striking example of the energy and skill of the Archæological Department of Hyderabad State. Each day brings to light masterpieces of carving, in some cases immense panels. They are all encrusted with earth and have to be brushed and blown and literally unpicked. Groups of women coolies in their lovely Hyderabad red saris are digging softly and cautiously round the deep sculptures with their thin long fingers. An army of coolies are working everywhere, gay-coloured, streaming in and out of the excavations by little pathways with baskets of earth and stone on their heads. Cornices, pillars, Nandi, elephants, all lie at the angle at which they were found, for the temple was destroyed or blown up perhaps by some zealous Muhammadans when they first came to Warangal. There is much minute carving of borders, patterns like stencils, ropes of pearl interlaced, tiny knobby patterns. Finely wrought dragons on the tops of elephants each prancing on the head of the other in a glorious frieze. I noticed a beautiful piece of a Durga, eight-armed, with four attendants each side. The grace of these most striking, perfect proportions of women *hanchées* with the knee up. I photographed a fine triangular corner piece of a dragon with floral pattern very common to these temples, the same as on the ceiling of the Hanumkonda temple. Another panel was of two women light as air in ballet dress, and on each side a peacock dancing on the back of a swan. I never saw more original or interesting bits of carving—a tree of life, a horse and rider, all most unusual. A crystal lingam was found the other day undamaged; all sorts of treasures. It is a thrill, this old temple in the heart of the capital of the Chalukyan kings; perhaps it was the most beautiful of them all.

I was delighted at the way in which I was allowed to see these excavations by the express order of the Archæological Department, and the same warm welcome was given me everywhere. My work took me all over the State. I penetrated into the wild jungle of the Amrabad Hills in the south, and over the Soan Bridge, just opened, and along the old Thug highways of Adilabad in the

north. I was able, therefore, to measure and appreciate the excellent roads, travellers' bungalows, and the splendidly organized police force, who helped me at every turn.

The last part of my stay was in Aurangabad district. The town itself is famous for its Buddhist caves, old gateways built by Aurangzeb, and the tomb in memory of his wife, a smaller Taj Mahal with some good pieced stone windows and carved stucco. I climbed to the top of Daulatabad, the most surprising and invulnerable of all the Deccan forts. There are yards of passages cut in solid rock. The Tower of Victory at the base is of lovely proportions. From there I drove to Ellora and Ajanta, and this was the culminating point of my stay in the Nizam's dominions. I can only think and speak of this visit with the deepest emotion. To me the sculpture of these cave temples, especially the Kailasa at Ellora, burns with a flame of genius unsurpassed elsewhere. These have often been described, so that I only refer to them here, but I should like to express what all artists must feel, deep gratitude for the way in which the monuments are preserved and kept up, the admirable reports and memoirs that are issued concerning them, and the splendid facilities that are in existence for reaching the various archæological centres.

RURAL WELFARE IN INDIA AND CHINA

By Mr. C. F. Strickland, c.i.e., i.c.s. (retd.)

It is very difficult to deal in short compass with the welfare of seven or eight hundred millions of the world's population. What I can draw out from a comparison of the two countries is in twin forms of partly finding likenesses and partly distinguishing differences in a general way.

The two countries are similar in their general conditions. They are inhabitated by an immense population, engaged in a continual struggle for life, threatened by famine due to over-population, failure of rains, floods, and in China to the devastations of bandits or sometimes to civil war, which fortunately is now being very greatly reduced. They are dependent over large areas on rainfall without any artificial irrigation, though India has a much more advanced system of irrigation than China both by means of wells and by canals. Irrigation canals are, however, now appearing in China also. Transport canals (from which water could also be lifted) have existed in China for many centuries.

The Chinese farmer is more successful in intensive cultivation than the Indian farmer. That fact makes a great deal of difference, because it renders it possible for the Chinese population to be supported on a smaller area of land. But it also means that if a calamity, such as a flood or famine, befalls them in any limited area, the number affected for whom relief has to be provided is much greater, because the population is much more closely packed.

The average holding in about two-thirds of China, leaving out the big plain in the North, is one acre per family, whereas the average in India is five acres; and that one acre is much more intensively cultivated. It will be seen therefore that the Chinese is a man who gives closer attention to the work which he undertakes than the Indian needs at present to do, though the Indian is beginning to need it more and more in the places where population is dense.

Changing Fashions

Both countries are being affected by the invasion of products of foreign origin, though not necessarily made in foreign countries. More and more the indigenous rural crafts are giving way to mill-made goods, coming it may be from the big towns of the country itself or coming from overseas, which replace the goods made by rural craftsmen, and subsistence crops are giving way to commercial crops, whether introduced by indigenous experts or by foreign experts. These bring more wealth to the country, but make it again more dependent on the good fortune of rain or on careful organization to supply the needs of the people when normal production fails.

At the same time there is a change in the popular mind. Fashion in both countries now demands that Western or semi-Western fashions be adopted. This again destroys crafts, causes the people to desire more pleasures, makes them theoretically more favourable to Western novelties such as modern education and Western methods of health, but does not always in either country render the mass of the people willing to adopt them in practice. There may be only a theoretical acceptance in China and in India. Thus a rural welfare worker may find himself confronted with a great difficulty, that what he proposes is accepted and not acted upon.

One more difference I found in China as compared with India, one which lies perhaps at the root of the rural troubles of India—namely, that rural debt in India is much heavier than in China. The reason for that—and I do not intend it to be a paradox—is that India for a hundred years has been under an orderly government, while China has enjoyed the benefits of misgovernment. One must realize that debt is a result not of bad government but of good government. Poverty is the result of bad government, but debt is the result of good government, and the good government has to set to work to overcome the evils of the debt which it has itself created. That is because under a good government the judges are upright, land tenure is secure, communications are good. Therefore the creditor is willing to lend, and the borrower is able to borrow, and falls into debt.

China is at the point where this has not yet happened. The trouble is only just beginning to appear round the big towns. In India it has been in evidence for the last fifty years. In compensation for that evil, India has made a greater effort than China to remedy the evils which Westernization and progress—if Westernization be progress—have brought in.

Non-Official Effort

India has set up Government Departments for Health, Agriculture, Education, and Co-operative Societies; it has instituted agricultural farms, training colleges, hospitals, and every kind of improvement. It has at the same time been able to evoke in the people to some extent a sense of responsibility, leading them to independent and unofficial effort. But the willingness of Chinese educated men and women to make an effort *in the villages* (not in the towns) is, on the whole, greater than the corresponding willingness (which no doubt exists) of Indian men and women to make an effort for improvement *in the villages*.

I have found that Chinese men and women are going out into the villages, making settlements there, living amongst the people, and working with comparatively little help from the Government; but not always producing the results that might be hoped for from their zeal and enthusiasm, because there is not in China, as in India, a skilled technical Government Department ready at hand and anxious to help them. India has such departments, and they are valuable to non-official workers, though an official may possibly be a little intolerant of unofficial suggestions, as we officials all are.. Nevertheless, in China the Government is now trying slowly to create official departments which will co-ordinate and stimulate the work of the non-official groups.

But at the present moment this zeal of educated groups of men and women all over China who go out and settle in the villages, living under village conditions, and do all that they can to make the Chinese people around them a body of citizens capable of eventually governing the country—that is one of the most striking features of modern Chinese life. It needs to be multiplied a thousand times, but still it is most notable; and when China has

built up Government departments which will work as they do in India, then India will have to face very hot competition if she is going to keep pace in rural welfare.

One little point may be noted in passing. The traditional forms of storing wealth are not the same in the two countries. In China the only way in which the countryman stores his wealth is in land. In India he stores it in two forms, land and cattle. Observe the difference between India and China on the one hand, and Africa. China stores wealth only in land; India stores in land, and in labour in the form of cattle; Africa stores only in the form of labour—*i.e.*, cattle and wives. This is worth noting because it shows that since China does not use cattle on a large scale, nothing like the scale of India (one of the reasons being that China does not drink milk), and so does not store wealth in that form, there is more and more demand for land and nothing but land; and where a man cannot buy land, it is difficult to persuade him to spend much on other improvements. He puts his wealth in the ground; that is to say, he buries his money, an evil custom which has prevailed widely in India in the past but is now slowly diminishing. In China the evil is increasing, partly on account of currency troubles.

There you have a very brief account of Westernization in the two countries, the net result being this, that the evils together with the benefits of Westernization have gone farther in India: the good is greater, the evil is greater. China is at the point at which those evils and those goods have not yet become very evident throughout the country; this, therefore, is the moment when China ought to learn from India what the evils are going to be; for, so far as I can see, they are certain to follow the same lines.

Village Conditions Compared

The cultivators in the village are very similar at first sight in the two countries. As I rode through villages in Northern China I felt that I might easily have been in a village of the Punjab. The most prominent difference was this. When you enter on a discussion with the people—I could not talk the language, but Chinese colleagues were most helpful—if in an Indian village you

can persuade a number of the leading men that such and such a thing ought to be done, they will agree, and they will say, "We will talk it over with the other people and see whether we can persuade them." In China, if you persuade the leading men of the village, you need not trouble about the others. This is because the whole village consists of two or three families, except perhaps in areas close to the big towns. If the head men of the families have approved a certain step, then unless the proposal is something very unexpected, something that really offends the older women, the rest of the family falls into line. That is to say, the village in China is still a much more closely cohesive unit than in India—again a result in India of Westernization. This is the moment when China should look to India and say: "These are the tendencies. This will happen in China. What has India done about it?"

The biggest loss of India in the last 150 years has been the slow, inevitable decay of the *panchayat*, the self-governing village community. The community still exists in China, partly in the form of the group of heads of families that I spoke of; but still more perhaps in the sense that every person in that village thinks that "this is the world in which we live, this village." They are not yet, in the great majority of cases, accustomed at any time to step on a motor-bus and run off to buy something or see something fifty miles away in a town. The town-drift is beginning but has not yet gone far, so the village community is still very strong.

Let me quote just one instance, a very small but instructive example. A tiny Chinese village which I visited had formed a co-operative credit society, and they had approached a financing organization and said, "Will you recognize us and give us financial help?" For some reason that organization had said, "No, we cannot help you." The villagers said to one another "We are not going to give up. If we cannot get any money from a bank or from this organization, we will save it ourselves." Th twenty-eight members, very poor men all of them, within fou years, fifty-one months, had saved each man 10 cents a month They had saved about a hundred dollars, and were going on.

Can you see an Indian village doing it? We have move

beyond that stage in India. There is no longer that unity in the Indian village. But that instance strengthens in my mind the already strong conviction that in so far as the self-governing community in India can be restored and made to live again, and all the people can be made to realize that to work together is the essential thing and to stick to the promise that they have made, if that can be brought home to people in India, India will gain a very great benefit.

Let me mention in passing that whereas in India the differences of caste and of religion do make it more difficult for unity to be attained, in China that obstacle practically does not exist. There are differences of religion, but in only one small portion of the country, in the north-west, have they ever caused any serious disturbance or prejudice in the village communities. Caste also does not exist. It exists in a certain form in Japan, where there are untouchables, but it does not exist in China. Thereby China enjoys a very great advantage.

Specialist Departments

I have referred to the Indian specialist technical departments which have their travelling officers engaged in rural welfare, education, and health work throughout the villages. They do not exist in China. Such departments, working actively (not, as people sometimes think, lazily), in India have great merits in that they bring before the people what is wanted, and at every moment they are available to give the people advice. They have this weakness—not only in India but in England and every other country too—that a specialist department prefers to work on its own lines straight ahead. There may be another department working beside it, to the same end, but they will often not look at one another. That is true of all us officials, and it is the great weakness of technical departments. They must be induced to work together. But in any case they are very valuable.

In China, on the other hand, when any work of rural welfare is undertaken, either by Government or by a non-official body, there is a tendency to undertake everything at once through the same person. They have not at present much appreciation of the

value of a technical man, of his technical knowledge. So when a Chinese Government starts to do something it goes too fast and proceeds by orders. The people may be told: "You are all to wear completely different clothing, or to grow different crops, or to plant trees and so on, and to do it to-morrow."

I have already said that there is a great desire in both countries, but more noticeable in China at present, on the part of non-officials to go out and do things for themselves without waiting for official help. It may be because of the many technical officers in India that non-officials hesitate to set out and make efforts of their own. They may say to themselves: "Here are skilled men already in the field. We do not quite know what they will think about us." At the back of their minds even the most severe critics are aware that the officials do know something about their business, and if there were fuller collaboration better work would be done. When they get together the work in India is splendid, much better than most things in China, but collaboration is not so often attempted. I wish to repeat myself on this point. My impression is that what is done in India is better done, broadly speaking, whenever the official and non-official forces are brought together. What is done in China is practically never up to the level of the *best* of the Indian work, but there is a more general desire to do something personally, a greater readiness to attempt it in practice, though often without the fullest knowledge; and that readiness in itself has a very great value.

What is actually being done? Let me mention briefly four heads: Agriculture, Education, Health, and General.

Agriculture

India has her Council of Agricultural Research, her agricultural officers and farms, her experimental stations and demonstration plots all over the country. China has a National Agricultural Research Bureau in Nanking, but where there are agricultural farms in the provinces they are not at present under the control of the Research Bureau, and therefore the work is not co-ordinated. There is a great waste of effort through lack of co-ordination. That

only means that China has started later. She will follow probably on a similar path to that of India.

I think the chief differences in the position are these. In the first place, because India has been engaged on this line of work for a longer time she has discovered some of the things that she wanted to know. For instance, the agricultural farms and the research institutes in India have learnt certain lessons, and thus have some definite information to give to the farmers. That information in China has still to be obtained. The Chinese agricultural farms at the present moment are occupied in research and experiment, quite rightly, having not at present very much to teach; and therefore when non-officials turn to them and say, "Here are we, a group of young men and women anxious for help —what can you recommend to us?" the Chinese agricultural expert will have to say, "I cannot tell you yet. You must wait for five or ten years more of experiment." That means that rural welfare cannot advance very fast in the agricultural field.

The only improvements they can recommend are of a quite obvious kind, such as the introduction of a better breed of pigs, which has been already tested by missionaries, or the introduction of certain strains of poultry, Leghorns and others, or the introduction of better methods of organization for sale and purchase. These can be recommended because they are of world-wide application. They have been tried everywhere. I doubt if there is any place in the world where the Berkshire hog would not flourish.

China in a Hurry

The second point is that the Chinese Government, when it thinks it has found out something beneficial to the people—that, for instance, a certain strain of cattle would be desirable and would do well—is in a hurry, partly for political reasons and partly because it wants to add to its internal strength. All China is in a hurry. The Government, when it has something definite to give to the people, says, "Come along, you are all to do this," and introduces it by order.

India also works to a certain extent by order; for instance, the transport of cotton under a special Act is forbidden to or from

certain areas; but India does not use orders on anything like the scale on which China is now preparing to do it.

Sugar cane, for example, in the southern provinces is being planted by farmers, who are glad enough to accept the orders of Government; but much of the planting of sugar cane around Canton is under orders of Government and compulsory, though very beneficial to the farmers.

The Chinese peasant is still at the stage at which, if he is convinced the Government is working not only for its own benefit but also for his benefit, he is willing to accept an order to a degree to which the British farmer or the Indian farmer is not willing, because individualism in these countries is more fully developed.

Sugar cane is one instance. Cotton is another. Cotton is being introduced by methods which I should call, without any unfriendly intention, compulsory methods, but it does not matter so long as the people are willing to accept them. In India you have to persuade. In the same way there is a control being established in China over silkworms and tea and various other products. A similar policy has been adopted in Egypt, where the burning of cotton stalks is carried out by order of Government.

Those are the main differences, it seems to me, in the field of agriculture. There is, further, a wider scope in Indian agriculture for encouraging unofficial organizations, co-operative or non-co-operative, which are and should be formed to persuade the people to accept voluntarily the lessons which Government has to teach. In China for the present it is hardly possible to invite non-official bodies of that kind to undertake a particular work of propagating new ideas or practices, because the required information is not available. You would have to ask an unofficial body to carry on experiments, which is never a fair proposition.

Public Health

Something of the same kind is true in the second field—the field of health. I need not describe the services in India, both medical and public health, and the attempts that have been made in many provinces—I am thinking at the moment particularly of Madras—to set up rural health groups which work under the guidance of the public health officers. No doubt the same thing has also been done under the Health Department elsewhere; in the United Provinces, for instance.

In China there is only one central health institute in Nanking; and in a selected province in the north-west a most wonderful man, a Yugoslav, Dr. Stampar, who has been in China for some years and has been working with the Chinese Government, is trying to link together all the hospitals of the missions and the hospitals of the Government, and to stimulate the people to accept certain elementary ideas of hygiene. China therefore is slowly in this respect following in the track of India.

But there is this difference: that because in India the Health and the Agricultural and the Educational Departments have all been separated and specialized, the Indian health officer tends to work more independently of other departments than the Chinese health officer.

Just because the Chinese have approached the problem newly, looking at it as a whole, they behold the people both sick and poor and illiterate, and, in general, understanding nothing about their duty to the State; and when they have to approach them on a health problem or any other, they realize that it is not possible to deal with them on one line only. To that point I shall return again.

Education

The kind of education in China and India is similar in that the Central Government through the Provincial Governments has set up a number of vernacular schools, and in the higher schools and the secondary schools there is abundant teaching of English.

There is no difficulty about school buildings in the Chinese villages. Think what an enormous gain that would be to India. There is always a Confucian temple available, only used on one or two days of the year and falling into disrepair. It is taken over for the school, kept up by the schoolmaster, and surrendered to the family, whose property it is, for the veneration of their ancestors on one or two days of the year.

The second great difference is that women are available as

teachers; not everywhere in China, but to a greater extent than in India. That is a very great benefit. I have seen in villages Chinese boys being taught by women. The women are not used only in the girls' schools but also for teaching small boys, to a most encouraging extent. This is a change which we may hope will gradually take place in India.

India has, on the other hand, the advantage of a long start; she has learnt methods of teaching, and she has textbooks available which have been carefully tested and are much more effective and useful from the pedagogic point of view. In some parts of China the books are not suited to the circumstances of the people, because though the dialects of China are not so greatly different as the languages of India, still, when you have a textbook talking about crops which are not grown within five hundred miles of the province concerned, it does not convey the same picture to the children who are reading it as if you had a local textbook.

Teaching the Adult

Education takes naturally in both countries not only the form of teaching children but also of teaching adults. The adult schools in India are for the most part under Government; in China they are under unofficial bodies, spontaneous groups of Chinese citizens who aim at the removal of illiteracy as the first step. The difficulty of these Chinese adult education institutions is, I think, that they try to do more than they can manage, endeavouring not only to remove illiteracy but also to found co-operative societies, to run an agricultural farm, and to teach hygiene, etc. The group has to teach many things through a few people, and those people's knowledge is not adequate really to give the right kind of instruction in everything. India is free from this defect, because even the adult institution can always call in a local expert officer if he is free to come. He cannot, of course, always spare the time.

My impression of the difference of adult education in India and China might be summed up by saying that if you compare Sriniketan with the biggest Chinese mass education movement at Tinghsien, which is a small district in the province of Hopei about 200 miles south of Pekin, the Tinghsien movement looks

upon mass education in the broadest sense—agricultural, health, and civic, as being a field in which they are to carry out an experiment, and then hand it over to the Government, who will apply it all over the country.

I would suggest that Sriniketan does not contemplate its task in the same way. This group would rather aim at turning out a few eminently good citizens, who will be examples to other people; but they do not aim in the same way at persuading a Government to take up their method of education as a model for the country as a whole. I think that there is thus a marked difference between the way in which these Chinese and Indian non-official institutions approach the question of rural adult education.

The Chinese all the time seems to me to be looking at the picture from a national point of view. Thereby he wastes part of his effort; but at the same time, the view being broader, he is looking towards the right object, even though he is not quite capable of carrying it all out. The Indian is apt to concentrate more on a local problem and does not attempt so much. He may achieve it, but, on the other hand, he tends perhaps to lose sight of a national system of education. He does not realize quite to the same extent that what is being applied here ought to be capable of application elsewhere.

I am not able to say which of those two views is exactly right. In India there are differences of language, differences of race, and differences of religion which make it more difficult, though not impossible, to introduce a system of national unity and national education. The Chinese has a great advantage in that in the absence of these distinctions he can look at the national problem more immediately, but he attempts to solve it too fast.

Some Conclusions

Agriculture and education and health cannot be pursued entirely separately from each other. If the small farmer and his wife are to be made into citizens of a new nation they must be instructed and raised with respect not only to one of their activities, say agriculture, but with regard to everything they do. The whole of their life has to be altered.

Therefore in the last ten or twenty years in India there has been an upgrowth of very valuable co-ordinating institutions, bodies which bring together, firstly, the official and the non-official inside the field of each single Department, and, secondly, link up the agriculturist official or non-official with the health official or non-official, the co-operative official or non-official with the educational official or non-official. Those two kinds of co-ordination are what are really wanted, both in India and in China. Unless you co-ordinate in that way, my opinion is that the effect of any propaganda on the mind of the peasant, who cannot distinguish all these things from one another, is much less permanent; and it is permanence that is necessary in any rural improvement, if the result is to be worth the effort.

There are four main principles that I would lay down for rural welfare in any such big agricultural country as Russia, or India, or China.

In the first place, always try to use not only an indigenous agency but, if possible, a local agency. It is the case in India and China, and even in England, that a man from another county has difficulties in dealing with the farmers and their wives as compared with a man coming from the next village.

Secondly, since the area is so enormous, and the work to be done is so immense, so far as possible the method of teaching, and the personnel, and the instruments have to be cheap. It is not much good bringing in a highly qualified staff to a small area except when you intend simply to carry out an experiment. For an experiment, of course, you may need a highly qualified staff, but you cannot afford a highly qualified staff in every small area all over the country. Therefore it is necessary to be content with spreading through a less qualified staff what the mass of the people are ready to accept. That is my personal view.

Thirdly, co-ordination, of which I have already spoken. Bring together all the Departments, and the officials and the non-officials.

Fourthly, set up something in each village or small circle of villages which will be a *permanent* institution, lasting even if official help is withdrawn. That is a principle which has been neglected in India, and there is some tendency to neglect it in

China. One does not wish the work to be entirely dependent on outside enthusiasts, whether official or non-official.

In China there are mass education institutes, which are endeavouring to benefit their groups of villages in every way. If half a dozen of their leaders were to disappear the whole of their work would also disappear. I do not believe that in some of these areas there would be anything left, because the work has been done too much by outside philanthropists. It would have been better to go more slowly and set up village institutions which the villagers themselves could manage.

India has done so to some extent. There are various organizations for co-ordination which attempt to create local institutions such as the people can manage. I might refer to the taluka associations and the district committees in Bombay, the rural community councils in the Punjab, and the Bratachari in Bengal, and others such as the non-official work of the Y.M.C.A. in Madras and Travancore State. The virtue of these organizations is that they are trying to create local interest, to link together the official and the non-official, to co-ordinate the various lines of interest which might be working simply parallel with one another and not helping each other. In so far as this spirit can be created and kept alive, I believe rural welfare may make more rapid progress. But if local institutions, managed by the people, are not created, sooner or later all the enthusiasm will fade away.

From that point of view the Chinese work which I mentioned in Tinghsien is better than anything that I have seen on non-official lines in India, because it does bring together health, agriculture, education, and civics (training in citizenship) throughout the whole of one district; but it could not be extended over the whole province or over the whole country without being taken up and backed by Government. It is at present a non-official movement, and it is the best rural work I have seen in China.

My final mention is of the New Life movement. China is again trying to achieve by compulsion an end which India, being more advanced in the direction of individualism, is doing by voluntary methods. Whereas India tries to set up village institutions and let the people manage them, the Chinese New Life movement is at

present relying, in my opinion, unduly on orders from above. The New Life is a very valuable and important movement, at the head of which is General Chiang Kai Shek, and in which the people are being encouraged to do a number of things that are very necessary though they are often laughed at. Men are told they must not walk in the street but on the side walks. Women must not ride in rickshaws and cross their legs. Such details cause the campaign to be laughed at, but behind it there is a real reforming spirit based on the ancient virtues of good manners, modesty, justice, and impartiality. Those four principles, which are old Chinese principles, are being instilled in the people, but the police are being used to enforce them.

My own preference is for the method of trying to form local associations on the lines of a better living society, such as exists in Japan in an unregistered form, and in India in a registered form as co-operative societies, now spreading from the Punjab to other provinces. I believe that to be a sounder plan.

There are certain things you can do by compulsion. You can make roads, you can plant trees; but if you try to go beyond that into the field of personal conduct, I believe it to be wiser to follow as in India the voluntary method and not to rely so much on the method of compulsion. But again one must remember that at the present moment the Chinese people are more willing to accept orders than Indian people, who have moved further forward, and therefore it is possible to do by compulsion in China what could not be done in India.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A JOINT meeting of the Association and the Indian Village Welfare Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 5, 1935, when Mr. C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., lectured on "Rural Welfare in India and China." Major-General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Sykes, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Spence, Sir Selwyn Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Hopetoun Stokes, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., the Hon. Lady Jackson, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Lady Walton, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mohan Singh, Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. A. M. Macmillan, C.I.E., and Miss Macmillan, Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., Dr. C. C. Wang, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. G. S. Dutt, Mr. Ernest Batchelor, Mrs. Vera Anstey, Mrs. Weir, Mr. J. H. Lindsay, Miss Leatherdale, Mrs. B. D. Berry, Dr. K. N. Sitaram, Mrs. Strickland and Miss Strickland, Miss A. R. Caton, Mr. R. C. Lai, Mr. D. C. Lai, Mrs. Damry, Mr. T. T. Williams, Miss Enid Keymer, Dr. Andreas Nell, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mrs. Agate, Mr. H. N. Mookerjee, Miss Barbour, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. H. A. Popley, Mr. Syed M. Sayedulla, Rev. J. A. Jacob, Mrs. Godfrey Phillips, Mr. B. G. Ghate, Mrs. Mallannah Shrinagesh and Miss Shrinagesh, Miss C. S. Eardley, Miss Pell, Miss Robinson, Mrs. W. A. Jenkins, Miss Fergusson, Mr. S. Jagannathan, Miss Sutton, Mr. W. T. R. Rawson, Mr. W. G. Maynard, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Miss M. Bennett, Miss Anderson, Mr. N. E. S. Raghavachari, Mr. L. M. D. de Silva, K.C., Mr. B. T. Mulwani, Dr. Scott, Mr. B. R. Patel, Mrs. Barbour, Miss A. F. Bryant, Miss E. D. Edwards, Rev. J. C. S. and Mrs. Pringle, Mrs. Davis, Mr. M. Qadir, Miss L. Corry, Mr. T. Swaminathan, Mrs. G. H. Bell, Mr. G. E. Clark, Miss L. M. Gunter, Mr. W. G. Griffith, Mrs. Lorimer, Mr. R. M. Gray, Miss Huish, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E.

The CHAIRMAN: I think it may be said that few people have given greater attention to the subject about which we are to hear this afternoon than Mr. Strickland. He not only served for many years in the Punjab as Registrar of Co-operative Societies, but after that his services were lent to Malaya at the beginning of 1929. Since then he has travelled very widely, and has made an intensive study of rural betterment in many lands in the East. The Universities China Committee in London invited him to visit China, whence he quite recently returned after a year's visit. He was lecturing in various universities and centres and studying the co-operative movement, so far as it has developed, especially in the Yangtze Provinces.

I hope perhaps that some of those present here will be able to say more about his work in those countries than I can myself, but I am particularly glad to have the honour of presiding here today, because I take a very great interest in this movement in India. I am convinced, from my experience as Governor of Bombay, that rural betterment lies at the very root of the Indian problem. No constitution, however ingeniously contrived, can hope to succeed unless it is based upon the solid foundation of social and economic welfare.

India is a land of villages: 90 per cent. of the population lives upon rural occupations, and the land provides the bulk of the revenue. Even those who come into the towns for work do not make a permanent home there. The peasant is the backbone of India, and the whole social structure depends upon his prosperity. More than this, I regard the economic welfare of India as an Imperial question. All parts of the Empire are mutually dependent on one another, and this interdependence has been emphasized by the Ottawa Agreement and other arrangements for fostering inter-Imperial trade. India, moreover, is one of our best customers. A vital factor in the reduction of unemployment in England, and particularly in Lancashire, is increasing prosperity and greater buying power on the part of the Indian masses.

Again, we must bear in mind that one of the most potent causes of political unrest is economic distress. India went through a particularly bad time a few years ago. Being a producer of raw materials, she was very hard hit by the slump, and the peasants were left with crops, both of foodstuffs and of cotton, for which there was practically no market. Large remissions of revenue had to be granted, and this in its turn crippled the Local Governments and forced them to suspend, wholly or partly, schemes for the improvement of the country, and to curtail grants for such necessary objects as education, development and public health.

(Mr. Strickland then gave his lecture.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a very interesting address. I was asking the hon. secretary just now whether it was right for the chairman to start an argument with his lecturer. He tells me that we are all here as seekers after truth. But I am afraid if I took up all the points I should like to discuss with Mr. Strickland we should not go home tonight There are, however, a few questions which, I think, will occur to you as being those upon which we all should like to say something. I have jotted one or two of them down.

There is, for instance, the difference between China and India in regard to the acreage per family. In China it is one acre, and in India five acres. Then there are differences between the two countries of soil, temperature, and transport facilities. Can we really institute a useful comparison between two countries so widely apart in every way? Fragmentation of holdings in India is becoming so serious that it constitutes one of the major problems which the Government has to face. Owing to the comparative poverty of the soil and ineffective methods of cultivation, we in India regard five acres per family as providing a very meagre subsistence.

The next point which he dwelt upon was rural indebtedness. I should

like to cross swords with him over the thesis which he put forward. He said that the root cause of indebtedness was good government, and of non-indebtedness was bad government! This appears to me to be a highly debatable assertion, I might even say a paradox.

The third point is his statement that the Chinese accumulate capital in the shape of land, and in India in the shape of both land and cattle. Is this correct? As we all know, one of the chief reasons why the land in India is so poor is that large herds of cattle are allowed to roam the countryside at will, and because, owing to religious theory, cattle cannot be slaughtered, and are only now beginning to be castrated, and also because cowdung is used as a fuel instead of manure, and the land is impoverished. Hence I am hardly inclined to accept, without considerable qualifications, the statement that cattle, under present agricultural conditions in India, can be looked on as a prime source of wealth.

Again, Mr. Strickland has told us that China is better off in regard to social welfare work than India. I am not quite sure how many years ago it is since Mr. Strickland was in India, but I think he would find India nowadays considerably changed in this respect. Social reform has been progressing very fast, if the difficulties and complexities of the problem are considered. In some areas, at least, social welfare work is wide in extent and good in quality.

A fifth point is Mr. Strickland's statement that China is better off than India as regards the *panchayat* system, or its local equivalent in that country. I am not certain whether he knows that in the Bombay Presidency we passed a measure in 1932 in order to try and carry into effect exactly what he has described. We realized that the *panchayat* system had immense advantages and was in a better position to assist local welfare than any other existing body, but that, owing to our system of government, the improvement in communications and other causes, many of the *panchayats* had fallen into desuetude. I will not go so far as to say that the system itself was moribund, but at the same time we felt that, in the light of modern conditions, it was important that the *panchayats* should be resuscitated and revitalized, as the basis of the work which we were anxious to bring into being in the villages. I am delighted to think that the *panchayat* system is now once again spreading throughout the country and is regaining strength in a form better adapted to modern conditions.

These are only a few of the many points which I should have liked to discuss with Mr. Strickland had time permitted. But I must only add one more word. It is with regard to the scheme of village improvement which we adopted in the Bombay Presidency two or three years before I left. We realized, as Mr. Strickland has agreed, that the impetus towards any general uplift, social or economic, must come from below upwards and not from above downwards.

For that reason the scheme which I tried to set in working order and for which help has poured in from all sides was based upon the active co-operation of the headmen of the villages, and all those who were interested in village work—the district officers, the townspeople who dealt with the villages, the industrialists who use agricultural products, officials and non-

officials in charge of education, communications, health, and innumerable other forms of activity—were brought together, and we set up a united front based upon the principle of trying to help the people to help themselves. I hope that Mr. Strickland may be able some time or other to revisit some of the villages where this spirit is strongly at work, and that he may see the great difference that has come about in the years during which he has been away.

Before I left India I had also arranged that a shield should be given in each division for the village which was approved as the best of the year within that division. The "best" meant the one which from every point of view had made the greatest progress, the one, for instance, which had made the greatest effort to get the greatest number of its children to school, the one which had done most to clear its roads, improve its wells, cut back the cactus from round the houses, and improve its marketing system. The "best" all-round village was, as I say, to be given a shield, and furthermore there was to be a shield for the best village in the whole Presidency.

The movement has made wonderful strides in these few years, but what I want to emphasize is that our effort was to try and get every single village in the Bombay Presidency striving its utmost to be the best village within the best division, within the best province in India. Imagine what that system will mean if it works—and it is working. Think what it will mean if you can get all those 900,000 villages in India striving to better themselves and committed to this splendid work! Think what it will mean to India and to the Empire as a whole! Again, if we can do this in India, we may perhaps be able to give a lead to China. We may hope, therefore, that this movement may directly help 350,000,000 people in India and 400,000,000 in China. This is no mean achievement.

The one thing necessary for success was co-ordination and continuity. Formerly, efforts made in various provinces were too sporadic. Now, I am glad to say that the Government of India has taken the matter up and the Legislative Assembly has voted one crore of rupees for the purpose. The help of broadcasting has also been enlisted, and this, if properly controlled, will be a powerful influence for good among people accustomed to learn from the spoken rather than the written word. I hope this is an augury for an All-India movement for rural welfare in the future.

I must not detain you longer, but I should like to thank Mr. Strickland very much for his interesting and stimulating address.

Dr. C. C. WANG (former Director-General of the Chinese Eastern Railway): I really have nothing to say on this very interesting subject, simply because I am a layman. Mr. Strickland, on the other hand, is an expert on the subject. Therefore I would limit myself to a word of appreciation of what Mr. Strickland has said and what he has done in China during his short visit. I may add that in a small way I was responsible for his going to the country, being a member of the Universities China Committee which financed the enterprise. I can bear testimony that the Committee has been thoroughly pleased with the result. I am myself one hundred per cent. satisfied.

I cannot either commend or criticize the comparisons he has drawn, because I know very little about the rural problems of my own country and nothing about those problems of India. However, from the little knowledge I have, I think on the whole Mr. Strickland's conclusions and observations are sound, especially the four conclusions given at the end of his lecture.

I think we can learn a lot from our great neighbour India in the matter of rural organization and so on, because, although my country is an old one, in the matter of organization and modern improvements we are really late-comers. Take the question of mass education, of which our lecturer spoke; that is only about twelve years of age. How it was originated is really interesting. It originated in the European War, because there we had something like 200,000 labourers, and some of our college men accompanied these labourers to the battlefields and tried to teach them to read and write. They succeeded and were astonished at these men being able to learn so quickly. That led us to start this experiment, which is on a large scale now. It did not start till about 1922 or 1923, so it is very young.

With regard to the rural welfare developments in India, I hope that the authorities interested will give publicity to all experiments and improvements concerning such developments so that my country may get the benefit, and I hope also my country will return the compliment.

Just one word about Mr. Strickland's remark that we Chinese people when we do a thing often have too large an outlook. That is true. You will find that everywhere, in every line of activity in China. My explanation is that that is because China has been a homogeneous nation for so long. I was surprised when I came to this country and heard people say, "China can never be one nation, because it talks so many dialects and is so large." I did not realize the significance of that until I travelled a little bit in this country. When I went to Edinburgh some weeks ago I walked along the street, and people talked a language which was supposed to be English. (Laughter.) But I could not understand it! (Renewed laughter.) Well, it did not seem to interfere with the unity between Scotland and this country. On the other hand, if you go to China you will be surprised by the relative uniformity of the Chinese language. If you travel from the border towns of Manchuria for three days and three nights by train to Peking, and then one day and night by train to Hankow, and then about 1,000 miles on to Yünnanfu—that is, about three thousand miles—you can understand the people everywhere from the extreme north-east to the extreme south-west. So when I heard these Scotsmen supposedly talking English, I realized that, after all, the Chinese dialects are not so bad.

That is one reason why for so many centuries China has been united as one nation. We have one written language everywhere. We have one culture, one faith. Nowadays we are beginning to feel the national ideal. That explains perhaps in a way why we make mistakes on the large side with our plans, because we look at the nation as a whole; I have now only to thank Mr. Strickland for his excellent remarks.

Mr. GURU SADAY DUTT (I.C.S., Bengal): It was a very great pleasure to listen to Mr. Strickland, whom I can claim as a colleague in more senses

than one. What he has told us about China has been of very great interest to us—certainly to me. China has a very ancient agricultural system which possesses features of considerable value for India. The Chinese system of agriculture is very similar to that of Japan, where I travelled some years ago and learnt much.

As regards India, I know about the conditions of agriculture in only one part—namely, my own province of Bengal—whereas Mr. Strickland spoke of India as a whole. Most of us must have felt when Mr. Strickland was speaking that the subject that he was covering was almost too vast to be dealt with with any degree of clarity or precision within the compass of a single lecture lasting forty-five minutes; and yet it will, I think, be agreed that in spite of this inherent difficulty Mr. Strickland has dealt with the matter with very great skill and presented a very clear and valuable comparison between general conditions and certain main features of the agricultural industry and the attitude of government and the population in China and India respectively with regard thereto. Owing to the very vastness of the subject some of his generalizations with regard to India do not apply to Bengal. The chairman has remarked there is much more non-official enterprise of an organized character in the matter of rural education and public health work in Bombay than Mr. Strickland has allowed credit for, and this applies also particularly to Bengal. For example, one may mention the co-operative anti-malarial societies, which are very well known and are doing very valuable work throughout the province, and which have been highly commended by the League of Nations, which sent a special commission of enquiry to study their work. Then there are the women's institutions organized by the Saroj Nalini Association which are doing very important adult educational work among women. Nor can I subscribe to Mr. Strickland's proposition that good government leads to greater indebtedness among the rural population. Certainly the Government of Bengal does not appear to hold that view, for it has launched a very comprehensive scheme for taking steps to reduce rural indebtedness.

To me the most interesting parts of Mr. Strickland's lecture were those in which he pointed out, on the one hand, the want of sufficient co-ordination among the various departments of the provincial Governments in India in their rural work, and, secondly, the interesting national movement in China for the removal of rural illiteracy and organization of their industries. I think it is felt in every province in India that greater co-ordination is necessary in the rural work of the various departments, and that steps should be taken to co-ordinate them more closely than is the case at present. This was also the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.

That Government had a large function to perform in creating the basic conditions under which an efficient system of agriculture could be reconstructed in India was also emphasized by the Royal Commission, and nobody can minimize the importance of this factor. A great deal still remains to be done to secure satisfactory conditions of tenancy, and also in the direction of consolidation of holdings by Government action. The same remarks apply to organization for the creation of markets for the rural industries. The question of the recreation of the village *panchayat*, which Mr. Strickland

has, I think, rightly stressed, is also of vital importance. Each village will have to have an adequate system of organization of its own for the administration of its civic life. Very pointed attention had been drawn to the matter in the Report of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee constituted in connection with the new Reforms.

At the same time, it seems to be important to recognize that our old ideas of village reconstruction have become a little out of date. When I had the honour of starting one of the earliest, if not the earliest movement for village reconstruction in India in the district of Birbhum in Bengal in 1917, which I continued in the district of Bankura from 1921 to 1922, I went on the assumption that the problem was one which mainly affected the villages and not the towns, and that it could be solved by the educated people who lived in the towns doing something with the help of official organizations to "uplift" the villages and the villagers, and this line of thought has practically continued in the field of village reconstruction work in other parts of India also since then. My present impression is that what is needed is not merely a question of helping the peasants to do something, but it is a problem much bigger and more comprehensive than that. The nation in India lives in the villages, and the present condition of the villagers is part of a comprehensive national problem of the physical, mental, moral and spiritual reconstruction of the whole nation and not of the villagers alone. If we try to divide the subject we shall never be able to solve it. What is needed is a comprehensive movement in each province for the physical, mental, moral and spiritual rejuvenation of the entire population of the province, both in town and country, both educated and uneducated, both men and women, and not merely of the peasants living in the villages, or in relation mainly to one particular industry—namely, that of agriculture.

We cannot solve the problem unless we create in the entire population a new mental, moral and spiritual outlook accompanied by a comprehensive movement for universal physical improvement. It must, therefore, be a comprehensive national movement on those lines—a constructive national movement which is based not on the principle of hating the foreigner, but on that of loving one's own people and working together for common advancement in every branch of life including agriculture and industries, along with the formation of character and the improvement of the physique of one and all, educated as well as uneducated.

The Bratachari movement in Bengal, which I have had the honour to inaugurate recently and which Mr. Strickland has been good enough to mention in his lecture, is on those lines. It is a national movement of the constructive and not of the destructive kind, and is, I am glad to say, being supported by the Government of Bengal as well as by the people of all parties. The object is to make the uneducated villagers as well as the townspeople all feel that they are one body, and should go ahead together in co-operation in bringing about a great national awakening, and that it is not merely a case of one section trying to "uplift" another with its superior wisdom. I hope that the movement will be adopted in other provinces as well. It covers the field of education as well as that of the formation of character and improvement of cottage industries.

I could not help feeling that in his lecture Mr. Strickland has not laid sufficient emphasis on the importance of the industrial aspect of the problem, which is, of course, a most vital one. It is obvious that the question of the development of industries must loom very large in any attempt at reconstruction of village life. But the details of the problem, although in themselves important, must not blind us to the fundamental fact that what is required is to help the entire population of every province in India to develop a national outlook, and they will then be able to solve their problems both in the agricultural and industrial spheres with the help of the Government. The creation of industries, the solution of the problem of fragmentation, the erection of farms in the proper sense of the word as it is understood in the West, will all then tend to solve themselves as the result of this joint effort with the motive power of the national movement behind it, such as we are trying to create in Bengal through the Bratachari movement.

In short, we must create a new nation on sound constructive lines in each province based on whatever is best in their own local traditions which are common to all classes in each province. The cultural aspect, therefore, is a very important one, and we give very great emphasis to it in the Bratachari movement, in which we are trying to bring about a cultural unity between the Hindus and Muhammadans based on common traditions and fostered by a spirit of mutual love and not by common hate of the foreigner.

The most inspiring thing that we have learnt today is about the activity of the movement for rural education in China. In this matter India has more to learn from China than China from India. The educated people of China have banded themselves for work in the villages on a mission of giving primary education to the entire body of their countrymen. We must confess that we have not got as far as that in India in non-official activities and outlook. The Bratachari movement is a humble attempt to create that spirit and to give a new outlook to the entire nation so that each man and woman may be educated into a new national idealism and be integrated each to each in a common striving for the national good in every sphere of life

Sir SELWYN FREMANTLE: I think most of us, being more connected with India than with China, have been considering how far Mr. Strickland's very able address would affect our attitude towards the rural welfare problems with which we are particularly interested. We cannot change the individualism which has crept into Indian life into the community feeling of China. Nor can we make India homogeneous like China. But apparently even in the matter of machinery we have some things to learn from the way the different departments are co-ordinated in China.

I was very glad to hear the lecturer point out the disastrous results of the slow, inevitable decay of the village *panchayat*, and he spoke of the prospects of reviving it. In that very interesting little book about the progress of Indian welfare in 1934, which Mr. Strickland brought out recently, he gave the ideal organization for rural welfare as little village associations, which would co-ordinate the efforts of the various departments and would be linked together in a district association on which various larger organizations would be represented.

There are, I believe, about half a million villages in India, and it would be a colossal task to cover even a very small proportion of the country with such organizations, more especially as under the present educational system the bright students of the villages are drained away to the towns and frequently never return. The essence of the rural problem is psychological, and its solution, as stated by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, or rather as a first step towards a solution, is to impart to the villager the will to achieve a better standard of living. Are we not going in rather too much for spoon-feeding and too little for teaching the villagers the way to work out their own salvation?

It seems to me that these village associations will not be able to achieve very much unless they are given permanence and authority: until they are recognized by the Government as the bodies charged with and responsible for village improvement of every kind—works of utility, health, agriculture, education, everything that comes with village welfare, in the same way as the *panchayats* which have been created in the ten thousand villages of Mysore and which have been given these powers—it seems to me that without authority and recognition by Government, there is not very much that they are likely to do. You want a permanent body clothed with authority, prepared to absorb the ideas which the various Government Departments bring before them, and, if they approve of them, to see that they are observed.

A permanent body of this kind would be prepared to take gifts in land and in money and in works of utility from people who are anxious to benefit the village; and the mere fact that such a body existed representative of the various sections of the village, it seems to me, would be of the very greatest help to the reconstruction of village life, which is the object which we really have before us. I think that it would be a very good thing if the two Associations represented here could take a definite line in this matter and point out the necessity of the reconstruction of village government; this seems to me now that individualism is rampant to be the only way to enforce what community feeling would otherwise have enforced. If a real effort could be made to get those ideas generally accepted, I think we should go a long way.

The *panchayats* are gradually and sporadically being established in various villages of various provinces, but in my notion the key of the whole rural reconstruction is the *panchayat*, and I think that ought to go very much faster. I do hope what I say will be considered by the Councils of our two Associations in order that the matter may be ventilated.

Mr. STRICKLAND: I have very little to say. I have tried to cover so enormous a subject that it is not really possible to do it effectively. The comments that have been made have been helpful to me. I do not feel anything has been said in direct contradiction with anything I put forward. I was, of course, aware of the new Indian *panchayats*.

Fragmentation exists not only in India but also in China. The one acre of the Chinese farmer is just as badly fragmented as the five acres of the Indian. But there is one even worse evil in China: in the middle of every good Chinese farmer's field there is the grave of his grandfather.

Lord LAMINGTON: Our chairman has already thanked Mr. Strickland for having put before us the benefit of his experience in India and his knowledge of China. It only now remains for me to invite you to include in that vote of thanks the name of Sir Frederick Sykes. The occupancy of the chair this afternoon has been very appropriate, because Sir Frederick has told us of how he is in full accord with Mr. Strickland in saying you have to work upwards and not from the top, to get the people of the rural population to realize the benefit of the improvement in their conditions. I think that is a very interesting remark, because till recently the general idea was that the Indian ryot was incapable of appreciating the benefits of the improvement of his condition by this modern cult of rural improvement.

I am sure I am echoing your feelings in thanking Sir Frederick Sykes for having come this afternoon and having presided when we are discussing a subject which affects many millions of human beings.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

Mr. BHACWANDAS T. MULWANI (Agricultural Department, Sind) writes:

Sind from which I come is a typical backward rural country. From what I gathered from the recent Soil Science Congress tour round Great Britain, I do not think the Indian agriculturist is miserably backward in efficiency. The British farmer pays more attention than the Indian cultivator to pasture and animals, as the final product in his case is meat and milk. The Indian farmer cares more for grain and other raw farm produce, as the country is hot and non-meat eating on the whole. In India, however, the problem of rural economy demands a careful consideration and systematic work. In spite of the recent Government of India's budgetary grant of Rs. 113 lakhs for this purpose, leading people like Mr. N. R. Sarkar, ex-mayor of Calcutta, consider that in absence of a well-conceived and co-ordinated plan State measures can yield very limited results.

In British India 242 millions out of 271·5 millions of the people live in rural areas, and in India as a whole 238·2 millions depend directly on agriculture. The percentage of people living upon pasture and agriculture is 73 or above, while industry supports 11 and trade absorbs 6 per cent. only. The contrast with industrialized countries of the West, say England, is thus very marked. England has 58 per cent. persons dependent on industry. It is obvious that the prosperity of India and its Government rests on the well-being of the rural masses.

As a student of soil chemistry I look upon India as a lump of soil and the rural masses as exchangeable bases, such as lime, potash, phosphate, etc. The importance of exchangeable bases in soils needs no emphasis. It is well known that a large amount of food material in soils for the use of plants resides in the exchange complex, and some of the most fertile soils are those rich in exchangeable bases. As knowledge of the nature and amount of exchangeable bases is of prime importance in all studies of the relation between soil condition and plant growth, so the study of the Indian rural classes is vitally important for the permanent prosperity of the country.

India owes to Britain a great debt for its advance in research and education in the upper and middle classes, but the rural classes have received

an inadequate share of these benefits. These masses need for their welfare lessons in self-help. Most of them should be able to render first aid to the injured and look after themselves in hard times. Some advanced persons may take to Lord Baden-Powell's scouting. Reliable workers belonging to the Y.M.C.A. or such other local associations should be supported in finding out the wants and defects of the poorer classes and helping those who are in real distress. To feel the pulse of India's life we must turn to her villages, to her rural economy. Any estimate of the welfare of her people, of her position among the nations of the world, must essentially be based on measurement of the economic, social, educational and cultural standing and progress of millions of her rural population. The tillers of the soil have remained to this day the most important producers of our national wealth. Indeed, they form the base upon which our entire social and economic structure has been built.

RECEPTION TO LORD AND LADY ZETLAND

THE annual reception in connection with the Hospitality Fund grant of His Highness the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda was held at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, W., on Friday, November 15, 1935, when the guests of honour were the Marquis of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, and the Marchioness of Zetland. There were some 300 guests, including the Iranian, Afghan and Nepalese Ministers, and after refreshments had been served Lord LAMINGTON, the President, said: Your Excellencies, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When it was first announced that polling for the General Election would take place yesterday, we considered whether it would be advisable to postpone this function, and our guests of the evening were consulted. However, Lord Zetland came to the conclusion that it was better to keep to the original date. Consequently, owing to this being the day after the election, the numbers of members of the Association present have been somewhat reduced. But I think you will agree that it is a pleasing contrast, after the excitement of polling day, to come to surroundings of a more social character and greater friendliness. (Applause.) That is particularly so when the gathering is held under the auspices of an Association that knows no party politics. At our meetings discussion is perfectly free, but no votes are taken.

In these discussions, as you will recall, Lord Zetland has played a very prominent part. On four occasions since 1930 we have had the pleasure of hearing from him luminous expositions of various aspects of the problem of the great constitutional changes in India. Those lectures have been collected in Lord Zetland's book, published early in the year, entitled *Steps towards Indian Home Rule*. No doubt many of the guests here today have different views on the Indian question, but on one point we shall all be unanimous, and that is our desire to give a hearty welcome to Lord and Lady Zetland and to mark our appreciation of their having come here in our midst this afternoon. He has quickly followed the example of his predecessor in that office, Sir Samuel Hoare, who on several occasions came to our gatherings.

Lord Zetland's knowledge of India is surpassed by few. As a young man he travelled extensively, explored the Himalayas and served on the staff of Lord Curzon, and was chosen in later years to be the biographer of that great Viceroy. For years he served in the House of Commons as member for Hornsey. He was on the pre-war Public Services Commission for India, and thereafter was made Governor of Bengal, going out to India during the war. I think I am correct in saying that his goods went in another P. and O. steamer, which was sunk by a torpedo, so that he suffered very serious loss as regards his own property. His tenure of office in Bengal was marked by continued and conspicuous success. (Applause.)

On his return to this country he continued his service for India and the East. He accepted the presidency of the Royal Geographical Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Indian Society. Of our own organization, the

East India Association, he has for many years been an honoured vice-president.

You all remember his share in the heavy labours connected with the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform. The results of those efforts were embodied in a Bill, and it came to his lot to pilot that Bill through the House of Lords. It was a masterly performance. From his opponents, as well as from those sitting on his own side of the House, he received emphatic praise for the care and consideration he gave to all views, for the wide and broad judgment he showed, and for his tactful manner when standing firm against opposers, or amendments he could not see his way to accept. I need say no more in confirmation of what all agree, that Lord Zetland is the right man in the right place as Secretary of State for India. (Cheers.)

It is a matter for congratulation that we have outstanding men in the trinity of reliable and experienced statesmen who are responsible for the conduct of affairs in India now and in the near future. We have our guest of today, working with that eminent Viceroy, Lord Willingdon. The period of office of the latter will soon be finished, but he will be succeeded by Lord Linlithgow, the distinguished Chairman of the Joint Committee on Indian Reform. No two men in our public life are better qualified for framing and bringing into working order the intricate rules and details of the India Act than the Secretary of State and the Viceroy-designate.

With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I shall ask you by your applause to show your appreciation of Lord and Lady Zetland's having come here this afternoon and of our having once more had the pleasure of receiving the Secretary of State for India in our midst. (Applause.)

Lord ZETLAND said: Lord Lamington, trading upon a friendship which dates back so far as I am concerned to my earliest days, has just paid me a number of compliments which are well calculated to cover me with confusion. But I always feel happy in attending a gathering of the members of the East India Association, for I have been a member of it now for a very great number of years, and I have had ample opportunity of observing personally the great work which it does for bringing India and Great Britain ever closer together. (Applause.)

I should like to return the compliment this afternoon by congratulating Lord Lamington, as President of this Association, upon the great work which it did to educate public opinion during those years when the present Government of India Act was still upon the anvil. It is quite true, as Lord Lamington said, that the organization provided a platform for every conceivable point of view: views from the most extreme right—and I see some members of the extreme right near me today—and views from the most extreme left, not forgetting views from the centre, of which I have always ventured to regard myself as representative.

Though the India Act is now upon the Statute Book, I hope that Lord Lamington will not consider that the work of this Association in continuing to educate public opinion upon that subject has yet to come to an end. There is still a great deal of work to be done if the provisions of the Act are to be given flesh and blood and brought into actual operation. I suppose

THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH, INDIA

By Dewan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghava Acharya, K.B.E.

The constitution of an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research was perhaps the most outstanding recommendation made by the Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow. That recommendation was accepted by the Government of India, and with the approval of the Provincial Governments such a Council was set up in the latter part of 1929. About a year after its formation I had the privilege of reading before this Association a paper on the subject, in which I described the constitution of the Council as set out in the Commission's report, the modifications made in it by the Government of India, and the progress made in its establishment. Speaking within a year of its formation, I had necessarily to refer rather to the future before the Council than to anything it had already done, to dwell rather on the aims and aspirations which inspired the men charged with the administration of the Council than on any actual accomplishment. Exactly five years have elapsed since I came before this Association, the Council has now been at work for six years, I have just laid down my office as Vice-Chairman and Principal Administrative Officer of the Council, and the present moment seems therefore to be opportune for making a review of the work it has actually accomplished and estimating to what extent it has achieved the objects for which it was formed.

The Commission recommended that it should be the primary function of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research to promote, guide, and co-ordinate agricultural and veterinary research in India and to link it up with scientific research in other parts of the Empire and abroad. The Council was also to act as a clearing house for information in agricultural and veterinary matters; undertake scientific publications; arrange sectional meetings of experts in various branches of agricultural science; make arrangements for the training of research workers; and, by grants and other means, to bring the Indian universities into closer touch with agricultural research.

Provincial Research

The immediate result of the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture was the formulation of plans for expansion in all provincial agricultural departments as well as in the Imperial Department of Agriculture. But hardly had the Council commenced work before the economic depression with its resulting consequences to the Budgets of the Central and Provincial Governments hit India, a policy of retrenchment was decided upon, and the scientific and research departments were the ones which Finance Members of Governments seemed naturally to turn to as the first and most suitable victims, a method perhaps not unknown even in this country. Just at the time when the need for all the assistance which the agricultural departments could give to cultivators was greater than it had ever been before, the funds and staff available for the purpose were contracted.

It is common knowledge in India that the grants made by the Council for agricultural and animal husbandry research have been of the greatest help to the provinces in maintaining continuity in research and securing some modest expansion during this period. The expenditure of the Council on grants for research in its first year amounted to the modest sum of Rs. 12,000 and the number of schemes financed was three. At the present moment no fewer than 75 research schemes are receiving grants, and the estimated payments on this account in the current year amount to nearly 17 lakhs of rupees. If the Council had been purely a department of the Government of India financed in the normal way by allotments from yearly Budgets with the actual finances controlled by the appropriate department of the Government, this result would not have been possible. The Council would have been told to wait for better times and meanwhile its activities would have been in a state of suspended animation. But thanks to the wisdom and foresight of the Royal Commission and the action taken thereon by the Government, the principle had been laid down that the

Council should receive fixed grants and that the administration and disposal of its funds should, subject to a vigilant audit, be controlled by its own bodies and not by any external authority.

The Sugar Industry

I shall now describe very briefly the development of the research efforts of the Council. Broadly speaking, the general principle was to make grants for five-year periods to be applied mainly to meeting the cost of additional technical staff and scientific equipment. Grants for capital expenditure, especially on land and buildings, were kept as small as possible, Provincial Governments being asked to provide these. The first big problem which the Council was called upon to tackle was the sugar industry, the condition of which was represented by several Provincial Governments to the Central Government to be verging on a state of collapse, and the Government of India at the inaugural meeting of the Council referred to it for urgent consideration the steps which should be taken to assist and strengthen the industry. The Council set up a Sugar Committee which laid down a programme of assistance to the industry both on the agricultural and on the manufacturing side, and recommended that, pending the execution of this scheme of reconstruction, fiscal protection should be granted to the industry. It prepared the case for protection and laid it before the Indian Tariff Board, and, as is well known, the protection was granted.

Simultaneously, the Committee considered the immediate needs as regards the provision of technological training and technical assistance to the industry. A sugar technologist with high qualifications and successful factory experience was appointed to advise intending factory owners in the selection of sites and machinery and assist existing factories in technical matters. An annual grant was made to the Government Institute at Cawnpore to expand the facilities for instruction of young men in the industry. On the agricultural side a chain of cane-testing and research stations was established throughout the main sugar-cane belt of Northern India extending from Peshawar to Assam, and similar experimental stations were started in Bombay and Madras. Sugar-cane diseases

and pests are being dealt with on an all-India scale. Plans for a central sugar industry research institute for providing technological research and instruction are in active progress, and it is hoped to start this in the coming year.

Though the Government of India has not found it possible to accept the recommendation of the Tariff Board to provide a statutory grant of Rs. 10 lakhs every year for sugar research, it has made from time to time special grants for sugar work aggregating to Rs. 20 lakhs. As a result of all these measures, a striking development has taken place in the Indian industry; the area under cane has expanded from 2,670,000 acres to 3,471,000 acres; the number of modern-type factories has increased from 29 to 145; the output of sugar from cane from 90,000 to 600,000 tons; the imports from foreign countries have fallen from a million tons to 223,000 tons; and in another two years it is confidently expected that India will become self-sufficient in her sugar supplies.

Rice Research

The second big problem was the rice crop, which covers over 80 million acres and is far and away India's most important crop, wheat following as a distant second with about 30 million acres. Work of marked value had been in progress in Madras, Bengal and Burma for many years and to a more limited extent in other provinces, but there were many gaps and these the Council set to work to fill, assisted in this case by a substantial grant from the late Empire Marketing Board. It would take too long to describe the schemes which are in operation in all the important rice-producing provinces and which form part of a co-ordinated whole. I shall just say in a sentence that a successful hybrid has been obtained in the Central Provinces between one of the heaviest yielding coarse rices and a fine rice of good quality, that in Bengal progress has been made in the declared object, which is to secure an improved and heavier yielding type of the Patna rice famous in Europe, that in the United Provinces great progress has been made in the evolving of useful hybrids, and that in other provinces preliminary work is still going on.

I cannot detail the many other research schemes now in

progress, but a word must be said about an important co-ordinated group of fruit research schemes financed by the Council in eight British provinces and two Indian States with the object of improving the quantity, regularity and quality of the fruit supply not only for purposes of foreign export, but also for internal consumption. A cold storage experimental station has been started in Poona which is now dealing with mangoes and oranges in order to determine the optimum conditions for storage and transport, the storage life of different varieties and those most suitable for storage and transport.

Before I leave the subject I should mention that soil research is receiving considerable attention; that a group of dry farming schemes in Madras, Bombay, Hyderabad and the Punjab, important for a tropical country, is now in operation; and that animal husbandry, long a neglected subject, is now receiving special care and financial assistance.

Co-ordination and Accomplishment

I recognize, however, that it is not by the number of approved research schemes, nor by the amount of money spent, nor even by the results which are now appearing from individual schemes that the Council must be judged. The task laid upon it was the development and co-ordination of agricultural and animal husbandry research: the findings of the Royal Commission were that though good work has been done in the past of direct benefit to the Indian agriculturist, the development of research in the different provinces of India had been unequal; the division of funds and energy between different problems had also been unequal. There was a lack of balance between the resources available for fundamental research, and the provision of funds for work of a more immediately practical character. Agricultural research had become much too "departmentalized," and bodies like the universities and advanced scientific institutes had not been called in to help. It was the task of the Council to remedy this position as far as possible, and it is by its success in this responsibility that its work must be judged.

I think I may say without being accused of trying to advertise my own wares that it is now widely recognized in India, not only in departmental and scientific circles, but what is perhaps in these democratic days of even more importance, by the layman in the Legislatures, the Press, the chambers of commerce and elsewhere, that the Council has provided large opportunities for research workers in agriculture, thereby enabling a school of indigenous workers to be built up; that it has overcome the bogey of central interference with provincial freedom; that it has evoked a large measure of co-operation between the centre and the provinces and several Indian States; that the universities and colleges are now taking a not inconsiderable part in the deliberations and the day-to-day work of the Council; and that non-officials who have anything of value to contribute are freely invited to sit on sub-committees of the Council. The Council has been happily described as a good example of "federation in action." Several of the major problems of Indian agriculture have been envisaged as a whole, most valuable interchanges of information have taken place, unnecessary overlapping has been avoided and *lacunæ* are being gradually filled. Commencing by providing opportunities and means for co-operation, we are now gradually reaching the best form of co-ordination of research—namely, joint planning by those who co-operate in execution.

The governing body of the Council wisely decided at its very first meeting that proceedings of the Council and its varied bodies should as a general rule be communicated to the Press. This has resulted in what was usually considered the dry subject of agriculture by the laymen being transformed into one of public interest, and as the value of the work gets known the Council is receiving more and more non-official support. I must not omit to mention the institution of periodical conferences of the Council's whole-time officers with the members of the Central Legislature, where its work is explained and suggestions sought. The past six years have amply demonstrated the value of the provision of the financial integrity of the Council and of its policy in being in close touch with unofficial workers and the general public.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1 on Wednesday, December 4, 1935, when a paper entitled "The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, India," was read by Dewan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghava Acharya, K.B.E. Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for India, was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Amberson Marten, Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Thomas Ainscough, C.B.E., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Mr: Stanley Rice, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. B. Rama Rau, C.I.E., Mr. F. J. Plymen, C.I.E., Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. J. W. Smyth, C.I.E., Mr. A. M. Macmillan, C.I.E., Mr. A. Latifi, C.I.E., O.B.E., Mr. Y. N. Sukthankar, Mr. E. Batchelor, Mr. George Pilcher, Dr. K. N. Sitaram, Mrs. Weir, Mrs. Roberts, Miss Leatherdale, Mrs. Buddecombe, Mr. C. R. Corbett, Dr. and Mrs. Damry, Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Gray, Mr. B. T. Mulwani, Mr. H. N. Mukerji, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mr. B. Sankaren, Mr. S. M. Sircar, Mr. T. S. Ragaviah, Mr. A. F. M. Mohsin Ali, Mr. S. P. N. Khan, Mr. J. J. Har, Mr. B. Dasappa, Mr. K. C. Sahney, Mr. Q. M. Fareed, Mr. B. K. Sinha, Mr. Syed M. Sayedulla, Mr. Leonard Matters, Mrs. Drake, Miss Agatha Harrison, Mr. M. Qadir, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said: I have great pleasure in taking the chair today and introducing our lecturer, Dewan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghava Acharya, who has come from so far to give us the benefit of his long experience. I think we are lucky to have him to lecture to us today because he has had almost unique experience in several different posts. He has had as fine a record of public service as any man who has served India, needless to say, all with great success. It is given to few men to play so many different parts within ten years. He has been the Dewan of an Indian State (Cochin); he has been Commissioner for India at the British Empire Exhibition, 1922-25; a foundation member of the Public Service Commission; and last, but certainly not least, since 1929 until recently he has been Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, that promising child of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. We are therefore very fortunate in having him here today.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: I feel sure I shall be voicing the opinion of those present today in thanking Sir Vijayaraghava Acharya very much for his excellent lecture. I have the names of several very distinguished men upon whom I shall call to take part in the discussion. Before that I understand it is not out of order for your chairman to take part in the discussion himself. It gives me great pleasure as Under-Secretary for India to be here and to pay a little testimony to the work of the East India Association. The Association, as has been said to me only this evening by one of its supporters, is one of the best platforms in London. The work done by its officers for the last few years has really been remarkable. It has been entirely in the service of India, and I congratulate them on their great work for India in providing this platform in London and this opportunity for the discussion of Indian affairs. I wish to thank the Honorary Secretary, my old friend and friend of my family for many years, Mr. Brown, who is with us here today, for he has continued to serve India for so many years. I would only say that if I personally succeed in carrying on the service which I should like to give to India with the same tact and the same application that Mr. Brown has shown, I shall be proud of my life's work.

I have come here not only as Under-Secretary for India, but as one interested in agriculture, for I have lately been involved in all these problems of sugar and wheat and such matters, but in a rather more controversial atmosphere than I hope will prevail in this room, since I have just been fighting an election in an agricultural district. It is very suitable in studying the future of India that we should be considering a subject like agriculture, which is fundamentally at the basis of all India's prosperity; and I think it is a happy augury that the new Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, should be the father of the Council of which our guest today has been so distinguished a Vice-Chairman. I feel certain that Lord Linlithgow would pay a tribute to the great success of our visitor in his duties as Vice-Chairman, and would congratulate him that in a time of severe financial stress he has been able to achieve so much. I would refer to the achievement of the Council particularly with regard to its activities over sugar as almost staggering, and the success must be attributed to the late Vice-Chairman of the Council. I must mention two other names which I think we ought not to forget today. One is Mr. Burt of the Indian Agricultural Service, who has done so much for the Council. The other is Colonel Oliver, who has done so much for animal husbandry and has such a great knowledge of the subject: he has contributed very much to the success of the work of the Council.

Then I come to some of the commodities mentioned in the paper. Disraeli said that sugar was that commodity which charmed infancy and soothed old age. I am afraid I cannot contribute very much to your discussion on that section, because the sugar which I am acquainted with, although I hope it has its charming and soothing qualities, is entirely beet sugar, and I think it would be better if we left that out of consideration at this discussion. When I come to rice, I always think that anyone who is a student of India should be a student of rice. Just as anybody who goes to France should be a student of the cuisine, and should know what is the best French wine to drink, so any student of India should know what is the best rice to eat. I have discussed this question with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and he assured me that Dehra Dun rice is the best, but I am prepared to take our lecturer's views as to whether Sir Tej Bahadur's views on rice are as sound as his views on the Indian Constitution.

The part of the paper which interests me personally is that on co-ordination, and I think the work the Council has done for co-ordination is one of the most agreeable features of its achievement. All federations have found difficulty in co-ordinating matters which ordinarily fall in the provincial field. Federations divide out the different subjects and on some give to provinces power to legislate. There has been difficulty in all federations in achieving co-ordination in those subjects which fall within the provincial field and yet are of interest to the federation as a whole. That will be so particularly in the case of the potential Indian Federation, just as it has been the case in Australia and the United States of America. I think that the work done by the Council may prove a very useful experience in all those other departments of Government in which co-ordination will surely be necessary. I need only mention forestry, irrigation, health, or education, to give some examples.

We in the Joint Select Committee when we were considering these matters made some definite recommendations about co-ordination and the best method of achieving co-ordination in a federation. We suggested in particular that there should be provincial councils which should not be set up by the Constitution Act itself, but brought in later by Order in Council when the units of the federation have got together and decided on the constitution of a particular inter-provincial council. We suggested in particular that that should be a provision in the Act, and that is fulfilled in section 135 of the Government of India Act as passed by Parliament, where there is the opportunity provided for inter-provincial councils to be set up. I feel I should warn you that it would be dangerous to become too familiar with the sections of the Government of India Act, since very shortly we are to consider the reprinting of the Act, splitting it in two for India and Burma, and so many of the sections will be renumbered again for the sixth or seventh time. Section 135 gives power to the Governor-General to define the working and procedure of any council set up. It enables the council to be set up for a particular object, or to settle disputes between the provinces, and I think that embodies the recommendation we made in the Joint Select Committee. I will read you what our advice was on the question of forestry. We said that it would be better if our recommendation could be secured by "the creation of a Board of Forestry on which, in addition to forestry experts, representatives of the provincial governments would serve, and we think that the provinces should be asked to combine for the purpose of setting up such a Board and contributing to its expenses."

We made similar recommendations in regard to irrigation, and during the debates in Parliament we foresaw the institution of a Public Health Board to do the same thing for health. The experience in Australia has been that the States got together and after a certain amount of discussion a Public Health Board was established which has since been transformed into a Ministry of Health. There is no subject, save perhaps agriculture, more important to co-ordination in India's future than the question of health. When we come to look at India's future we shall see that it is not by coercion that councils of this sort will be set up, but by voluntary suggestion from the units and by co-operation among the units. The primary essence of a federation is to

allow the unit to develop and to leave it to its self-determination. At the same time there is grave danger if there is not co-ordination in certain subjects. I think the great lesson, as I see it from the constitutional point of view from this paper, is summed up in the remarks on the last page which refer to the "bogy of central interference with provincial freedom," and I do not think our lecturer has claimed too much when he says that this Council is an example of "federation in action."

It seems to me that in future if subjects such as I have mentioned are to be co-ordinated, they will be co-ordinated successfully if there is a combination of tact and specialist knowledge on the part of the Federal Government and a spirit of initiative and co-operation on the part of the units. That lesson has already been learnt by the Council of Agriculture, and I am convinced that it is a lesson which will be followed by future councils to be set up. The main function of the Council of Agriculture is to encourage research. When we were considering that difficult part of the India Act which relates to the allotment of subjects and the different legislative lists, we always envisaged that research would be a central or federal subject. The Council of Agriculture deals mainly with research, and the future councils which are set up will deal mainly with administration, and therefore the duties of the Central Council of Agriculture and the duties of future councils to be co-ordinated for most subjects will not be exactly the same. But the spirit of the Council, of which we have the late Vice-Chairman here, must dominate any future councils which are set up, and we must hope that in subjects in the administrative field in which some sort of council is necessary to co-ordinate activities, the same spirit will prevail and inspire their activities, as has been the case in the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

I therefore feel we are much indebted to our lecturer today for taking the trouble to come here and to prove to us that "federation in action" in the field in which he has been interested has given an example of a future need in other departments. Forestry and irrigation are connected with agriculture. Health is a first cousin to agriculture, and irrigation is as important as them all. In all these subjects no federation has achieved a completely satisfactory solution, and I think we are very fortunate to have with us here a pioneer who has shown the world how the wishes and needs of the units can be married and successfully amalgamated with the need for central co-ordination. Apart from his agricultural achievements, that is a great piece of constitutional pioneering, and *mutatis mutandis* I am sure it will be a valuable example when we come in the future to consider those many problems with which the path of India has always been strewn, which will meet us in the future, and which I am sure we shall face with the same determination to succeed as our lecturer has shown in his work.

Sir HENRY LAWRENCE: I am privileged to join in the chorus of praise which will undoubtedly follow from all speakers for this very modest and self-effacing address which Sir T. Vijayaraghava Acharya has just given us. The Dewan Bahadur has given us an admirable sketch, as you, sir, have pointed out, of the activities of the Imperial Council of Agriculture. Filial

piety is a virtue which is very little known or practised by public men or public departments, whether in England or in India, and, as a former member of Lord Linlithgow's Commission, I have been surprised and pleased to listen to the compliments which the lecturer has paid to the progenitors of his Council. On their behalf I tender thanks to their dutiful and sprightly progeny. I now venture to ask for a word or two of further information.

The Royal Commission had great hopes that scientific agriculture would open up a new field of employment to those crowds of young men who every year pass through our colleges and universities and who suffer so terribly from what is known as black-coated unemployment; and I refer primarily to employment not in Government service, but in private industry connected with the land. Now can the lecturer give us any information whether these young men are now taking up land for themselves or whether they are being employed in any numbers by the larger landlords?

Sugar was an industry of which I personally had the most lively hopes, and I heard recently from one of the greatest experts in the sugar industry in India—Mr. Noel Dearr—that the vast increase in sugar factories had opened up a large variety of posts for Indians, not only in scientific cultivation, methods of securing greater productivity through chemical manures, and so forth, but also in chemistry and mechanics and the numerous processes which go to the preparation of refined sugar.

Of course, it is clear that the lecturer is speaking only of refined sugar in his figures, for the total consumption of sugar in India (inclusive of the normal product of gur) exceeds three million tons. The public taste has been changing from gur to refined sugar throughout the villages in recent years, and it is a serious problem for the sugar factories to gauge at what point of cost the villager would prefer to revert to gur. Foreign imports, chiefly from Java, reached at one time as high as a million tons. But there is still a margin between the 600,000 tons lately produced by factories and this million tons for the increase of home products at the expense of foreign imports. There is nothing to show that the maximum consumption of refined sugar in India should be limited to a million tons. When prosperity returns to the village it is certain that part of the two million tons now consumed as gur will be taken from factory-refined sugar. Other countries are watching the progress of India in the sugar industry with much anxiety. I was talking to an expert from the West Indian Islands quite recently, and he told me they were afraid that India would soon be exporting sugar to compete with West Indian sugar in the markets of Europe, and such competition, I take it, would not be unwelcome to Indian political feeling.

About ten years ago I had a talk with Mr. Gandhi on the sugar industry. I wanted his help to advocate protection, but, as some of you may perhaps know, Mr. Gandhi is an idealist and he would not be content with protection. He told me he wanted complete prohibition of all foreign imports into India. Now, somewhat puzzled, I asked, "Why?" and he gave me this reply: "Because then Indians would not drink tea." That completely beat me, and I hand it to you as a cryptogram to puzzle out. At that time, in 1926, the Government of Bombay urged the Government of India to undertake the protection of sugar for the sake of the cultivator of sugar-cane, and they were told that the Government of India had to consider the interests of all India and were not to be deflected from that lofty standpoint by the narrow vision of any provincial Government. How true it is that the whirligig of time brings in its revenges!

But India can afford to wait for these slow-coming benefits. Her new Constitution has granted her agricultural population a more equitable share of power in her new Legislatures and has prepared the way for the greatest boon of all to the villager—that is, the franchise through the group system. It will take time for the villager to recognize his good fortune that this ancient mode of representation through his headmen can be restored to him, and that on this system he can build freedom from communal strife and peaceful progress for agricultural science. But that is the final outcome of the somewhat obscure and acidulated conflicts in Parliament over the franchise proposals; and I should like to congratulate our Chairman that in this acrimonious discussion he was able to retain a perfectly equable and just mind. In that happy result which I have described of the future benefits to the cultivator from the franchise system we can see the united efforts of Lord Zetland and Lord Linlithgow. May that co-operation in the next five years be as fruitful of benefit to India.

I rejoice to hear the lecturer's remarks as to the greater public interest now taken in agricultural research, and as to the periodical conferences of officers with the members of the Central Legislature. This will be greatly facilitated by the transfer of experimental work from Pusa to the vicinity of Delhi. I am not quite sure whether that has yet taken place, but the lecturer will no doubt tell us more about it. It is just thirty years since I attended the first meeting of the Agricultural Board at Pusa, and I was horrified at the lack of foresight and the penurious policy which in order to save a few thousand pounds had placed the headquarters of Imperial research in a dismal and inaccessible jungle in Bengal. The earthquake in Bihar was a terrible calamity, but it did one good thing—it destroyed Pusa; and one sometimes reflects, perhaps a little bitterly, that it requires an earthquake to awaken the human mind to intelligence in any quarter of the globe.

Strangely enough, Pusa is going to be of assistance to agricultural research in this country. It trained in the administration of science a namesake of our Chairman, Dr. Edwin Butler, who is now Secretary to the Agricultural Research Council of England at the central point of research for the whole Empire. Some of us here know how difficult it is to get good team-work out of an assorted company of human beings; and those difficulties are greatly aggravated when that company consists of experts in cognate and overlapping sciences. I do not know if anyone here present remembers one of the debates we had in the Board when one scientist, fiercely attacking the theories of another fellow-scientist, said that he had never heard views of such scandalous incompetence. He was called to order, and after deep reflection he rose and said he wished to withdraw the words "scandalous incompetence," and he would substitute the word "bunkum"! When we see the Agricultural Research Council of England working together in harmony and good feeling, we shall know that Dr. Edwin Butler has profited

by those experiences in the Department of Agriculture in India, and we shall see that he possesses the same power of conciliation and dæmonic energy which our distinguished lecturer has displayed in his period of high office in the Agricultural Research Council of India.

Sir AMBERSON MARTEN: I want to speak today from the point of view of a practical farmer who is grateful for scientific research, and who has the advantage of being on the Committee of the East Malling research station in Kent, and also on various committees of the Kent County Branch of the National Farmers' Union. I should like in the first place to add my humble tribute to the great work the Dewan Bahadur has done for India, and also for this interesting and concise paper he has given us today. I want to emphasize from the point of view of the practical farmer the great importance of scientific research, and also to urge that scientific research should be on commercial practical lines, and capable of being explained in simple language to the farmer himself.

As the Dewan Bahadur has pointed out, one of the objects of the Imperial Council is to link up its work with scientific research in every part of the Empire. I hope therefore that I may usefully illustrate how in Kent this scientific research is linked up and how it actually reaches the farmer himself. I must confine my observations to top fruit because different considerations apply to other branches of agriculture. At the centre we have the East Malling research station with the Ditton laboratory of Cambridge University (which is especially interested in cold storage) a few hundred yards away. The research station works in collaboration to a large degree with the Wye Agricultural College, and also with the Long Ashton research station in the West of England. As to grants, East Malling, like the Imperial Council, has suffered during the financial crisis, but the present Government has replaced the grant of £5,000 a year which we used to get from the Empire Marketing Board (now defunct), and for this we are very grateful.

Now here the Kent County Council comes in as the link between the research station and the farmer. The Kent County Council has two commercial fruit advisers, and their principal duty is to keep closely in touch with the research station and to convey the information thus obtained to the farmer himself. The way they do this is to visit the farms and see the farmers' orchards on the spot and give certain advice. Apart from that, these advisers and also the scientific staff at East Malling give lectures and practical demonstrations in various parts of the county, and in this they are assisted by the National Farmers' Union. Of course, there are big differences between agriculture in England and in India, but notwithstanding this, the principle that you must get at the man on the land himself and persuade him that this scientific research is really to his advantage must surely apply just as much in India as it does in England.

Next let us consider what in practice this scientific advice means to the fruit farmer in Kent. He gets advice as to the soil of his land, what it will grow and what it will not grow; advice as to the type of tree to be grown, whether standard, bush, or otherwise; advice as to the variety of apple or pear or plum to grow; and advice as to the root stocks for the trees. Different root stocks produce different results as regards the early maturity and size and colour—of apples, for instance. They will advise you as to your manuring programme and as to your pruning programme, both of which are most important and make a big difference in the quality of the fruit which you will have to market. Then there is the vital question of protection against insect pests and diseases, and as to the different remedies to be adopted, the different washes to be applied on the trees, and at what seasons of the year these washes should be applied. The grower can also visit the orchards of the research station and compare his results with theirs.

The Dewan Bahadur has referred to the cold storage experiments now going on in India for oranges and mangoes. We also have our experiments, particularly in the Ditton laboratory, where, for instance, a large chamber was recently fitted up to resemble the hold of a cargo ship. In particular, experiments are being conducted with the new method of gas storage. The grower is also advised on the packing and grading of the fruit, which from a commercial point of view is vital to the industry. So in that way we get the information from the research station conveyed quickly to the farmer, and he very soon sees by the difference in his accounts in pounds, shillings and pence how beneficial that advice has been, and he shows his gratitude by giving financial support to East Malling. I can only tell you that in our part of Kent the fruit farmers are very keen on getting the latest scientific information; and recently the National Farmers' Union has started classes in fruit pruning and also fruit spraying competitions. These are attended by our fruit men, who thus visit different orchards and see different types of growth, and so on. And after the classes many of the employers have a chat with their men and discuss what has been put forward by the County Council instructors at these classes. That is an illustration of the enormous value to the farmer of this research work in England, and the same thing must apply to India. Indeed, the great improvement in Indian sugar shown in the Dewan Bahadur's address is an illustration of what I mean. In conclusion, I give my heartiest wishes for the success of the work the Dewan Bahadur has been so largely instrumental in starting, and I wish good luck to all those who work under the Imperial Council.

Sir THOMAS AINSCOUGH: With considerable diffidence I rise to address a meeting when so many eminent people are present who know so much more about this subject than I do. I am afraid the subject is somewhat outside my line of country, but no one who, like myself, has been in close touch during the last twenty years with economic development in India, and also in personal touch with my friend the Dewan Bahadur and his associates, can fail to be interested in the very lucid account which our lecturer has given today. I am glad the question of the English sugar industry was raised. My point of contact with that industry has been a somewhat unusual one: it has been concerned mainly with ensuring the supply of the most efficient and suitable British plant and equipment for the use of the 144 factories which are now established in India. I am glad to have the opportunity of paying testimony to the extraordinarily helpful work which

has been done by the sugar technologist under the general auspices of the Council—work which has not only helped our manufacturers in this country to supply the best suitable types of plant for the purpose, but I know for a fact that Indian sugar factories have also benefited very greatly by his efforts. Of the work done for the cultivator it is not my province to speak, although we are all fully aware of its extraordinary value.

I had hoped that the Dewan Bahadur might have been able to say a word as to the great work which is being done in connection with cotton. Some three years ago, when the Lancashire Delegation were in India, we had very intimate talks with the Dewan Bahadur and his colleagues as to how far Indian cotton might be made more suitable for the mills of this country, and I think you may be interested to know from the Dewan of the almost phenomenal success which has attended the efforts of the Indian-Lancashire Cotton Committee—a success which has far exceeded our hopes and expectations. I was in Manchester the other day, and understood from Sir Richard Jackson, the Chairman of the Committee, that he was shortly going out to India again to attend a meeting of the Central Cotton Committee, and he told me that whereas three years ago when the Delegation were in India we regarded the taking by this country of half a million bales as being an ideal figure to aim at over a long period of years, the results so far have gone a very long way towards that figure. I understand that last year something like 400,000 bales were taken, and that it is hoped to exceed this total considerably this year. More hopeful still, I think, is the fact that, although for the past three years the parity has been in favour of the Indian staple, during the last six months the parity has turned against India and in favour of American cotton. Notwithstanding this fact, the efforts of the Committee have been so great, and such a large number of Lancashire spinners have found that it is to their material advantage to use Indian cotton as a mixture with other varieties, that this improvement still goes on. This is a very hopeful departure which is likely to have wide repercussions in other ways, and may, I hope, later on help to ease the tension between India and Lancashire, which it is our desire to do.

Sir Louis DANE: As one of the oldest members of this Association, and as Chairman for eight years till 1932, I should like, as I do not think the President was in the room when Mr. Butler made his commendatory remarks about the Association, to thank him very heartily for what he said. I consider, as he remarked, that a great deal of the success the Association has obtained in bringing Indian matters on to an open platform where they can be discussed without undue heat or excitement is due in large measure to our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Brown. I have watched the work of the Association for about twenty years, and there is no doubt that during the last ten years there has been an enormous improvement in the papers, in the debates, and in the use which the Association has been able to be to India We are all very grateful to you, sir, for the remarks you have made, and ar glad to think that the value of the work is recognized.

I thought today we were going to have a feast entirely of the fruits of th soil, and have nothing to do with politics, but when the Chairman began t

speak of the Government of India Bill I began to be a little disturbed as to whether my digestion would be equal to a further surfeit of that. But the line he took entirely satisfied me, and I can only assure him that, if the co-ordinating committees who will serve the Imperial Government carry out their work in the spirit that he suggests, a great many of the doubts some of us had will be resolved. I rather agree with Pope that "O'er forms of government let fools contest, whate'er is best administered is best"; and with the committees you contemplate I have good hope that the administration will retain its former and pristine efficiency.

We have had a High Court Judge here speaking as a practical agriculturist. Now perhaps I may be allowed, as an ex-head of an agricultural province, also to speak as a more or less practical agriculturist. I was for twelve years a settlement officer in the Punjab, where cash rents were rare and the assessment of revenue was based on an ascertainment of outturns and an appraisement of values of crops. So every settlement officer had to spend his time following a chain across fields and finding out what he could from the expert Indian agriculturists with whom he came in contact. I settled Gurdaspur and Peshawar, two good sugar districts. I understand that Peshawar now has the highest content of sugar in India. In the course of that work I acquired some knowledge about the value of sugar.

The Dewan Bahadur in his excellent and clear paper has pointed out one great danger which always attends these things. He pointed out the danger of agriculture departments becoming departmentalized, and, I would add, working on *a priori* or too general deductions. We had a new agricultural college at Lyallpur—which is a very excellent college and doing well—but amongst the circulars which came up from that college I happened to notice something about sugar; so being an old sugar-*wallah* I looked at the circular and found this was to say that the climate in the Punjab and the character of its soil rendered it absolutely impossible to hope to grow sugar on a productive basis. Therefore the Department of Agriculture proposed that all district officers and others should take active steps to discountenance the growing of sugar. This was a perfect shock to me, and I thought to myself if this circular goes out with the sanction of Government and is naturally treated as *Sirkar ka hukam*, anything may happen. Sugar was one of the few cash crops in the Punjab on which farmers rely for their revenue, and if every official in the Punjab were to work on those lines, I leave you to imagine what would have happened. The Punjab is neither placid nor patient, as now perhaps you all know. I am not sorry to say I tore up that circular, and the results were excellent.

I happen also to have been in a district where there was one of the first sugar mills in India working on water power, and so I had something to do with sugar and sugar mills; and as Lieutenant-Governor I rather anticipated what has been going on in recent years in this country about beet sugar. It occurred to me that the best way of getting improved sugar would be to have a sort of co-operative movement between the growers and the refiners. I selected an area of about sixteen miles round Harchowal in Gurdaspur with a very high percentage of continuous cane growing. Government was to arrange for the capital, and the growers were to engage for so many years

to grow a certain percentage of sugar. It looked as if it were going to be a success. We did not propose to make much profit, but just to carry on and hope that this form of co-operative mill between the zemindars and the capitalist would be an encouragement generally. I left in 1913, and it looked as if all difficulties had been overcome and a start would be made. Then the War came, and it had all to be postponed; so I am glad to hear that now under the auspices of the Imperial Committee the number of sugar mills has been so enormously increased in India.

With regard to cotton, great experiments were made (largely, I think, under our Chairman's father) to improve the staple of cotton in the Punjab. Things went very well, and a great deal of long staple American cotton was grown, but unfortunately what broke the whole thing was that our friends in Lancashire declined to give any higher price for this long staple American cotton than they would for the short staple Indian cotton, though the long staple cotton took nearly five weeks longer on the ground and more water. Naturally the growers would not produce the long staple cotton, and they also proceeded to mix it with the short staple cotton, and that was how one excellent scheme for the time went wrong. I am glad that is being put right. I can only thank you, sir, very much again for the remarks you were good enough to make. I would like especially to thank the Dewan Bahadur for his most excellent paper, and for giving us an opportunity of hearing about a subject which really does concern India.

Dr. PLYMEN (late Director of Agriculture in the Central Provinces): In the presence of some of the fathers of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research it seems rather out of place that I, who have had to carry the baby, should say much. Yet I am perhaps the only official in the room who has had the privilege of working under the Dewan Bahadur, and certainly to those who have had schemes put up from the Provincial Departments of Agriculture, the Imperial Council has been extremely useful. Now there may be an impression that it was very easy money to get something out of the Imperial Council. They had a big lump sum grant from the Government of India, and there was little other control over it. Here I can let a little light in. Sir T. Vijayaraghava Acharya said that we have at the present time seven schemes being financed. He did not tell you how many schemes we had before us: I should think they must amount by now up to three or four hundred. That will give you an idea of the care and scrutiny applied to the schemes that we did finance. Because the Provincial Governments would not provide the money to finance their own agricultural problems, we did not on the Imperial Council consider it incumbent on us to do what a Provincial Government was either not doing at all or only doing partially. When I left the Imperial Council I think we must have had sixty or seventy schemes already passed, sanctioned and approved, worked out in the fullest detail, and waiting till the money came along.

I was very glad to hear one or two speakers refer to cotton, because it was rather obvious from what Sir Vijayaraghava Acharya said that cotton did not come within the purview of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research at all. We talked of rice, but did not mention cotton. That is

because the cotton crop is looked after by the Indian Central Cotton Committee. There again Sir Vijayaraghava Acharya, with his usual modesty, did not say he had been Chairman of that Committee for a good long time; but I know his interests in cotton were equal to, if not greater than, his interests in sugar. No money goes from the Imperial Council to cotton, because the work on cotton is financed by a cess on each bale of cotton produced, and so the whole of the money which goes to agricultural research and husbandry research goes to crops other than cotton. It has been a very great privilege to work on that Committee, and I cannot help feeling that it is the one thing which has stood out. When the Linlithgow Commission came out we were very glad to see it and were very hopeful about its recommendations; but then the financial cloud descended upon us, and the one bright star that has remained has been the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. It has been a tremendous help to all provinces, and as a Director who has had to put up schemes for them, I do appreciate the help we have received from the Council.

Sir PHILIP HARTOG: I must preface my question by a short statement. During the course of my inquiries on education in India I came to the conclusion that in Bengal the unemployment of the great intellectual resources of that province was due to the fact that they could not be employed in its greatest industry, agriculture, which utilized about 70 per cent. of the working resources of the population as a whole. The reason for it was obvious, in the view of a great many people interested in agriculture. The average holding in Bengal is only a little over two acres. The only possibility of using very large numbers of men of trained intelligence in the agricultural industry would be by combining the holdings under some form of co-operation which would enable the ryots to employ experts. Now the problem of finding a solution of this on those lines requires research, not in chemistry or physics or botany, but in economics. I should like to ask my friend the Dewan Bahadur if this problem has been tackled in any form or shape, or if it could be tackled by the Research Council.

I cannot sit down without congratulating the Dewan Bahadur, who is my intimate friend: as members of the Public Service Commission we worked for about two years together in two rooms side by side, and I came to regard him as having one of the widest, most alert and justest minds with which I became acquainted in India. If there had been time I should have liked to say something about the admirable speech which you, Mr. Chairman, made with regard to central and provincial activities. I hope that sometime India as a whole may make great use of the Advisory Council on Education which has just been established by the Central Government. I should like to thank the Chairman and the Dewan for the extraordinary interest of the speeches we have just heard.

Mr. C. R. CORBETT: I wish to ask whether the Council is paying any attention to canning, because that is an industry that has made enormous progress in the Federated Malay States, in the canning of pineapples, etc.

Another question—Are not the troubles of the world largely due to economic nationalism? Taking the long view, is it really a good thing that India should have her own sugar industry? Sir Henry Lawrence said that the West Indies are apprehensive lest in time India may export sugar. Will it benefit the Empire if, in order to enable India to become independent for sugar supplies, we ruin the West Indies? It is recognized that the beet sugar scheme in this country has been a terrible mistake, and the only reason it continues is that the Government feel that if they do not maintain the subsidy it will be a bad thing for the farmers. We all know what Mr. Gandhi meant when he said he hoped the people of India would not drink tea. That is due to the fact that tea is produced by English capital, and he meant to say he did not wish to assist the English capitalist. Mr. Gandhi wishes the people of India to go back to the hand loom! I should like the Dewan to say whether, taking the long view, he thinks this sugar scheme for India will be a good thing for the Empire.

Sir T. VIJAYARAGHAVA ACHARYA: That point about Mr. Gandhi was rather interesting. I think the explanation is simple. The fact is that the consumption of white sugar in India has increased. Coffee is still the favourite drink in Southern India, and gur is supposed to be good with coffee, but not good when taken with tea. It is a fact that in Southern India many still take gur with coffee. In Western and Northern India where tea is drunk they will not take it with anything but white sugar.

As regards cotton, I am glad to have the opportunity of being able to say a few words. The technical reason for my not having referred to it is that I had no right to claim it for the Imperial Council. It is the Indian Central Cotton Committee, which derives its funds from a statutory cess, that has been dealing with cotton. I must say that in the last few years—in the last three years—there has been a marked change in the Indian business man's attitude towards Lancashire. It is now more friendly than it was some years ago, and I think the relations between Lancashire and India are continually being improved. I am perfectly certain myself that in the next few years India will be able to see that the interests of Lancashire and India can be complementary, and need not necessarily be antagonistic. As regards the work of the Central Cotton Committee, I do not wish to take up your time by a long story, but one of the main lines of our policy was not to confine Indian production to short staple varieties, but to have long staple varieties as far as possible. The last step taken before I left India was the agreement of the Bombay Government to a proposal of the Indian Central Cotton Committee to reserve in Sind a very large block in which nothing but long staple cotton should be grown. On the point of Punjab-American cotton having been ruined by mixture, it is very difficult to say who is to blame. If the Indian exporter was asked he would say that his foreign customers want mixed cotton and so he sends it to order. After many years of correspondence the Cotton Committee has just succeeded in getting the Government of India to grant liberty to Local Governments to introduce legislation that will probably put an end to this mixture by means of a system of licensing cotton gins and presses. The Central Provinces Government has

introduced such a Bill, and the Bombay Government are going to follow this example. I have not heard from India yet what has happened, but probably they have not gone a long way yet.

Another question was about educated unemployment. According to a rough calculation made before I left India, 1,500 scientists, young men of India, were employed in sugar factories, and 10,000 educated men who are not scientists were also employed in sugar factories. As to educated men being settled upon the land, I am afraid it is still a big problem, and it will take time to solve it. Personally, I will not say it is beyond the competence of the Imperial Council to deal with the question, because my policy was never to say that anything was beyond our competence. I was always willing to trespass on other people's fields when I could do so usefully and profitably; and I do think the Imperial Council should not feel itself bound by the letter of its articles of association from taking up this question. As a matter of fact, it is one of the most important of our problems, and I have very little doubt that the unrest in Bengal is intimately connected with unemployment.

As to our connection with the Imperial Agricultural Bureaux, there has been a marked change of opinion. In the beginning objections were expressed to the Council making annual contributions to these bureaux, but there has been a change of view, and in the present year when all the grants came up for further renewal they were passed without dissent.

A question was asked about canning. Canning of fruits and vegetables is being taught in the Punjab College of Agriculture, where fruit is receiving more attention than elsewhere, and the Council has given large grants for fruit research in the British Provinces and the Indian States. We shall hear of distinct progress in that subject in the next few years.

As to co-ordination, all I can say is that now, far from there being provincial jealousy, it is the other way about. Take the case of the sugar technologists. Our first idea was to place the sugar technologists under the Local Government, but the provinces said they ought to be under the Council. I must not miss this opportunity to pay a tribute to the co-operation which I have received from my experts, from Mr. Burt, from Colonel Olver, and from Mr. Srivastava, all three of whom have worked cordially with me and have disproved the view sometimes expressed that it was difficult for experts and administrators to work together. I think we were a happy family, and outside the office of the Council it would be very difficult for people to discover how far I had anything to do with a particular position and how far the experts.

I am grateful for the many kind remarks which have been made, and I fully appreciate the value of meetings like this. In 1930, when I first addressed the East India Association on the work of their infant Council of Agricultural Research, several suggestions were made, and I found them useful when I applied them in practice. Just now I may not have the direct opportunity of translating into practice suggestions made in this discussion; but the Research Council has done me the honour of making me a life member of the Council, and perhaps in that capacity I may be able to do something.

Sir BENJAMIN ROBERTSON, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer and the Chairman, said that during the eight years he had been Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces a great deal of interest had been taken in agriculture, and he had a most efficient agricultural staff. One of them—Dr. Plymen—had spoken to them that afternoon. He agreed with what had been said by Sir Amberson Marten as to the primary importance of bringing home to the tillers of the soil the proved and tested results of agricultural research. That had always received their best attention. It was fifteen years since he left the Central Provinces, and Sir Henry Lawrence had said that it was a further fifteen years since he attended a conference at Pusa. He would go back a further fifteen years, and specially mention the great part that was then taken in helping to get a beginning made with scientific agriculture in India by one whose death last week they greatly deplored, Sir Bampfylde Fuller. It was fitting that on an occasion like the present mention should be made of Sir Bampfylde as one of the pioneers in this field. With these remarks he asked them to pass a vote of thanks to the lecturer, who had given them a most interesting address, and to the Chairman.

Lord LAMINGTON: I must apologize to the Dewan Bahadur for not being here to listen to his very illuminating address. I arrived from the House of Lords late, when the Chairman was speaking. I am sure you will agree with me that we are very greatly indebted to Mr. Butler in his very busy life in the House of Commons for coming to us here this afternoon. I do appreciate it very much when members of Government find time to come and join our discussions. I have therefore to thank Mr. Butler on behalf of the Association for his occupancy of the chair.

RECENT PROGRESS IN CHINA

BY E. H. ANSTICE

THE National Government, on its establishment at Nanking in 1927, was faced with a formidable task. Chaos is hardly too strong a word to use of the state of the country. In the South Canton was, at best, but a lukewarm ally; the North, in the hands of its war-lords, had yet to be brought by force of arms to acknowledge Nanking's authority; half a dozen and more generals were going their own combative way in Szechuen; south of the Yangtse, in Kiangsi, Hunan and Fukien, the communists reigned almost supreme. Nanking's word, indeed, hardly ran beyond the confines of Anhwei, Chekiang and Kiangsu.

Socially, economically and financially the story was the same. Years of civil war had reduced the railways to a state of ruinous disrepair and disorganization. Roads were few, and not good at that. There were no airways. China had no modern industries to speak of, except cotton, and that was largely in foreign hands; her banking and financial system was rickety and far from sound. In the countryside continuous warfare and oppressive taxation had created widespread misery among the peasantry. Social services were in their infancy. The family was still the be-all and end-all of the average citizen, and graft, corruption and nepotism were still far too prevalent in public life.

At first the new Government made little headway in the tremendous task of reform. It approached it in the wrong spirit, in the wrong manner, and with a false conception of how its ultimate objective of a free, sovereign and reformed China was to be attained. It had been swept into office on a wave of national enthusiasm, but that enthusiasm had been inspired less by love of China than hatred of the foreigner. The support of the rank and file had been largely gained by dwelling on the injustices from which China suffered as a result of the so-called unequal treaties and the foreigners' privileges resulting from them. This, no doubt, was good immediate psychology; foreign privileges could be easily demonstrated, they were concrete and apparent, and to inspire hatred of these and their possessors was far easier than to inspire love for the abstract ideal of a united China. Hatred, however, though a strong force, is a purely negative one, and a mere negation cannot be creative. The National Government in erecting, as it seemed to do, anti-foreignism into a permanent policy, erred badly.

Thus for four years nothing much in the way of real constructive work was accomplished. Then came the Manchurian debacle, the complete collapse before Japanese military force, and a realization that China had been on the wrong road, that truculence only brought disaster, and that only in friendship with the usurping foreigner and in peace could progress be made. It was decided that China must set about putting her house in order before making any more demands for the abolition of foreign privileges. A policy of conciliation was adopted towards Japan, anti-foreign propaganda ceased, and a steadily growing disposition to work with the foreigner manifested itself.

Since this policy has been adopted progress has been rapid. There has, first of all, been a steady advance towards national unity. Early in 1932 the return to office as President of the Executive Yuan of Mr. Wang Ching Wei not only healed the split in the Kuomintang, gave the Government the support of the left wing of the party, and greatly improved Nanking's relations with Canton, but also gave China the advice of the most disinterested, least personally ambitious, and most statesmanlike of all her Revolutionary leaders. Mr. Wang Ching Wei's adhesion to the Government immensely strengthened its hands. Although faction did not die, it has been able to avail little against the alliance of General Chiang Kai Shek and Mr. Wang. Canton, though once or twice threatening, has been converted from an attitude of armed neutrality to one of friendship and co-operation, and, while still insisting on a good measure of local autonomy, to a recognition of Nanking as the seat of the central Government. The northern war-lords had been reduced by General Chiang Kai Shek in 1929-30, and the North has been brought more and more under the effective control of Nanking. The Communist-bandit area has been steadily narrowed, until today the Communist menace can be said to have been mastered, and in the West the rich and fertile province of Szechuen is now definitely within the orbit of Nanking.

Thus, in the autumn of this year, the evidences of national unity were so reassuring that the Government felt it possible to decree the end of "political tutelage," the benevolent despotism, that is, of the Kuomintang. The party congress approved a draft constitution, and, if present arrangements hold good, a National People's Convention will be held next spring. To this Convention, composed of freely elected representatives of all parties in the State, the constitution is to be submitted for adoption.

This progress towards political unity has gone hand-in-hand with economic and social reform, would not indeed have been possible without it. Here the improvement in means of communication is of the first importance. The railways have been

improved out of all knowledge. Existing lines have been put in order, the permanent way repaired and deficiencies in rolling stock made up, efficiency and punctuality insisted upon, so that from ruin they have been restored to prosperity, as is revealed by the rise in the market value of Chinese railway bonds. To give two examples only, those of the Nanking-Shanghai Railway rose from 40½ in 1932 to 79¼ in 1935, while the First Tientsin Pukow Railway Loan rose from 7¾ in 1932 to 33 in 1935. At the same time there has been a certain amount of new construction. In particular the Canton-Hankow line should be completed this year, thus for the first time giving direct rail communication between the Yangtse valley and the South.

Road building has proceeded rapidly. From 30,000 in 1930 the total mileage had risen to over 80,000 in 1935, and over many of the new roads motor transport services have been put into operation. Something of what this means can be seen from the case of Shanghai. Five years ago the motorist, except for ten to fifteen today the whole of the three provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsu and Anhwei lie open to him.

Air companies have been formed, which between them operate five services with a total mileage of over 5,000 miles. The telegraphs, which suffered almost as badly as the railways from the civil wars, have been put in order. Four thousand miles of line have been repaired, 2,000 miles of new line constructed, new and modern equipment installed. Telephone services now operate in most of the chief cities, and long-distance services have been opened up in various provinces. On the water the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company has been reorganized with immediate improvement.

Improved communications have had immediate results in other spheres. The new roads, for example, have been a great boon to the agricultural community. Rural reconstruction is one of the first essentials to China's economic recovery. Here much has been done in the way of relieving the peasant of the burden of oppressive taxation under which he laboured, and by the establishment of rural co-operative societies, whereby the farmer is enabled to get credit on reasonable terms and to market his produce to better advantage. Over 3,000 such societies have been set up in Kiangsu province alone.

Many experimental farms and agricultural institutes have been set up to devise better methods and to teach them to the farmer. Thus the agricultural institutes distribute egg-cards to improve the breed of silkworm, and as a result the quantity of dried cocoons necessary to produce a bale of raw silk has been reduced from 600 catties to 400. Similarly, the acclimatization of American seed

and the development of a superior variety of native seed have led to steady improvement in the quality of China-grown cotton.

This last is of particular importance owing to the expansion of the cotton industry. Today China is making many of the cotton goods she formerly imported. She is doing the same thing, though not in so big a way, in many other lines. Behind a protective tariff numbers of small industrial concerns have sprung up, manufacturing electric-light fittings, telephone and telegraph apparatus, kitchen utensils, ice chests, woollen goods, soap, and a host of other articles which are rapidly displacing the imported foreign article, not only in Chinese households but in foreign households as well.

More important, however, in the long run will probably be the plan for the industrialization of the Yangtse Valley. State iron and steel works, a central machine works, and an ammonium sulphate plant are the main features of the scheme. So far only the second has been established. It was opened at Chenju, near Shanghai, in January, 1935. The others hang fire, but foreign capital has been interested in them, their possibilities have been investigated with not too unfavourable reports, so in time they should materialize.

One of the first steps of the National Government was to set up a Ministry of Education. This, after some years of deliberation, a careful study of Chinese needs, and a series of conferences, evolved an educational policy and a programme which found expression in a government decree of 1933. This established a national educational framework and laid down a national curriculum. The decree is steadily being implemented. More important, perhaps, is the fact that all the time educational facilities have been expanding in every branch—primary, secondary, technical and university—while the same attention is being paid to female as to male education. In the last few years an improvement in quality as well as quantity has been evident, especially in the universities. The student unrest, which, up till 1932, manifested itself in strikes, the ejection of unpopular or unfashionable teachers and political demonstrations, has disappeared. Discipline has been enforced, and a far saner spirit among the students themselves is in evidence. Finally, mention must be made of the attempts being made to reach the huge adult illiterate population.

The Ministry of Health, established in 1928, has a record of effort and accomplishment which is equally good. For the first time in Chinese history health regulations have been promulgated and enforced, medical institutions and practitioners registered, the sale of native drugs supervised. A beginning has been made with the enormous task of maternal and infant care and on

a school medical service. The Central Hospital was opened at Nanking in 1933, with 340 beds and a large out-patient department. Here doctors are being trained for the public service, and nurses and midwives in the attached School of Nursing. A Rural Health Service has been inaugurated and a Central Field Health Station does important work in the investigation and control of epidemics and in educating the public in personal and public hygiene.

A country stands or falls in the long run as much almost by the reliability and efficiency of its permanent officials as by its statesmen. Civil Servants can mar the best of political good intentions, upset the most well worked out plans. China, until recent years, had not been too fortunate in her Civil Service, but under the present Government there has been great improvement. The principle of security of tenure has been established, the entrance examination system overhauled with a view to getting the right man in the right place, nepotism is severely frowned upon, and, if graft and inefficiency have not yet been entirely eliminated, the trend is very definitely in that direction.

This is symptomatic of a new spirit of national service which is slowly making itself felt. Until recently the outlook and concern of the individual Chinese citizen ended almost universally at the circumference of the family circle. Now a wider sympathy, a broader patriotism is beginning to appear. It manifests itself, for example, in the educational world, where young men and women are devoting themselves to the all-important task of educating the peasants. University graduates go out into the fields to work by their side in order to give them the benefit of direct contact with men of culture and education: students give up their vacations to go into the villages and give instruction. Others are making this education of the people their life work, and become poorly paid teachers in the People's Schools, run by the Mass Education Movement.

In the New Life Movement General Chiang Kai Shek has both focalized this spirit and given it a name. In his speech inaugurating it he first denounced his hearers for "knowing and caring nothing for the responsibilities of citizenship and the requirements of patriotism," for what he termed their "spiritlessness," and then proceeded to demand a return to the ancient virtues of China—namely, the good manners which result from consideration for others, justice, integrity and conscientiousness.

His words met with an immediate, though sometimes perhaps not too well considered, response. Some disciples did not show themselves conspicuous for either a sense of humour or a sense of proportion. To some critics, too, the stress laid on simple everyday matters seemed rather as if an elephant had brought forth a

mouse, but the significance of these small things when they have for a long time been the exception rather than the rule is great. The respect for oneself and for one's neighbours which lies behind them, and the growing corporate spirit which they indicate, are exactly what the movement set out to create. These small things lead on to greater ones. Some of the cleanest and most punctual trains in China, says one foreign observer, run between Nanchang and Kuikiang, and this cleanliness and respect for punctuality are undoubtedly due, he adds, to the enthusiasm with which the local populace has adopted the principles of the New Life Movement.

These spotlessly clean and punctual trains may, indeed, be taken as a fitting symbol of the new China that is coming into being. A country where the trains are punctual is at least on the road to becoming a well-governed and prosperous country. In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to give some account of the most outstanding features of China's political, social and economic development under the National Government, and especially since 1931. It is a record of progress of which she has every right to feel proud, and it has been made possible by the stern determination of her rulers, since that date, to pursue a policy of conciliation with her neighbours, to concentrate on the work immediately to hand, and to leave controversial matters, such as the abolition of extraterritoriality, for the future to resolve. China has been doing her part. Foreigners have theirs, also, to perform. Too rigid an insistence on treaty rights and privileges, a persistent reply of "non possumus" to all suggestions for a revision of those treaties, even when unprejudiced observation shows that revision is both wise and safe, attempts to dictate or veto China's internal policy, are neither fair nor politic. China has been in sickness. She is not yet whole. She is still in the convalescent stage, and attempts by individuals to sever a portion of her clothes can only result in a relapse disastrous not only to herself but to all connected with her, even her despoiler. A united, prosperous and contented China is one of the essentials of a prosperous and peaceful world.

THE JAPANESE AND SHANGHAI

By O. M. Green

While the world's eyes have been fixed upon Japanese doings in North China, residents of Shanghai, Chinese as much as foreigners, are anxiously watching the development of a similar but more insidious attack upon the government of that great city. The clamour of the extreme Japanese newspapers in Shanghai may be discounted. But the general outline of the Japanese design has been perfectly plain, and on their part quite frankly avowed, for many months past, to the accompaniment of a violent Press campaign against the alleged misgovernment of the Shanghai Municipal Council, and particularly the British share in it. It is deeply regrettable that the issue should thus be brought squarely to one between British and Japanese, but that fact must be faced.

At the beginning of November the shooting of a Japanese marine at Shanghai—according to his countrymen he was murdered by a Chinese; according to the international police he was shot by another Japanese in a drunken brawl—threatened to bring matters to a head, and there was a fresh outburst of indignation from the Shanghai Japanese against the Council. But Tokyo "soft-pedalled" firmly: Japan, it was stated, had no wish to make capital out of the incident, and the clamour died down. One thing at a time was plainly the *mot d'ordre*.

In order to make the position intelligible to Western readers a little history and the background of recent events must be permitted. Shanghai was opened to foreign trade and residence in November, 1843, as the result of the war between Great Britain and China which ended in the Treaty of Nanking. The British were the first settlers, and until the Great War they remained numerically, as they still are financially, by far the most important section of the community. The earliest foreign arrivals lived in the old Chinese city, but this arrangement was not agreeable to them or to the Chinese officials, and the latter, by agreement with Captain Balfour, the first British Consul, allocated a strip of ground alongside the river northwards of the city, on which foreigners were permitted to acquire land (by perpetual leasehold) and manage their own affairs according to their own laws, the right of extraterritoriality having been acquired by the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, under their own consuls.

Thus on a barren and muddy strip of ground was born what is now the sixth greatest city in the world with a population of nearly a million and a quarter, or well over 3,000,000 if we include

the Chinese who have been drawn into the surroundings of the foreign settlements by the wealth of their trade. Here may be seen some of the finest buildings that any city can boast, spacious and beautifully laid-out parks, wide avenues crowded with luxurious motor-cars, towering blocks of flats and stately mansions. The budget of the International Municipal Council for the current year amounted to nearly £3,200,000. The Council maintains a police force of some 7,000 men—British, Sikhs, Chinese, and Japanese; schools containing thousands of foreign and Chinese children; hospitals, health and public works departments second to none. Forty-six different races are numbered among Shanghai's inhabitants and, until recent times, they have lived a very happy and, unquestionably, a very comfortable community. Not for nothing has Shanghai been called "the Model Settlement." A more efficiently administered city it would be difficult to find.

A word must be said about the government of Shanghai. In its first form it was managed by a Committee of Roads and Jetties, acting under a charter of Land Regulations, but subservient to the British, French, and American Consuls. It is interesting to recall that the first Land Regulations expressly forbade Chinese to live in the foreign area (except the few families who have never parted with their land to the foreigners), and many subsequent troubles would have been avoided if this rule had been adhered to, as was accurately foreseen by that great English Consul, Rutherford Alcock, when during the fourteen years of the Taiping Rebellion Chinese were pouring into Shanghai for protection and foreign landowners were making fortunes by running up houses for them to let at lucrative rents.

In 1854 Shanghai had wholly outgrown the modest constitution of nine years earlier. A new set of Land Regulations was drawn up, and the Committee on Roads and Jetties was replaced by a Municipal Council elected annually by the ratepayers, to which was entrusted the right of levying taxes and maintaining a police force, the two distinguishing characteristics of a sovereign government. The Land Regulations were again revised between 1866 and 1869, and some further modifications were introduced in 1898, but substantially they remain still as they were in 1869.

Two other landmarks in Shanghai's history must be mentioned. In 1862 the French decided to cut adrift from the rest of Shanghai —which at that time consisted of three areas, French, British and American Concessions, reckoning from south to north—and to manage their Concession independently, as they still do. In the following year the British decided to amalgamate with the Americans under the inclusive title of the International Settlement. It is with this section of Shanghai that we are now dealing. One is

justified in regarding this step as an evidence of genuine liberal-mindedness, for the British Concession was the plum of the whole area, and there was no reason why we should not have kept it entirely under our control as the French kept theirs. Once again, many subsequent troubles would have been avoided, most conspicuously the present issue with the Japanese, had we done so.

The other landmark is the establishment in 1864 of a Mixed Court, in which all cases involving a Chinese defendant were tried before a Chinese magistrate and foreign assessor. This innovation was rendered necessary by the increasing number of Chinese residents, but it obviously went much further than anything Consul Balfour could have imagined. The Mixed Court (in recent years much modified) was the first stage in the long struggle which ultimately gave to the Council the right to insist that no Chinese should be arrested and taken out of the Settlement without a *primâ facie* case being made out against him in the Mixed Court; that no tax-collectors except the Council's should function in the Settlement; and that no Chinese proclamations should be published except with the Council's consent. These powers seem arbitrary, but they can be defended as the inevitable safeguards of an elective government subject to fixed laws, continually beset by the encroachments of an autocratic government subject to no law but its own will.

The most curious feature of Shanghai, making it unique in the world, is that it belongs to nobody but the people who own the land on which it stands. The Settlement is under the protection of the fourteen Powers which have treaties including extraterritorial rights with China; by-laws and administrative regulations passed by the Council and ratepayers must be approved by all these Powers jointly; but neither jointly nor individually can they order the Council to do anything (as distinct, of course, from advice which might or might not be taken) nor give instructions to the police. The Council is amenable only to the ratepayers who elect it, though it can be sued in a court constituted by the Consuls. This position is at once the strength and weakness of Shanghai, and it really speaks volumes for the sagacity of the Council that, although composed only of merchants who have their own businesses to occupy them, they have been able to steer so steady a course through the manifold difficulties that have arisen, often complicated by most serious political issues.

Until ten or twelve years ago the situation of Shanghai, in spite of troublous times due to civil war, was never seriously challenged. Here and there a prophetic soul would warn his fellows that changes from the old order must come one day. He was little heeded, even, so far as could be seen, by the Chinese. It was the Russians called in by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen to help him in his

wars with the North who taught the Chinese Nationalists the cry of "foreign imperialism" and pointed to Shanghai as the supreme embodiment of it. And although the Nationalists ultimately turned their Russian advisers out of China, much of their ideology remained, and the strongest card of the new Kuomintang Government set up at Nanking in 1928 was the pledge that it would put an end to all the special rights, privileges, and concessions enjoyed by foreigners in China. Rendition of Shanghai was, of course, the central piece in the programme. The fact that nearly 1,000,000 Chinese were, by this time, living in Shanghai but had no say in its administration gave point to the cry. The fact that these Chinese had come into the Settlement of their own accord, and that in no city in China is any control over the administration exercised by private citizens, was ignored.

In the extreme uncertainty as to how the Powers would receive the Chinese demand, the Municipal Council in 1930 invited Mr. Justice Feetham from South Africa to come to Shanghai, report on its situation and draw up a scheme for its reconstitution. Some fifteen months later Mr. Justice Feetham produced a report which is really a model of painstaking investigation and statesmanlike thought.

There is neither space nor need here to detail its recommendations, which, very briefly, sketched a process of gradually working towards joint Chinese and foreign administration under a charter from the Chinese Government. The report was cold-shouldered in London, where, under the impetus of a Labour Government, a policy of extreme conciliation was being pursued towards China; other Powers waited for Great Britain to take the lead; and Mr. Justice Feetham's labours were pigeon-holed.

Meanwhile, what of the Japanese? Until after the war with Russia in 1904-5 there were few of them in Shanghai. Even before the Great War they were numerically inferior to the British, always the biggest and wealthiest section of the community. But by 1915 the Japanese had outstripped us in numbers, and today the relative positions are, roughly, 8,000 British and nearly 19,000 Japanese. At the same time the whole character of Japanese business in Shanghai has been transformed from the cheap goods and knick-knacks once associated with their name to the most important interests, mills and factories, shipping and wharves, wholesale dealings on the largest scale.

Practically the whole Japanese community live in the northern district of Shanghai, Hongkew, on the borders of the Chinese quarter Chapei, two names familiarized to English readers by the bitter fighting early in 1932. There they possess a large club, a school maintained by themselves which contains over 4,000 children; and a few years ago they induced the Council to form a

Japanese branch of the municipal police, whose members police Hongkew entirely. They have also built barracks capable of holding 3,000 troops and maintain a large force there.

It is well known that the Japanese have been watching the British policy of conciliation to Chinese Nationalist ambitions during the past ten years with disfavour. They pointedly dissociated themselves from the modifications of the old Mixed Court begun in 1927, by which the Assessors have been abolished and Chinese judges sit alone, and have never recognized these reforms which they ascribe justly enough to British influence. And during the quarrel over Manchuria, Japanese newspapers repeatedly traced the "arrogance" of the Kuomintang to British flattery and British weakness towards that party's pretensions. The negotiations in the spring of 1931 between Sir Miles Lampson and the Chinese Government for the abolition of extraterritoriality —negotiations which, in fact, were only frustrated by the explosion in Manchuria in the following September—particularly alarmed them. It was equally obvious, not only to Japanese, that if Great Britain surrendered her extraterritoriality in China other Powers would have to follow suit; and that if extraterritoriality went the independence of Shanghai would go too.

When the six weeks' fighting in Chapei ended early in 1932, the Japanese were undoubtedly anxious for an all-round settlement of what may be called "the Shanghai question" by the Treaty Powers and China to include a very large extension of the foreign area and a broad neutral belt all round it. British opinion, however, was naturally and properly against taking advantage of China's misfortunes to force upon her what she would never have conceded voluntarily, and the scheme fell through. It was, for the Japanese, another argument of many which they had discerned in recent years, that what they wanted they must get for themselves.

Manchuria kept them fully occupied for the next two years, but early in 1934 they began to unmask their designs, with a series of demands upon the Municipal Council. The policy of the latter seems to have been to endeavour to prevent matters coming to a crisis. Possibly it would have been wiser to grasp its nettle boldly. At any rate, the upshot was a violent Japanese Press campaign during the past summer and now an issue which it will not be easy to solve. Thus on August 6 the *Shanghai Mainichi* declared that:

> The provisions for qualifications of electors, the constitution of the Council, the form of the municipal election, the basis of the municipal rate are evidently out-of-date and the regulations for appointment of municipal employees are also antiquated.

On August 15 the *Mainichi* attacked the expensiveness of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps, particularly the cost of obtaining its

Commandant and his staff, and many of its stores, from England: if all these were obtained "from countries nearer to Shanghai (!) expenses would be greatly reduced."

On September 8 the *Mainichi* took the gloves off altogether. In a previous issue it had described the Council as "a citadel of secret administration and oligarchy." Now it wrote:

> The Shanghai Municipal Council is the bedrock of British influence in China. The International Settlement is such in name only. The administration of the Settlement is carried out for the benefit of the British, while other foreign residents receive only marginal crumbs . . . it is necessary to issue a warning. In the past we have been obliged to submit. But the policy of the S.M.C. does not accord with present conditions. Should it continue to be pursued by the ill-conceived British conservatism, a position will be reached which it will be impossible to salvage.

Great stress is put on the fact that the Japanese community is the second largest after the Chinese, while, to quote the *Mainichi*, "the number of British is very small," yet in their own eyes the Japanese have no share in the administration. Actually two of the Municipal Councillors are Japanese, with two Americans, five British, and five Chinese; while it is permissible to point out that the percentage of rates paid by the British is greatly in excess of that of any other nationality, and that Hongkew has become in fact, if not in name, virtually a Japanese Concession.

Briefly summarized the Japanese demands are:

(1) Increased Japanese representation on the Council and employment of Japanese in its service;
(2) Greater economy in administration;
(3) More liberal grants-in-aid to Japanese schools;
(4) Revision of the franchise on more democratic lines.

Nos. 2 and 3 are comparatively easy. No. 1 runs counter to the principle laid down by the Council some years ago that vacancies as they occur should be filled by Chinese unless there are valid reasons to the contrary. Besides, practically all Council servants start at the bottom of the ladder; those at the top have many years' experience behind them; why should any of them be displaced, or why should Japanese receive different treatment from any nationality?

But the real fight will come over No. 4. Herein lies the way to the ultimate control of Shanghai by force of numbers. Actually the franchise cannot be altered without altering the Land Regulations, and that can only be done by joint agreement between all the Treaty Powers and China. But the whole Japanese contention is that the Land Regulations are anachronistic and must be revised. They also object that the franchise is on a property basis so high that it excludes the great majority of their people.

The Japanese vote has been extraordinarily well organized by the Japanese Residents' Association. The apathy of other voters has more than once enabled the Japanese to swing things to their own taste. But if they tried extreme measures—if, for instance, they nominated nine Japanese for the Council, which is the full number of non-Chinese members—the British vote alone, without counting other nationalities, is big enough to outvote them and certainly would be stimulated to do so.

It is the knowledge of this fact, as also that their two representatives are on the Council only by the sufferance of other nationalities, which embitters the Japanese. Not all of them take the extreme views of the *Mainichi*, but it must be confessed that, on the experience of recent years, it is too often the extremist party which carries the day. What will happen if they do not get their way is a matter of very unpleasant speculation. Some believe that they will declare Hongkew a Japanese Concession and cut adrift from the rest of Shanghai, a course which would, at any rate for a time, dislocate the whole administration. Racial pride enters largely into their attitude, and their dreams regarding China. That phrase of the *Mainichi's*, that "the Council is the bedrock of British influence in China," shows the direction in which their thoughts are running.

For the British it may be said that they bore the brunt of opening Shanghai to trade and of building up its administration. Time and again they have come to its defence, most notably in 1927, when, but for the arrival of 20,000 British troops, Shanghai might well have been overrun by the Communists. British predominance in the administration has hitherto always been willingly accorded by other nationalities, as the natural outcome of history, and at least it can be said that no other nation has suffered in its essential interests in Shanghai through that predominance. There is no confidence that the same state of affairs would continue to prevail if the control passed into Japanese hands.

Hitherto the British of Shanghai have shown themselves singularly conciliatory towards the Japanese demands. But signs are by no means wanting that if they are seriously challenged, they will fight with all the constitutional weapons at their command, and they will undoubtedly be supported by other nationalities. But this opens up the prospect of a racial split in Shanghai such as has never yet been known, and which would be in the last degree deplorable. Even as things are, the Japanese are adopting a *non possumus* attitude on various questions too long to detail here, which is holding up certain much-desired agreements with the Chinese officials and thus injuring the development and interests of Shanghai.

The time for a wholesale revision of the entire constitution of

Shanghai is long overdue, and although Mr. Justice Feetham's report was produced in different circumstances from those of today, it would still afford a very sound basis for a round-table conference between the Treaty Powers and China. Unfortunately, the outcome of such a conference could hardly be other than a check to the ultra-nationalist ambitions with which the Japanese are imbued. For them the solution of the Shanghai question is bound up with that of all matters outstanding between themselves and China—north, middle, and south. One can only pray for the ultimate triumph of the counsels of those Japanese who know that reasonableness, conciliation, and friendly arrangement will pay them better than sabre-rattling and the mailed fist.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHINESE ART

By His Excellency the Chinese Ambassador, Mr. Quo Tai-chi

I have no credentials for discussing the great art of my country. In so far as I am anything at all I am a man of present-day affairs in politics. I confess I have to conquer a feeling, whenever I find myself with learned and authoritative critics of Chinese art either in my own country or in this country, that if I even allude to Chinese art as a whole, or to any single one of its examples, I shall be found out and will appear a hypocrite, a poseur, neither understanding nor having the faculties to understand the sensitivenesses and the profundities that are revealed or suggested in the present exhibition at Burlington House. But with all that owned up to, I suspect I am at one with most of my fellow-citizens and with most of the citizens of all countries in relation to their national art, if I am to be quite baldly frank. There is generally a tendency among men of affairs to take for granted that the artist lives in the shelter of our manifold practical activities. Faced with such a factor in Chinese national life and international relations as is embodied in the exhibition, is it not apparent, rather, that these ultimate and undying things warn us how we practical men live too heedlessly in the shelter of the artist. To care not who makes the laws so long as he can write the songs is evidently a far-sighted bid for immortality, no matter what the country or the century. I remember from somewhere the imagined tale of old Samuel Johnson in purgatory beholding all the volumes Boswell needed for an account of him and gasping, "Great Heavens, did I live all that!" So for the run of even educated Chinese as a man takes pause to consider his country's art he can only gasp, "Does it mean all that to be Chinese!" One is even more confounded after one has looked at the body of elucidation, national and international, that is the achievement of technical and humane consideration of our masterpieces. Yes, it is to the artist we have to come for the seal upon our labours. The man of business, the man of finance, the man of war, the man of statecraft, the man of religious administration, even the man of science, in the end they all wait upon the artist, laying their accomplished acts before him with the need of saying, Show us, now, what all this we have wrought means, to us ourselves and in the fulfilling of our faith to our forefathers and to our posterity.

At the Dinner given by the British Government in connection

with the opening of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art I found myself preoccupied with the sense of universal generous sentiments in that festive gathering. The regal hospitality of the British Government had all the world represented there that night in overflowing goodwill to my country and its treasures of national art. The generous loans and arduous co-operation by the Governments and citizens of many nations have brought into being the most definite and most comprehensive exhibition of achievements in Chinese arts that the Western world has ever seen.

Engrossed though he was in many other responsibilities, Lord Lytton was willing to accept the chairmanship of the Executive Committee sixteen months ago. Sir Percival David, as Director of the exhibition, and his colleagues on the Selection Committee have shown the true ardour of artistic enlightenment in their labours both here and abroad. Acknowledgment is due to Sir John Simon for his active personal interest during the early organizing days no less than his helpful participation as Foreign Secretary and later Home Secretary. Sir William Llewellyn has seen to it that the unrivalled resources of Burlington House for the organization of a monumental exhibition have been unreservedly brought into play. In the person of Dr. F. T. Cheng, Special Commissioner of the Chinese Government, I have to acknowledge not only my Government's representative in relation to the exhibition, but a personal friend patient enough to let me shove off on him many problems and incidents with which otherwise it might have been my official lot to deal. The Chinese Government Organizing Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, our energetic Minister of Education, arranged for the preliminary exhibition of the treasures in Shanghai after directing the original selection of the exhibits; and there was generous support since the beginning of this great project from our Prime Minister, Mr. Wang Ching-wei, who, happily, is making steady recovery from the recent outrage attempted against his life. To Their Majesties the King and Queen and His Excellency the President of the Chinese Republic our homage is offered for their gracious consent to act as the patrons.

The intellectual collaboration between Great Britain and China that evolved the idea in the first place of such an exhibition as this led to elaborate practical co-operation in organizing it. There was something symbolic in the British Admiralty providing the cruiser *Suffolk* to safeguard the arts of peace by bearing the Chinese palace treasures in augmented safety from China to England. The wealth of published material on China and her arts that has been produced here in England out of the free volition of her learned citizens is another striking manifestation of

the co-operative instinct that I trust will be forever strengthened and amplified in all the relations between Great Britain and China.

I think it must be balm to all of us in these years of strain thus to be united for once by instant recognition and ardent appreciation and more-than-half-way co-operation. Perhaps our ability thus to come together in the ultimates of art can help us to come together with readier recognitions, more generous acceptances, fewer forbidding withholdings and denials in all the intercourse of the nations.

The eighteenth century in Europe, while collecting Chinese objects and adapting Chinese adornment, completely missed the spiritual history in Chinese art. Mere Chinoiserie, however, is obsolete now. It was never a legitimate approach to China. This exhibition, I want to think, commemorates the great fact that the sense of merely the quaint and the curious is gone forever as between China and the West, both ways, and in other matters than the arts, and the sense of the deep and yet the communicable is well established. A number of my English friends have expressed to me these past few days their surprise and delight at the easy communicability for them in the exhibition at Burlington House, a communicability both in the sense of life and in the various techniques. Technique rather baffles most of us, whatever the art or the hemisphere; but the effect of technique we feel intensely. It is this substance of life, and this placing of human life in its perspective with all life, that my friends say they find given to them with a surprising absence of barriers.

I shall not try to be profound about it. I shall not aim to evaluate the great Buddhistic figure in the entrance hall, nor the other awe-inspiring marriages of the flesh and the spirit in human statuary that are in the exhibition. But even in lesser examples my Western initiations show me at once what my friends mean. In the multiple minute life amid the tangled grasses of No. 1184, to which Mr. Ormsby-Gore appreciatively drew attention in his speech at the Government dinner, the scroll painting in colour on paper, called Early Autumn, I am sure that Wordsworth and St. Francis and Walt Whitman, Western men of so diverse countries and periods, could easily have been at one with Ch'ien Hsüan, its Chinese creator. I look at such a picture as No. 1997, the silk tapestry of Chou Ch'u fighting the dragon, and, peculiarly imbedded though that be in Chinese tradition, I am irresistibly reminded not more of my own country's dragon-lore than of Beowulf's great fight with the dragon Grendel, at the very foundation of English literature. In this mood of antiphonal racial observation I did not find it shockingly incongruous to overhear a young lady wonder how in No. 3003 a portrait of Henry VIII.

had got into the exhibition, and then to watch how incredulous she was as her closer scrutiny—of the inscription, not the face—satisfied her that it was actually Kublai Khan, an album portrait attributed to the Yüan dynasty.

But whether with the supreme masterpieces or the lesser examples of bronzes, painting, or porcelain, whether from the point of judgment of the connoisseur or the average man, the admiration and the confidence vouchsafed the Chinese national genius helps mightily in these anxious times to confirm in us Chinese the reassurance that has always come to us from our arts. I have an idea that the two evidences of a great nation are its ability to have recurring periods of great art and its ability to sustain recurring periods of great disaster. The depth of spirit and the tenacity of purpose required to have both these credentials of prime nationhood remain always the light upon the horizon for us Chinese, our proved capacity whatever our transient difficulties and deficiencies. When I read such a comment as Mr. Binyon's that "of all the nations of the East the Chinese is the one which throughout its history has shown the strongest æsthetic instinct, the fullest and richest imagination," I know such a fact means many other strengths of continuity also. I should not be much of a Chinese if sometimes I am not as much disquieted about myself and my countrymen as I am about our various neighbours and distant or nearby friends. Then I am able to say to myself, Well, we have cared for these things as well as produced them, we have cherished them, we have kept them essentially intact even with the thefts of time and the fadings of the centuries, we have brought them into being not at one period alone and in one fashion only, but time and again, and in protean technique. I know so little about them and yet they reassure me so much. More than that, perhaps, paying no regard to us Chinese and our interests, men and women of many climes know themselves the better for knowing these things a little. I tell you it makes me very humble in the presence of our art as well as very proud.

We Chinese are, I suppose, an incalculable race, as many of our friends insist, incalculable often to ourselves as well as to others. What extensive nation is not? Even in this tight little island the Suffolk man regards the Northumbrian as a complete enigma. Our springs of art are incalculable. So are your springs of art. Only the other day the newspapers quoted the chief officer of the Tottenham Fire Brigade in connection with painting his latest fire-engine jade green. "Red does not match at all with chromium-plated fittings," he explained. Then he made his bold break with the past by declaring, "There is no reason, apart from tradition, why fire engines should be painted red." That is a

revolution in art as well as a revelation of art in your very midst, and I claim the selection of jade green instead to be the first triumphant influence of the Chinese Exhibition upon popular taste. We are multifarious as well as multitudinous. From the exquisite to the uncouth we take a lot of knowing before easy observation ceases to betray the observer. I am glad that the West is having this memorable opportunity to study us at our best. May I venture the surmise that even at our worst the disturbingly strange or the repellingly crude or the seemingly irresolute may be the rough diamonds of pretty solid national characteristics. The authorities of Burlington House and the committees of selection and arrangement have earned our applause for placing our most precious possessions in the best light. But viewed in any light they would be magnificent. They can afford to lose some of their facets of excellence. Shadows cannot really dim them. Indulge me in saying that I think the Chinese as a whole sometimes show up best in resisting the distortions of inimical lights.

Behind every treasure the Chinese Government has sent to the exhibition you have all the goodwill of the Chinese nation. And that goodwill, I am glad to know, is abundantly reciprocated in the enthusiasm of the British public's response to the manifestation of China's artistic eminence.

SYLVAIN LÉVI: A MEMORY

By Dr. Ranjee G. Shahani

The life and work of an individual are by no means the same thing. Sometimes a man of unlovely life produces work of great value—a good example is Dostoievsky; sometimes a saintly soul gives us little or nothing that the world cares to remember. Thus the connection between good life and good work is remote and obscure.

Usually, it is more profitable to concentrate on the creative work of a man: the gossip about his domestic affairs throws no light on his golden message. But there are cases when it is of little importance what a man *does*: the man thing is—what he *is*; for this last covers all.

Sylvain Lévi, whose death we all mourn, belonged to the second category. This is not to say that his work is of little value: no, he has left us several fine books, notably *Le Théâtre Indien* and *L'Inde et le Monde*; but his life was greater than what he wrote. That rich psychic influx that found no central and abiding reality except in the body and soul of Sylvain Lévi expended itself in other ways. So it will be more to the point if I do not confine myself to chronicling the bare events of his life: that he was born in Paris, studied Sanskrit and became a lecturer at the University at a very early age; that he was on very friendly terms with Tagore and delivered some discourses at Santiniketan immediately after the war; that he made a special study of Nepalese art, and lectured on the subject in London to the India Society; and that his last public appearance was at the Oriental Congress in Rome, where he headed the French delegation. These facts are known; what I would seek to convey in these few words is the quality of the man's spirit—at least, the shining side I was privileged to see. . . .

It was on a perfectly vile day that I first made my way to the well-known house in Rue Guy de la Brosse. As I approached the Jardin des Plantes, everything looked dark and dismal, just like a novel by Thomas Hardy. Cold wind, rain and the muffled roar of the traffic combined to produce a very dreary effect. One felt that in such a climate people were bound to be disillusioned, if not altogether cynical. I began to wonder what sort of a man I was going to meet. Until then I knew Sylvain Lévi only by repute, as the writer of a classic on the Indian drama and an

Orientalist of renown. I was quite prepared to meet a big-wig who would soon convince me that he knew far more about my country and its adventure than I did. I began to feel quite uncomfortable.

I was received by a short, well-knit man, with a soft, caressing voice, a shock of beautiful white hair, fine as driven snow, extraordinarily gentle eyes—eyes that had something very wise and very tender in their limpid depths—and, for all his dignity, simple, clubbable, spontaneously kindly—in fact, anything but a mere academic.

As I looked round the apartment, stacked, almost littered, with books and with *souvenirs artistiques des Indes*, I heard Sylvain Lévi say to me: "I am a Hindu." The tone in which he said this was absolutely convincing—and compelling. It reminded me of similar words uttered by the late Sir Thomas Arnold: "I'm more an Indian than an Englishman." Transparent sincerity characterized the avowal of both men.

The room, warm and cosy, was full of guests. An Austrian savant was talking in excited tones about his great discovery, that the Hungarian dialects were connected with Sanskrit. Sylvain Lévi did not contradict him, but the way he smiled shook the confidence of the other man. A handsome bearded Indian patriarch, obviously a Sikh, was scanning the shelves, and presently departed with a bundle of books, without so much as saying "By your leave." A young lady wanted to know what were Sankara's exact views about "Maya" and the "phenomenal world." Someone began to talk of Mohan-jo-Daro. . . . To each and all—too many to be mentioned here—Sylvain Lévi gave what help he could. He was particularly nice to my compatriots: he treated them as though he had known them all their lives. They spoke to him as they seldom speak to foreigners.

Sylvain Lévi did not refer to his own work. He seemed to brush it aside as a thing of secondary importance. "My real passion," he told me later, when we were alone, "my real passion is to be of service to my fellow-beings. . . . It gives me real pleasure to do what I can for your countrymen. They come thousands of miles to learn at our universities; all praise to them for that. . . . It is really we who ought to be going to India to imbibe something of her ancient wisdom. Perhaps a day will come when the élan of the West will be combined with the meditativeness of the East. . . ." He loved books, I could see, for he talked in a lilting accent of his favourite authors; but he loved life more. He spoke of the greatness of life and the greatness of the individual; but I will not enter into that abstruse question.

When I attempt to sum up the total impression made upon me by this remarkable personality I find that it crystallizes itself

into four prismatic qualities—qualities that Jesus would have prized above all in a human soul. Sylvain Lévi was tolerant (not through laziness, but through wise comprehension), generous (more happy to give than to receive), selfless (always making the lowest claim for himself), and genuinely in love with his kind. In our world of false valuations, when charlatans and mountebanks win all the applause, it is not a little heartening to find a man who was great in his goodness.

Sylvain Lévi is not dead: he lives in the memory of his friends and disciples, and their name is legion. Perhaps this is the only kind of immortality of which we can be sure. At least Shakespeare thought so.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST

By Dr. Alfred Marcus (Haifa)

It seems to be evident that the countries of the Middle East—viz., Egypt, Palestine, Syria, 'Iraq, and Cyprus—want to develop their economic forces without hostility to one another; on the contrary, the leading commercial, agricultural, and industrial circles of the whole large sphere, formerly representing the Turkish Levant provinces, are thoroughly convinced that the Middle East's economic development is depending in an important degree on the systematic intensification of friendly and close connections with the foreign markets in general.

If we examine critically in what way the economic importance of the Middle East increased during the last years by strengthening international relations, we have to point out that the five countries in question were in general participating in the international trade on a fairly growing scale. The increase in economic capacity is most striking in Palestine and is followed by 'Iraq, while the development in Syria and Egypt depends to a certain degree on the effects of the world crisis, and in the case of Cyprus is entirely governed by them. In spite of those disadvantageous influences of the world's general economic situation, it can be said that the Middle East's participation in the world trade (import and export) rose from 1·01 per cent. in 1931 to 1·14 per cent. in 1932, and to 1·25 per cent. in 1933.

This development may be elucidated by the following figures:

Share of the Middle East Countries in the World's Trade
(per Cent.)

	1931.	1932.	1933.
Egypt	0·68	0·73	0·79
'Iraq	0·08	0·11	0·11
Palestine	0·09	0·13	0·19
Syria and Libanon ...	0·14	0·15	0·14
Cyprus	0·02	0·02	0·02
Total ...	1·01	1·14	1·25

That is to say, that the Middle East's participation in the world's trade rose during the last three years by 23·7 per cent., that of Egypt by 16·2 per cent., and that of 'Iraq by 37·5 per cent., that

of Palestine by 111 per cent., that of Syria and that of Cyprus remained without change.

It is true, this alteration of the Middle East's "economic weight" is in part a relative one, due to the retrograde trend of the international commerce during the period in question. But for the most part it results from individual growth in the economical sphere, caused by a rapid increase in population and in economic energy. The Middle East's population has increased during the years which have elapsed since the end of the war from 19,000,000 to 23,000,000 inhabitants—*i.e.*, by 21 per cent.

Concerning the strengthening of economic energy, we may take notice of a series of irrefutable facts.

One of the outstanding features of this growth in economic energy is the industrial development in the countries in question, transforming them ever more from consumers of imported wholly manufactured goods into buyers of raw materials and semi-finished articles—and machines! With reference to Palestine, for instance, we have to note that, according to the last census of Jewish establishments, carried out by the Jewish Agency in August, 1933, there were in that small country 3,255 industrial undertakings, with a personnel of 18,944 men, an annual production of £P4,939,000, and an invested capital of £P5,108,000 (these figures include Jewish establishments only). The census shows that out of those 3,255 establishments only 285, possessing a capital of £P445,000, were started before the war—*i.e.*, 9 per cent. of the enterprises and the invested capital. But in spite of the considerable number of new industrial investments during 1933, enlarging the activity of the country's industry, the import of industrial goods in all stages of manufacturing still remained bigger than the volume of the industrial production. Regarded from that point of view, Palestine still remained in a semi-colonial condition of industrial development. But there is no doubt that the country aspires to a higher standing of industrial life, and that with this end in view Palestine will become soon a relatively important buyer of machines, tools, and metals of all kinds for its growing apparatus of industrial production, of building materials for its steadily enlarging towns and villages, and of raw materials and "semis" for its factories producing goods for immediate consumption—viz., foodstuffs, textiles, clothing, wood-working, leather-working, chemical and pharmaceutical products, soaps, tobacco and cigars and cigarettes, metal-working, etc. On the other hand, Palestine is steadily developing its agricultural forces, especially the production of citrus fruits. The plantation area increased from 32,000 dunams* in 1923 to 200,000 dunams in 1933, the export from 1·24 to 4·5 million cases in 1933 and to

* 4·4 dunams = 1 acre.

7·2 million cases during the winter in 1934-35. The increased citrus production must lead to the development of a by-products industry—the preparation of fruit juice, jams and jellies, canned fruits and essential oils.

A distinctive mark of Palestine's general economic situation is the growing cash surplus secured by the country's Government. The total surplus at June 30, 1934, was £P2,941,265; the surplus obtained during the period of April, 1934, to March, 1935, amounted to £P 2,400,000.

In the case of 'Iraq, there has been a less rapid but nevertheless considerable economic progress. At the beginning of the last year, however, the prospects of 'Iraq's trade and production were gloomy. The Persian transit trade was reduced by the Persian Government. The stable industry of 'Iraq is agriculture, and in 1932 and 1933 agricultural conditions were adverse. In spite of an abnormal export of gold to Europe, the total value of exports has fallen short of the level originally anticipated. Nevertheless at the close of the year an optimistic tone prevailed. The 'Iraq Petroleum Company had completed work on the pipe line to the Mediterranean ports of Haifa and Tripoli. The Government improved its financial position and has launched an ambitious programme of public works.

It is too early to speak of the "industrialization" of 'Iraq. But the distinctly growing purchasing power of the country's population may promote sooner or later a development of this kind. At present practically all manufactured articles are imported. Such local industries as exist are unable to supply local requirements. The import of the greatest value is textiles, the second largest import is sugar. There is a notable increase in the importation to 'Iraq of Japanese goods, especially cotton textiles.

The principal exports of 'Iraq are dates, grains, wool, hides and skins. According to some estimates, 'Iraq supplies over 80 per cent. of the world's dates consumption. The exports during the last years exceeded expectations. India is 'Iraq's principal customer for dates, followed by U.S.A. 'Iraqi wool is required chiefly for carpet making in the U.S.A. There was a considerable export of sheep's casings to the U.S.A. and Germany for use in the manufacture of sausages, but during 1932 the U.S.A. authorities placed severe restrictions on traffic in 'Iraqi casings. Owing to the demand for gold in Europe large quantities of the metal were exported during the last years. Not only gold liras and tomans, but also gold ornaments were melted into bars for export, to be refined in Paris or London. In general, the money available in the country is far in excess of trade requirements, and 'Iraqis appear to have invested widely abroad during the last years.

The outstanding feature of 'Iraq's economic future is the recently

started exploitation of its immense oilfields, bearing an oil reserve of no less than 6 milliards of barrels.

Syria, which even before the war was "industrialized" to a relatively considerable degree, is now in the process of radically transforming its economical basis. On the one hand, old trades of historical significance are vanishing in that country; on the other, modern industrial enterprises are starting a new period of industrial life. This industry, concentrated at Aleppo, Damascus, and Beirut, comprehends a considerable number of silk- and cotton-weaving mills, stocking factories, mechanically equipped carpentry shops, cigarette factories, cement and cement goods factories, tanneries and leather-working, flour mills, oil mills, etc. The number of the larger factories in a European sense may be estimated at 150, most of them having been started during the last five years.

On the other hand, the general situation of Syria's trade during the last years was not so bright. There was a considerable number of unemployed men in the industrial centres, causing *inter alia* a notable emigration to Palestine; in the silk and cotton trade the Japanese competition was the reason for troubles; the possibilities for exporting Syrian products were restricted. In spite of this the Mandatory Power is hoping to develop strong economical forces *inter alia* by working out an extensive programme of public works, comprehending, for instance, a railway from Homs to the 'Iraqi frontier.

Syria and Palestine are closely connected by a customs agreement. Palestine imported under the rules of this agreement in 1933 from Syria goods valued at £P829,000, whilst the Syrian imports from Palestine decreased sharply.

Lack of space prevents an exact analysis of the actual economical situation of Egypt. Therefore we must merely mention the fact that Egypt as an exporter of cotton was not so heavily affected by the international economic crisis as is generally assumed. True, Egypt's cotton export fell from 343,000 tons in 1929 to 266,000 tons in 1930, but it increased in 1931 to 332,000 tons, in 1933 to 353,000 tons, and recently it has rather tended to rise than to decline. It may be added that an indigenous cotton spinning and weaving industry has been started with the liberal support of the Government. The Japanese competition, however, is a disturbing factor. The industrial use of sugar cane is supported largely by the Government; the export of rice is an important factor in the country's trade balance. The Government itself is interested in the industries working up flax, jute, and tobacco.

According to the last industrial census, there exist in Egypt about 8,000 industrial undertakings, employing more than ten hired workers each. The first place in the industry is occupied

by the needle industries, the second by the food industry; then follow the metal industry, wood and basketware, jewelry, furniture, etc. Egypt is a considerable importer of wheat, flour, potatoes, tobacco, motor spirits, kerosene, gas oil, fuel oil, coal, and artificial silk.

The economical importance of Cyprus is still small. The island —since 1878 occupied and administered by Great Britain, and since 1914 a British crown colony, and therefore a member of the "Ottawa block"—produces carobs, raisins, wine, oil, seeds, tobacco, and citrus fruits. The country is relatively rich in exploitable mineral resources; there occur copper and iron pyrites, asbestos, chromium, umber, and gypsum. The export of these minerals, particularly that of pyrites and asbestos, is an important factor in the island's trade balance. A number of American and British undertakings, as the Cyprus Mines Corporation, the Cyprus and General Asbestos Co., the Cyprus Sulphur and Copper Co., operate the most important mines. There are six cigarette factories.

INDIGENOUS AND OTHER NON-EUROPEAN LABOUR LEGISLATION IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

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The labour legislation for indigenous and foreign orientals (Chinese, Arabs, Indians, etc.) in the Netherlands Indies does not form an easily intelligible, well-rounded whole, but consists of a number of more or less loosely connected regulations of various dates, among which an uninitiated person might easily lose his way. Of these regulations, those relating to work under contracts of employment with penal sanctions have frequently aroused considerable interest, but usually less has been heard of the others. Now, however, that penal sanctions are doomed to disappear, and in fact already belong to a great extent to the past, there is good reason for devoting attention to the other parts of the labour law affecting the groups of persons mentioned above. An attempt has therefore been made in the present article to give a concise survey of the whole material. Incidentally, the opportunity has been taken of explaining the fragmentary character of the legislation and of indicating certain changes of direction and tendencies in development which have revealed themselves in recent years.

In view of its special nature and significance, forced labour—*i.e.*, according to the definition given in the Convention concerning forced or compulsory labour* adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1930, "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily"—is left out of consideration.

The regulations discussed in this article, therefore, relate exclusively to workers who perform work in the service of another *by virtue of a contract entered into for the purpose*.

I

In the first place, those regulations have to be considered which deal with the workman before he concludes a contract of employment, that is to say, those relating to *recruiting*. Two cases have here to be distinguished: that in which the workman is to be engaged for service abroad, and that in which he is to be employed

* The Convention has been ratified by the Netherlands, and is being applied with slight modifications in the Netherlands Indies.

in the Netherlands Indies. Separate regulations exist for each of the two cases, but they have this in common, that they are only concerned with the recruiting of unskilled indigenous workers (*coolies*) and artisans (*tukangs*). An Ordinance of 1899 concerning the recruiting of indigenous inhabitants for the purpose of giving spectacular representations of indigenous life outside the Netherlands Indies (for example, performances at exhibitions or dances) may be mentioned, but need not be further discussed.

As regards recruiting for abroad, under an Ordinance of 1887 this can only take place in pursuance of a special dispensation of the Governor-General, which is only to be granted on serious grounds. Such dispensations are usually only given for the benefit of the Dutch territory of Surinam and of certain foreign colonies to which emigration of Netherlands Indian workers more or less regularly takes place—namely, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, Sarawak, British North Borneo, New Caledonia, and Cochin China. Only in June, 1935, the Government, in accordance with this policy, refused to grant consent to the recruiting of some thousands of indigenous inhabitants for the construction of roads in Italian Somaliland, on the ground that this colony was not one of the countries to which indigenous workers had for a long time past emigrated.

The recruiting itself must take place subject to the observance of detailed legislative and administrative provisions. These start from the assumption that the workers are recruited in Java or Madura, which is indeed practically always the case, since, as will presently be seen, it is only in these thickly populated islands that a surplus of labour is available for emigration.*

As regards the recruiting of labour for employment within the boundaries of the Netherlands Indies, this is only very partially regulated. The provisions which have been issued in regard to it, indeed, only concern the recruiting in Java and Madura of workers for the outlying provinces,† and then only where such workers are intended to be employed under contracts with penal sanctions.‡ It is necessary to go somewhat deeper into this matter.

The islands of Java and Madura are by far the most thickly populated of the archipelago. In October, 1930, it appeared from the census then taken that their population had increased to 41,700,000 souls and attained a density of 315·6 per square kilometre. It is

* In 1928, 5,113 recruited coolies and tukangs left for abroad; in 1929, 3,260; in 1931, none; in 1933, 815.

† By "outlying provinces" is meant the part of the Netherlands Indian Archipelago outside Java and Madura, that is to say, principally the islands of Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, the Lesser Sunda Islands (Bali, Lombok, Timor, etc.), the Moluccas, and the western part of New Guinea.

‡ Employment under contracts with penal sanctions is only legally possible in the outlying provinces and does not arise in Java or Madura.

thus one of the most compact in the world. At the same date the outlying provinces numbered 19,000,000 inhabitants, which amounts on the average to not more than 10·7 per square kilometre. There is thus a great difference in demographic composition between the two parts of the Archipelago. This is of preponderant importance for the nature of the labour supply.

Java, with its much split-up land tenure and a huge population of which certainly 75 per cent. is directly or indirectly employed in agriculture, possesses an army of small peasant proprietors and agricultural workers, ready to supplement their humble income by wage labour on neighbouring agricultural undertakings. The latter can therefore as a rule obtain all necessary labour from the surrounding villages. Of recruiting in the proper sense of the word, therefore, there is practically no question, which explains the absence of regulations on the subject.

It is quite different in the outlying provinces. Here a scanty population, with as a rule amply sufficient land, given the scale of its wants, feels little temptation to engage in wage-earning employment, and can generally only be found for such purposes when momentarily in want of ready money. The enterprises established in these provinces are accordingly obliged to rely to a great extent on importation for their labour supply. Formerly Chinese labour was chiefly employed, particularly on the tobacco plantations on the East Coast of Sumatra and in the tin mines of Banka and Billiton. Later recourse has more and more been had to Javanese, a change which in recent years has been encouraged by the immigration policy of the Government. These Chinese and Javanese do not come on their own initiative, but have to be recruited. In connection with this abuses often arose in former years. So far as the Chinese are concerned, the combating of these was mainly within the competence of foreign Governments (Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, China). The regulation of the recruiting of Javanese, on the other hand, lay within the jurisdiction of the Netherlands Indian Government, but it was not until 1909 that anything was done in the matter.

The foregoing circumstances explain why the regulations concerning recruiting for home purposes have reference only to the recruiting of indigenous inhabitants of Java and Madura for the outlying provinces. It is still necessary to explain why the regulations, as has been said, deal only with workers under penal sanctions.

Coolies coming from elsewhere are employed on enterprises in the outlying provinces either under penal sanctions or as so-called free workers. The difference consists briefly in this, that in the first case workers committing a breach of their contract are punishable; in the second case, on the other hand, they are only liable

to civil action. Up to the middle of 1927 the provisions relating to the recruiting of Javanese for the outlying provinces made no distinction between these two kinds of workers; both therefore enjoyed the same measure of protection. In that year, however, by an amendment of the law, the recruiting of free workers was released from the Government supervision which had up to then been exercised over it. The far-reaching importance of this measure will be evident when it is considered that, as was stated at the beginning of this study, penal sanctions are destined to disappear. Once this disappearance becomes an accomplished fact, only free workers will be recruited in Java, and, if the existing provision is maintained, all recruiting for the outlying provinces will thus be free, that is to say, not required to comply with special regulations and not subject to special supervision.

The abolition of control over the recruiting of free workers had for its object in the first place to facilitate the spontaneous outflow of indigenous workers from over-populated Java to the thinly populated outlying provinces, and by so doing to promote the creation of a free labour market on the spot. By this means also, it was thought, a more rapid abrogation of penal sanctions would at the same time be made possible. There has, however, been no question of a spontaneous outflow of Javanese on any considerable scale to those parts of the outlying provinces where they are most needed—for example, the East Coast of Sumatra—and such an event will for some time to come remain in the region of pious wishes. The number of penal sanction workers has certainly greatly diminished in the last few years, but, as will appear hereafter, other reasons may be indicated for this. There is every appearance that it will be a long time before it is possible to do without recruiting. While, therefore, the object in view seems to have come little or no nearer, the means used for attaining it seem from the very outset not without objection. Since the liberation of the recruiting of free workers, no one knows any longer exactly how this is carried on, and, in view of earlier experience, this seems an undesirable state of things. It is self-evident that, during these years of crisis, there has been and is little or no recruiting, but it is to be hoped that, before any great demand for labour again arises, the recruiting of free workers will again be placed under supervision. Otherwise, to mention only one point, it may very well happen that professional recruiting, which in 1930, as regards workers under penal sanctions, was laid in the grave with a general feeling of relief, will lift up its head again as regards free workers.

The fact that the regulations relating to the recruiting of workers for the outlying provinces are only applicable to the recruiting of penal sanction workers involves a restriction of their application

not only to a definite category of workers, but also to a definite category of employers. Employment under contracts with penal sanctions is, in fact, only possible in connection with the construction and working of railways and tramways, and in connection with commercial, agricultural, or industrial undertakings which cannot be considered as small undertakings. The recruiting of free workers was also, at the time when it was regulated, only regulated as regards the same kind of undertakings and for public works.* The law is not concerned with the labour supply of small undertakings, such as small holdings belonging to Chinese or well-to-do indigenous people, small factories, workshops, etc. It is true that, as regards these, there is usually no question of recruiting.

The subject of recruiting may now be left, as it would lead too far to discuss the systems of recruiting in use and the more or less technical legislative and administrative provisions in connection with them. It will be sufficient to make the general observation that, in so far as recruiting is regulated in the Netherlands Indies, the legislation is largely in agreement with the recommendations of the Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour of the International Labour Office. As is generally known, these recommendations served at the last session of the International Labour Conference as guiding principles for the preparation of a questionnaire, on which the Governments are now being consulted with a view, if possible, to the adoption by the Conference in 1936 of a draft Convention concerning recruiting.

II

As regards the regulations relating to contracts of employment and labour conditions, which have next to be considered, mention should in the first place be made of three articles formerly contained in the Civil Code concerning the "hiring of servants and workmen." These provisions, which apply to the whole of the Netherlands Indies and, irrespective of the race of the employer, are applicable wherever the worker is an indigenous or a foreign oriental, occurred originally in the Netherlands Indian Civil Code for Europeans, promulgated in 1847, and were subsequently declared applicable to the other groups of the population. As

* Undertakings with a superficial area of less than 100 bahoes (=175·37 acres) and/or employing less than twenty workers are customarily regarded as small undertakings. At the end of 1933, 502 undertakings in the outlying provinces fell within the limits for employing penal sanction workers. They employed altogether 243,479 workers, of whom 22,097 were Chinese and 212,411 Javanese. 25,992 of these workers were under penal sanctions. At the end of November, 1934, the number of workers employed by the said undertakings amounted to 229,033, of whom 12,390, or 5·4 per cent., were employed under penal sanctions.

egards European workers, however, they have been replaced, nder an amendment of the law in 1926, by modern and much nore detailed regulations relating to contracts of employment, so hat they now only apply to indigenous and foreign orientals. In 926, the time was not considered ripe for the extension to the atter classes of workers of the new European regulations. The aid articles are very incomplete and therefore practically of little mportance. They mainly provide that the master must be believed on his word, in case of need confirmed by oath, as to the mount and payment of the wages, the advances granted and the ime for which the contract is entered into, and, in regard to contracts entered into for a *definite time*, that servants and workmen vho leave their service before the time, without lawful reason, hall forfeit the wages earned; whereas the master may at any time lismiss them, without assigning reasons, provided that, in addition o the wages due, he pays six weeks' wages as compensation. It nas repeatedly been laid down in legal decisions that these articles ure not applicable to higher workers, but have reference only to workmen performing very subordinate work. In general, therefore, they apply, for example, to what are usually called coolies ind tukangs.*

There is, however, an important exception in the case of workers employed under penal sanctions. For these a regulation is in force which leaves no room for the application of the above-mentioned articles. As has already been observed, employment under penal sanctions occurs exclusively in the outlying provinces and there only in the service of undertakings of some size. Contracts of employment with penal sanctions may be entered into equally with indigenous as with foreign orientals, but only lower grade workers —that is to say, coolies and tukangs—can be taken into service on this footing. The mutual rights and obligations of employer and penal sanction worker, formerly separately regulated for each of the outlying provinces with a few exceptions, are now laid down in the Coolie Ordinance of 1931, which applies to all the outlying provinces, and in two regulations, in their main features agreeing with the provisions of this Ordinance, relating to Chinese labourers in the tin mines of Banka and Billiton. A brief summary of the contents of the Ordinance of 1931 may here be given.

All contracts under penal sanctions must be entered into in writing and must contain certain data. The duration of a first contract of this kind may not be more than three years, that of a contract of re-engagement not more than one year. The workman is principally bound by the obligation, sanctioned by penalty, to serve the term of his contract and to perform the agreed work. The employer, on the other hand, has a whole series of obligations.

* *Cf.* p. 113.

also upheld by penalty. He must pay the worker such a wage that he can properly provide for his normal necessaries of life; supervision over the fulfilment of this obligation is carried out by the Government under an officially established Coolie Budget. He is further bound, among other things, to see that the workman's wages are regularly and directly paid to him, including the wages for the stipulated rest days and feast days, and that any deduction shall not in the whole amount to more than a fifth of the amount of wages receivable; that, unless the worker agrees to work overtime, not more than nine hours (eight and a half hours in the case of underground work) shall be worked a day, and that for overtime the hourly wage shall be increased by at least half; that the worker, in addition to his religious feast days, shall receive two days' leave per month; that no work shall be required from female workers from the thirtieth day before an expected confinement, or before the fortieth day after a birth or miscarriage, or during the first two days of the menstruation period; that the workman and his family shall receive proper, free medical attendance and nursing, and, during nursing in a hospital, free, sufficient, and properly prepared food; that the worker and his family shall be housed without cost in a suitable manner, with the understanding that a married worker who has worked for five years with his employer may claim a family dwelling; that the workman shall not be separated from his family; that on rest days and feast days, on working days after the completion of the day's work, and also for the purpose of lodging complaints during working hours, the worker may freely leave the undertaking; that the worker, after the termination or discharge of the contract of employment, shall be sent back to his village with his family free of cost.

As no other regulations concern themselves in such detail with non-European workers, the question arises, what brought the legislator to trouble himself so much about the worker under penal sanctions? It has been explained above, in Part I, that the exploitation of the outlying provinces with the help of Western capital made the importation of labour from elsewhere necessary. This importation, however, was attended with substantial expense. In order to lighten the pressure from this source as much as possible, the employers have always tried to spread it over as great a number of years as possible, by binding the workers to them for a long time. In this search for legal security the legislator lent his co-operation by making the conclusion of contracts of employment for a long period possible and securing the observance of them by the worker by means of the penal authority of the State. He saw, however, at the same time, that the worker, torn from his traditional environment and transplanted to strange surroundings, to perform work for years together at a speed unknown to him, often

on remote undertakings, was thereby placed in such a dependent position that special measures for his protection could not be neglected. Hence the adoption in the Coolie Ordinances of a series of obligations on the part of the employer, which were repeatedly added to, with the object of securing proper treatment to the workman.

Entirely in keeping with their design, the Coolie Ordinances have always only applied to workers coming from elsewhere. Thus the Coolie Ordinance of 1931* provides that contracts with penal sanctions may only be concluded with persons not belonging to the population of the province in which the undertaking is situate; in other words, only with workers coming from abroad, from Java or Madura or from one of the other outlying provinces.

Of the legal regulations applicable to non-European workers those relating to employment under penal sanctions were, until a few years ago, by far the most important, owing to the predominance of this form of labour on the undertakings in the outlying provinces. Now, however, as has already been observed, only a small percentage of the workers employed on these undertakings serve on the footing of the Coolie Ordinance, so that the actual importance of the latter has considerably diminished. This is partly the result of the obstinate struggle which has been carried on for years against the penal sanctions, and partly the consequence of unforeseen causes which have made themselves felt during the crisis. It would carry the discussion beyond the limits of this study to go deeply into these, and a few words therefore must suffice.

On the occasion of the amendment of 1931, when the provincial Coolie Ordinances were replaced by the Coolie Ordinance of 1931, applying to all the outlying provinces, the abolition of penal sanctions was unambiguously mentioned as an ultimate object in the law. In the preamble to the Ordinance, in fact, appears the following:

> "That He (*i.e.*, the Governor-General), desiring to proceed to the gradual restriction of employment under contracts of employment with penal sanctions, *with a view to attaining the abolition of the same along these lines.*"

The new Ordinance further provided that in each undertaking the proportion between the number of penal sanction workers and that of other workers must be modified in accordance with a definite scheme in favour of the last named, on the understanding that, on January 1, 1936, not more than half the workers shall be

* Similarly the Chinese labour regulations of Banka and Billiton allow the conclusion of contracts of employment with penal sanctions only with Chinese coming from outside the province.

under penal sanctions. Further, in 1936 and thereafter every five years, the Ordinance is to be amended with a view to further restricting and finally abolishing the employment of penal sanction workers.*

Development in the direction indicated by the legislator, however, has been much more rapid than could have been expected. This was in the first place the result of the crisis which began in 1929, which compelled the employers to introduce far-reaching economies, among other things, in the form of wage reductions and curtailment of the number of workers. Both measures appeared easier and, above all, quicker to carry out in regard to the free coolies than in regard to the penal sanction workers who were protected by the law. This facilitated not a little the replacing of the latter by free workers, in addition to which, in view of the absence of demand for labour, the question of security of labour played no part. In the second place, the rapid diminution in the number of penal sanction workers is to be attributed to the fact that the companies running tobacco undertakings on the East Coast of Sumatra, in connection with an amendment of the American tariff law (Blaine amendment), entirely renounced penal sanctions at one stroke for these undertakings in October, 1931, in order to prevent their products from being excluded from the American market. Not less than 39,000 workers were affected by this measure. Subsequently the same companies took similar action in the case of their other undertakings, and the Deli Railway Company, which also operates on the East Coast of Sumatra, followed the example. The legislator on his part consolidated this unexpected step in the right direction by introducing in 1932 a provision which precludes undertakings which have expressly declared their abandonment of penal sanctions from going back on this decision. The result of these two factors was that, while during the crisis the total amount of labour employed in the undertakings in the outlying provinces fell considerably, the number of free workers showed a substantial advance, and that, as has been said above, at the end of November, 1934, out of the 229,033 workers coming from elsewhere, only 12,390, or 5·4 per cent., were employed under penal sanctions.

While there is reason for rejoicing that the institution of penal

* Corresponding provisions are contained in the Chinese labour regulations for Banka and Billiton. In connection with the legal measures mentioned in the text for the restriction of employment under penal sanctions, the so-called Registration Chamber was established at Medan (Sumatra) by an Ordinance of 1931. This has for its object to combat the mutual crimping of free workers in North Sumatra, the region of the outlying provinces where most imported workers are employed, by levying certain sums on employers who locally take into their service workers who have been imported from oversea by another employer.

sanctions seems now at last to be nearing its end, the pleasure is markedly tempered by the consideration that, unless the legislator prevents it, an important part of the protection granted to the worker will disappear along with the penal sanctions. This brings us to the consideration of a second regulation which also only applies to the outlying provinces—namely, the Ordinance of 1911 relating to the so-called free workers.* By free workers are understood non-European lower-grade workers (coolies or tukangs), coming from outside the province, who are employed in the outlying provinces, otherwise than under penal sanctions, in connection with the construction or working of railways and tramways, on public works or in commercial, agricultural, or industrial undertakings which cannot be considered as small undertakings. They are therefore the same class of workers as those under penal sanctions. Their different legal position is determined by the fact that they are not criminally liable for the non-observance of their contract of employment and is distinguished by a much less far-reaching legal protection. In contrast to the Coolie Ordinance, with its numerous provisions in the interest of the worker, the regulations of 1911 in substance only impose on the employer the obligation for the regular payment of wages, forbearance from unlawful deductions therefrom (not more than one-fourth of the amount earned since the previous payment of wages may be deducted), the return of the workman and his family in certain events to the place of recruiting, the provision for the workman of suitable housing and medical attendance and nursing.†

That the legislator judged it necessary to grant to workers coming from elsewhere, employed in undertakings in the outlying provinces, a special though less considerable measure of protection, even though they are not bound by a contract with penal sanctions, arose, it may be supposed, from consideration of the fact that the workman, transported far from his birthplace to a strange environment, from which he can hardly get away by his own means, is by this fact alone placed in a more disadvantageous position so that the law is bound, at least on the principal points, to safeguard the recognition of his interests.

Although the Free Workers Ordinance of 1911 goes much less far than the Coolie Ordinance, the conditions of labour of free and penal sanction workers usually differed very little from each

* For the sake of completeness it should be recalled that the above-mentioned articles concerning the hiring of servants and workmen may be applied, side by side with the Regulations of 1911, as regards free workers. In practice this is only of importance in the case of the premature breaking by one of the parties of a contract entered into for a *definite* time. (*Cf.* p. 117.)

† The non-observance of the majority of these obligations is punishable. Here, therefore, is a case where the obligations of the employer are, and those of the worker are not, sanctioned by penalty.

other in practice, and the first named as a rule even earned a few cents a day more. The fact of both categories working side by side in the same undertakings, while moreover the workers under penal sanctions were until recently greatly in the majority, of itself brought it about that the protection granted to these latter influenced the treatment of the free workmen. How will it be, however, when penal sanctions presently disappear completely? The last report of the Labour Inspectorate for the outlying provinces is in this respect not absolutely reassuring. It mentions that, in the years 1931 and 1932, many employers imposed more stringent conditions of work on their free workers in points in which the Coolie Ordinance of 1931 allowed no liberty to do so as regards workers under penal sanctions. We are, therefore, of opinion that a number of provisions from this Ordinance would be no superfluous luxury even for the free workers, and in this connection we are not thinking only of such provisions as those relating to hours of work, leave days with pay, maternity benefit, but also, and not in the last place, of a minimum wage regulation. Moreover now is the moment for incorporating them in the law, while the labour conditions in the undertakings in the outlying provinces are still to a great extent established in accordance with the requirements of the Coolie Ordinance, and it is therefore impossible to speak of "dangerous novelties." It seems, indeed, that proposals for supplementing the Ordinance of 1911 are in preparation.

Similar considerations to those that lay at the foundation of this Ordinance led in 1928 to the provision, also restricted to the outlying provinces, that we shall now discuss. Two years before abuses had been discovered in an enterprise on a remote island to the south of Celebes, as to which it appeared that they were facilitated by the circumstance that the workers, who came from Celebes, owing to the absence of adequate means of communication, could not get away from the conditions under which they were working. Intervention by the Labour Inspectorate was here impossible. The workers concerned came from the province itself in which the undertaking was situated, and therefore came neither under the provincial Coolie Ordinance nor under the Ordinance of 1911 for free workers, both of which applied only to persons coming from *outside* the province. In order, therefore, to make intervention possible in such cases also, an Ordinance of 1928 gave the heads of provincial Governments the power to declare the Free Workers Ordinance of 1911 applicable also to commercial, agricultural, and industrial undertakings situate in their jurisdiction (with the exception of small undertakings), which in their opinion were qualified therefore by reason of their remote situation, as regards workers belonging *to the indigenous population of the province*. Here, therefore, in so many words, the isolated situation

of an undertaking was made a motive for special protection of the workers employed in it. The heads of provincial Governments can, under the Ordinance of 1928, make use of their above-mentioned power also on the ground of other special circumstances. In this connection, for example, undertakings situate in an unhealthy region fall to be considered. Where workers from the province are employed in such undertakings, it may be desirable to make the Free Workers Ordinance apply in regard to them, in order to furnish the authorities with a means of compelling the employer to take the necessary measures for their medical treatment.

It is worthy of remark that, although the Ordinance of 1928 is expressed in general terms, it appears from the history of its enactment that it was not intended to apply for the benefit of workmen coming from the immediate neighbourhood of the undertaking. The legislator had not in view the people from surrounding campongs, who occasionally come to work on the undertaking, but those who, although belonging to the same province, yet come from a certain distance. Moreover, according to the promise of the Government, the heads of provincial Governments will only make use of the power conferred upon them exceptionally. The annual reports of the Labour Inspectorate, up to and including 1932, mention about forty cases of the application of the Ordinance of 1928.

As the last of the series of regulations to be dealt with in this section, mention should now be made of the provisions issued for the protection of workers in the panglongs.* The Chinese name panglong (plank shed) is used to describe the timber and firewood felling undertakings, sawmills, and charcoal burning undertakings which carry on their operations in certain places in the tidal forests along the East Coast of Sumatra and the islands off the said coast. These provisions, mainly dating from 1923 and 1924, only apply to the panglongs in the most southerly department (Bengkalis) of the province of the East Coast of Sumatra and in certain regions of the province of Riouw and Dependencies, bordering thereon to the South, and not to the similar undertakings situate more to the north as far as Atchin. This difference in treatment finds its explanation in a difference in local circumstances. The panglongs in the department of Bengkalis and in the province of Riouw and Dependencies, mostly working with Chinese recruited on the opposite coast (Singapore), were, as a result of their situation in almost inaccessible places, the scene for years of scandalous abuses. It was only by the issue of the above-mentioned provisions, and

* The above-mentioned articles relating to the hiring of servants and workmen have only a theoretical and no practical importance for the panglong workers.

above all by the extension of the jurisdiction of the Labour Inspectorate to these undertakings, that it was possible to put an end to these. On the more northerly panglongs, on the other hand, no definite abuses were ever discovered, which, according to the annual report of the Labour Inspectorate of 1929, must be ascribed, among other things, to the circumstance that these undertakings are less isolated and are in regular communication with the population of the neighbouring campongs and with the workpeople of the neighbouring undertakings.

As regards the provisions in question, these are principally concerned with wages administration, food, housing, medical attendance, and the procuring for workmen who, through discharge, sickness, or other valid reasons, wish to leave the undertaking, of the opportunity of doing so, where necessary, by the provision of a proper means of transport by water to the place where they were engaged.*

The regulations discussed in this part show a certain likeness to each other in the subjects as to which they contain provisions: contracts of employment, payment of and deductions from wages, medical attendance, and sending home of the worker. If an effort is made to calculate their scope, it will be found: *firstly*, that they all concern themselves exclusively with lower-grade workers (coolies and tukangs), and with no higher grades; *secondly*, that, with the exception of the practically unimportant articles relating to the hiring of servants and workmen and the very special panglong provisions, they are only applicable to undertakings which exceed in importance the small undertakings; *thirdly*, that, again with the exception of the articles just referred to, they are exclusively concerned with the outlying provinces; and, *fourthly*, that, with the exception of the same articles and of the panglong provisions, they only protect workers coming from elsewhere, and not the local workers. One word further on each of these points.

As regards the first point, no regulations of the kind dealt with in this part exist for higher non-European workers. In a few cases, however, such workers may come under the same regulations as European workers. Only the most important and most general of these need be mentioned. That is, the following: Where a non-European worker performs in the service of a European employer work similar or nearly similar to that with which as a rule Europeans are entrusted, the contract of employment between the parties is governed by the law of the employer, and the regulations

* Whereas in 1929 the panglongs coming under the discussed provisions still numbered 476 and employed 4,064 Chinese and 1,006 Malay labourers, their number, as a result of the crisis, had fallen at the end of 1932 to 326, employing 2,493 Chinese and 810 Malays.

of 1926 concerning contracts of employment incidentally referred to above, which are to be found in the Netherlands Indian Civil Code for Europeans,* are therefore applicable. Europeans—to which class legally belong also most persons of mixed European blood—are accustomed in the Netherlands Indies only to perform work requiring a certain training. Indigenous inhabitants or foreign orientals who perform work which is usually entrusted to Europeans can thus in general be regarded as higher-grade workers. Although, however, the rule given by the law appears simple enough, its operation is anything but easy. To decide in a concrete case whether a particular task belongs to those which are as a rule performed by Europeans is often difficult, if not impossible. No wonder, therefore, that on this point legal decisions show great uncertainty.

This in itself is far from satisfactory, and another defect in the existing regulation is that it takes no account of the social changes which are taking place in the Netherlands Indies. From various causes, including the spread of education, the number of indigenous and Chinese inhabitants who are performing so-called European work is continually increasing. Especially in such occupations as that of clerk, overseer, book-keeper, etc., which up to a few years ago the mixed-blood Europeans could reckon as their undisputed domain, the rise of these new competitors is clearly observable. As a result of this development, the question of what is going to happen when an occupation ceases to be specifically "European" is gradually acquiring practical importance. Will those who are employed in it, the indigenous and foreign orientals, be deprived of the advantages which they now derive, thanks to the existing regulations, from the European law relating to contracts of employment? Or will the European workers in such a case have to be made subject, along with the other groups of the population, to a simpler, less Western labour law? Should not the existing legal rule, on the contrary, be extended to the case where the employer is an indigenous or foreign oriental? These and similar questions have in recent years been repeatedly raised, and amendment of the law has frequently been urged, as much for the sake of legal security as from considerations of justice. Voices have been raised in this behalf, particularly in the Volksraad, the representative body of the Netherlands Indies. In Government circles there was originally an idea of introducing a regulation in this sense, that, without regard to the race of the employer or the nature of the work performed, the European law should be declared applicable to contracts of employment of all workers whose wages exceed a specified minimum. This idea, however, was subsequently abandoned for various reasons, and it appears from the latest official utterances

* *Cf. p.* 117.

that consideration is now being given to the preparation of a regulation for non-European workers only, which will provide for all the principal points which have given rise to difficulties in practice (notice of termination and compensation for premature dismissal).

The second observation which we made above as regards the scope of the regulations dealt with in this part was that, with the exception of the three articles several times referred to relating to the hiring of servants and workmen and the panglong provisions, they only apply to undertakings not falling within the notion of small undertakings. What precisely is to be understood by this naturally cannot be stated in the abstract, and the law or the administration on the authority of the law can draw the line differently according to the matter to be regulated or the circumstances. It has already been stated above that, for the application of the Coolie Ordinance of 1931 and the Free Workers Ordinance of 1911, it is customary to regard as small undertakings, undertakings with a superficial area of less than 100 bahoes and/or employing less than twenty workers. This statement rests on data supplied by the Government to the Volksraad in 1931. In a speech on behalf of the Government in this assembly in 1928 thirty workers were mentioned in this connection. This would seem to indicate that, since the last-mentioned year, the border line has been shifted downwards, which in all probability has been done in order to extend the protective operation of the Free Workers Ordinance of 1911 to the workers in a number of undertakings not formerly covered.

Of the small undertakings in the outlying provinces, as has been said, only the panglongs come under special labour law provisions. Legal provisions for the others (we named a few of them on page 116) have indeed been urged in the Volksraad, and the Government has not adopted an attitude of refusal in the matter. Before proceeding, however, to the adoption of such provisions, an enquiry into the special circumstances and labour requirements of these small undertakings would be necessary, and there has hitherto been an insufficient staff for such a purpose.

The labour conditions also in the innumerable small undertakings of every sort and kind, run by indigenous inhabitants, Chinese and Arabs, which are met with in Java, were up to a few years ago, indeed, still a closed book. A change has now come about in this respect, through the widely instituted enquiries by the Labour Office in Batavia, as regards the two most important branches of native industry, the batik industry and the manufacture of native cigarettes, industries which provide tens of thousands of natives with full if low wages, or with a supplemental income. These enquiries have furnished a wealth of data, of which it will be possible at the proper time to take advantage in the drafting of the necessary

labour provisions. It is quite evident, however, that there can be no question of introducing a social legislation satisfying Western standards for these generally primitive undertakings. Economically weak as they nearly all are, they would succumb under it, and both employers and workers, the former often and the latter almost always illiterate, would entirely fail to comprehend any such measures. Only very gradually and cautiously, more by education than by punishment, will it be possible to intervene in the still largely patriarchal relations which characterize these undertakings, in order, by supple provisions, to introduce improvements where they are most needed, as in wages administration, debts and fines, arrangement of workplaces, safeguarding of the workers from the deleterious influence of the work on their health, housing of workers living in, and (this properly belongs to the following part of this study) child labour and night work of women. Unfortunately, even with this more modest but not therefore less admirable task there is, so far as can be seen, no possibility for the moment of making a beginning. A not inconsiderable strengthening of the corps of labour inspectors for Java and Madura would first be necessary, and, in view of the position of the country's financial resources, it is at present impossible, even with a large supply of optimism, to hope for this.

The third observation which was made above in regard to the scope of the regulations dealt with in this part was that these last, with the exception only of the articles relating to the hiring of servants and workmen, are exclusively concerned with the outlying provinces. In fact, although, apart from the panglongs, undertakings of the kind to which the said regulations apply are found in Java in just as large numbers as outside, corresponding labour law provisions are entirely lacking for this island. To a great extent this is to be explained by the altogether different conditions under which work is carried on in Java. Thus provisions for sending workers home are here superfluous, inasmuch as practically only local labour is employed. There is generally no need for imposing an obligation for the housing of the workers, since the greater part of them only come to work on the undertaking in seasonal labour, and many even of the permanent workers prefer a home in their own village rather than a dwelling on the undertaking. Medical attendance and the closely connected question of hygiene also present an entirely different aspect in Java from that in the outlying provinces. In these last the working population of an undertaking is mostly a close group of persons, which lives comparatively separate from the outside world, and thereby forms a sharply outlined subject for health and hygienic measures. Moreover, the labour conditions here have as a corollary that the employer usually has sufficient hold on the worker to

secure that he shall allow himself to be medically treated and, where necessary, be received into a hospital. In these circumstances, provisions binding the employer to provide his workers with medical assistance, the desirability of which is in any case established, are also practically defensible.* In Java, on the other hand, there is no question of a close group of workers on the undertakings. In the agricultural undertakings—and these are by far the most numerous—there is at certain periods, in connection with the seasonal operations, a more or less considerable invasion of casual workers from the surrounding villages. Moreover, as has been said, many of the permanent workers also live in their own villages. Consequently the giving of medical assistance to the workers inevitably comes near to making such assistance available to the whole population, which naturally makes the imposition of an obligation to that effect on the employer much less a matter of course. Moreover, how is the effectiveness of provisions issued on this head to be secured? On the casual workers, who as a rule are paid by piecework and can lay down their work at any moment, the employer has absolutely no hold, and the bond even with the so-called permanent workers is generally so loose that it is not even proof against moderate pressure for the acceptance of Western medical methods.

How far, on the other hand, there is need in Java for labour law provisions for the workpeople in foreign undertakings, it is difficult, in the present state of general knowledge concerning the prevailing conditions, to say. This brings us to another contrast between Java and the outlying provinces, which it may be well to pause to consider.

The outlying provinces have, for some thirty years, rejoiced in the possession of a Labour Inspectorate. This was established originally for the purpose of verifying the observance of the provisions relating to employment under penal sanctions, and, until a few years ago, when as a result of the crisis drastic economies had to be effected in the staff, was a well-manned and efficient service. To it is due a whole series of important reports which throw the fullest light on the labour conditions on the undertakings. In Java, on the other hand, the meagrely equipped Labour Inspectorate is still in its infancy and has mainly confined itself to supervising the observance of the provisions discussed below concerning child labour and night work of women. Its appearance on the scene has so far contributed very little to the increase of general knowledge concerning the state of things on the undertakings. In the course of years, indeed, valuable material has on various

* In case of risk of infection for other workers, a sick workman on an undertaking in the outlying provinces can be taken to the hospital even by force.

occasions been collected, but, apart from the fact that a good deal of this is now probably out of date, it is fragmentary and difficult to grasp. A wide field of investigation is here still lying fallow, which arouses a desire almost amounting to envy for a systematic and co-ordinated working, such as that regarding British India, of which the results are set out in the monumental report of the Royal Commission on Labour of 1931.

To the fourth observation on page 127—namely, that the most important of the regulations for the outlying provinces refer only to workers coming from elsewhere, and not to the local workers—there is not much to be added. As has been said, the local population as a rule offers its services to the undertakings only in case of momentary want of ready money. It thus only supplies casual workers, whose relation to the undertaking, in its consequences for the contents of labour law, is more or less similar to that of the Javanese worker to an undertaking in Java, which has been discussed above.

III

With the exception of the articles several times mentioned relating to the hiring of servants and workmen, which are derived from the Civil Code of the Netherlands, as it stood on this point before 1907, all the regulations so far dealt with are of specifically Netherlands Indian origin. On the other hand, the last type of legislation to be discussed is more or less derived from provisions known elsewhere, and particularly from rules established by the International Labour Conference. They refer, moreover, to quite other matters, and apply to the whole territory of the colony. In addition to this, they do not make distinctions according to the race of the workers, which does not alter the fact that they practically enure chiefly for the benefit of the non-European portion of the population.

In this connection mention may be made, in the first place, of an Ordinance of 1925, which, subject to certain modifications, gives effect, as regards the Netherlands Indies, to the Washington Labour Conventions of 1919 concerning employment of women during the night, night work of young persons, and the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment. This Ordinance forbids any industrial employment of children under the age of twelve years between eight o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning. In the daytime, moreover, no child under twelve years of age may be employed in any work in factories, in workshops employing more than ten workers, in the construction, maintenance, repair or demolition of excavations, earthworks, waterworks and buildings, or of roads, railways, and tramways, or in the loading, unloading, and removal of goods

in harbours, on quays, wharves, and stations. Further, no such child may in general transport any burden in or for any undertaking, where it is known that such work involves too great a strain on his powers. Agricultural work does not come under the regulations, and accordingly the assistance of children in the rice-field work of their parents is unaffected. An exception is made in favour of family work in workshops, and also of work on excavations, earthworks, waterworks, and buildings, so far as this is performed by the members of a family or by way of mutual assistance, as is the custom in the villages with their still intensely communal housekeeping.

As regards the night work of women, the Ordinance of 1925 forbids the employment of women between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning in the above-mentioned employments which are forbidden at all times for children under twelve years of age. Dispensation from this prohibition may be granted for specified undertakings and in connection with special requirements of the undertaking. In practice, night work of women is continually diminishing, and for this reason the restriction of the power of dispensation has for some time been under consideration.

Thanks to the exertions of the Labour Office at Batavia, the regulations of 1925 have received a sort of unofficial extension, which deserves mention both on account of its social significance and of the typical glimpse which its creation gives of the manner in which the endeavour to introduce social improvement is carried out in the Netherlands Indies. As will be seen from the foregoing, the said regulations only protect children under twelve years of age. During the discussion of the measure in the Volksraad, attention was called to the long hours that young persons—that is to say, children over twelve years of age—had to work during the season on the tobacco undertakings in East and Central Java. In consequence of these representations, the Labour Office got into touch with the employers concerned, and, after laborious negotiations, succeeded in inducing the latter to give an undertaking to limit the hours of work of their non-adult workers. In East Java, where 38 undertakings adhered to the voluntary regulation, it was provided that persons from twelve to fifteen years of age should work not more than 8 hours a day in the seasonal months, and not more than 7 hours a day at other times. In the Principalities of Central Java, where 17 undertakings adhered, it was agreed that young persons should only be employed during the season from November to June, and that their working day, in the case of payment of daily wages, should not be more than 8½ hours, while, in the case of payment of piece wages, in the months from January to June, they should not remain in the packing sheds more than 9½ hours. Supervision of the observance of these agreements is carried out by the Labour Inspectorate.

The Ordinance of 1926 concerning the employment of children and young persons on board ship also came into existence under the influence of the International Labour Organization. It gives effect, also with certain modifications, to the Conventions concerning the minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea in general (1920) and of young persons to employment as trimmers or stokers (1921), and also to the Convention concerning the medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea (1921). It lays down for the child labour in question, except in regard to children serving under the care of their father or of a blood relation up to and including the third degree, a minimum age of twelve years, and for the employment of trimmer or stoker a minimum age of sixteen years. The age under which employment on board seagoing vessels is conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness is also sixteen years.

With regard to work in mines, a number of labour law provisions are to be found in the Mining Police Regulations of 1930. Only the most important may be mentioned here: Underground work may only be assigned to male persons over sixteen years of age; the time spent in underground workings must not be longer than 8½ hours a day, which maximum is reduced to 6 hours in the case of work in places where the temperature amounts to more than 30° Celsius or where very great trouble from water is met with; no underground work will be carried out and no time will be spent in the underground workings on rest days or on the worker's customary religious feast days; the number of rest days for every workman exclusively or partially engaged in underground work must amount to at least 52 in the year. As regards work above ground, young persons who have not yet attained sixteen years of age and women must not be employed in the loading and unloading of the cage.

Provisions have been made in the interests of safety in factories and workshops by and under the Safety Regulations of 1910, while the Steam Ordinance of 1930 and the Steam Order of 1930 for the application thereof contain provisions concerning the fitting of boilers and the inspection of the same.

Finally, as a regulation issued in the interests of the workers, mention must be made of the White Lead Ordinance of 1931, which prohibits the manufacture and, subject to dispensation, also the importation, keeping in stock, and sale of dry white lead.

GENEVA,
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AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN AN INDIAN STATE

A BHAVNAGAR EXPERIMENT

By Lieut.-Colonel A. H. E. Mosse, c.i.e.

I. The Problem in Bhavnagar

The great majority of the inhabitants of India are agriculturists. It therefore goes without saying that the well-being of the ryot—the agricultural peasant—is of the utmost importance to that great country. I do not know who it was who first observed that the Indian cultivator "is born in debt, lives in debt, and dies in debt"; it is a hackneyed saying. Unfortunately it is, in the main, but simple truth, whether in British India or in the States.

The Indian State, with its autocratic system of government, is often criticized as an anachronism whose tendencies are mostly reactionary. The only hope for its people is said to lie in the sweeping wave of democracy by which the Princes are presently to be engulfed. At the same time, opponents of the India Reforms are wont to stress the danger of placing power in the hands of a limited class of high caste politicians who, they contend, have no feeling for and will ignore the interests of the peasantry.

In view of facts and arguments such as these, it may be of interest to invite attention to the unique manner in which an Indian State, at the instance of a Brahmin administrator, has endeavoured to solve the problem of chronic agricultural indebtedness in its own territories.

Bhavnagar, with a population of half a million and an area of three thousand square miles, is one of the most advanced States in the Province of Kathiawar in Western India. The present ruler, His Highness Maharaja Krishna Kumarsinhji, was invested with his full powers as a Ruling Prince in 1931, after a minority of twelve years during which the State was governed by an Administrative Council of four Members. The President of the Council during the whole of this period was that veteran Brahmin statesman, Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, K.C.I.E., who will be remembered as a familiar figure among the delegates to the Round-Table Conferences. The Vice-President was a British officer of the Political Department, and the present writer had the privilege of holding this office during the last four years of the minority.

Some years ago the Council found occasion to appoint a special

Committee to investigate the question of agricultural indebtedness in the State. The Report of this Committee was presented in 1929, after an exceedingly thorough and exhaustive inquiry which had involved a detailed examination of the case of every *khatadar* (holder of State land) in his own village. Besides the *khatadars*, more than five hundred *sowcars* were personally summoned before the Committee, required to produce their account books, and themselves and their books carefully examined. (*Sowcar* is the Gujarati term for an individual, usually, though not always, of the Bania caste, who combines the functions of moneylender, grain merchant, and petty trader.)

It was, in the nature of things, impossible to insure the absolute accuracy of the final figures obtained. In some cases, for instance, the Committee found a tendency on the part of *kheduts* (cultivators) to minimize the real extent of their indebtedness, whether at the instigation of the *sowcar* or from fear of loss of credit or of prestige. On the other hand, instances were noted of over-statement by *kheduts* of the amount of their debts, this also probably at the suggestion of the *sowcar*, when the possibility of financial assistance from the State had begun to be realized. The Committee, however, went to great trouble to encourage frankness. All examinations of *kheduts* were individual, and confidential where thought advisable; while the *sowcars* were given formal assurances that no statements made by them to the Committee would be admissible for use in any form of judicial proceedings. In the end there was every reason to believe that the scope for error had been reduced to a minimum.

As a final result of these elaborate investigations, it was found that, out of the whole number of State *khatadars*, 45 per cent. were indebted to *sowcars*. Of the remaining 55, not all were to be accounted prosperous. The finances of an appreciable proportion were on the border line, while others had no debts because no one would lend to them; too poor to have any credit, they lived a hand-to-mouth existence.

Before considering the conclusions to be drawn from these figures, it will be convenient here to offer a few words of explanation as to the Land Revenue system existing in the Bhavnagar State. The land is, generally speaking, the property of the Durbar—I use the latter term here as signifying the personification of the State in its Ruler. From the Durbar the *khatadar* holds his land on lease by a tenure which secures the occupation and use of the land in perpetuity to the registered tenant and his descendants in the male line, so long as there is no default in payment of State dues. The tenure is therefore, for all practical purposes, a permanent one, superior in respect of security to that obtaining in many other States. The *khatadar*, however, possessed no transfer-

able interest in his holding before 1931; in that year the present Maharaja, on his accession, granted the right of sale or mortgage, subject to the restriction that agricultural land shall not be transferred to any but bona fide *kheduts*.

As to the State dues, until a few years ago the *Bhagbatai* or share-hold system was in vogue under which the Durbar, in lieu of a monetary assessment, used to claim a certain share in the actual produce of the holding. In order to ensure the recovery of this share, the amount of the produce had to be checked by State officials and a measure of control exercised over its disposal. Matters were further complicated by the existence of various subsidiary levies on the produce. At the present day the *khatadar*, instead of handing over a share of the produce, is required to pay a cash assessment, fixed for a term of years—usually ten. This varies in accordance with the quality of the land, whether it is irrigated or not, etc. The *Bighoti* system, as it is called, derives its name from the *bigha* (the local unit of area), the amount of the assessment being calculated at so much per *bigha*.

Each has its points, but the balance of advantage rests with the simpler *Bighoti* system. It provides fewer opportunities for harassment by subordinate officials, and the *khedut* always knows what he has to pay; when Nature is kind the surplus is his own. Any serious diminution of the produce of one or more of the seasonal crops, whether due to failure or excess of the monsoon rains, or to any other cause such as the ravages of insect plagues, is normally followed by the suspension of collection of a percentage of the annual assessment wherever this may seem advisable. Later on the Durbar may see fit to remit entirely a portion of the suspended revenue.

Arrears of revenue so suspended have, of course, to be recovered in subsequent years. Should the rains fail again, no arrears can be recovered; indeed, these may have to be increased by further suspensions. It follows that a succession of bad years may result in a considerable accumulation of arrears of revenue, especially where, as is the Bhavnagar tradition, the tendency is towards leniency rather than the reverse.

To return to the Committee's Report. What proportion of the indebted 45 per cent. of *khatadars* had any prospect of ever getting out of debt? After due consideration of the margin of profit which a *khedut* might expect to derive from the produce of his holding in a normal year, the view was taken that for the *khedut* whose debt to *sowcars* did not exceed double the amount of his annual assessment there was some hope. It was found that two-thirds of the indebted *kheduts* were excluded from this category. In other words, no less than 30 per cent. of the State's revenue-paying agriculturists were sunk in a condition of hopeless in-

solvency, with no prospect of ever getting out of the abyss. The debt in some individual cases amounted to as much as fifteen years' assessment.

It will be obvious that no Administration could look upon such a state of affairs, vitally affecting the agricultural backbone of the population, without grave anxiety. Not that there was any reason to suppose that Bhavnagar was worse off than her neighbours. Chronic indebtedness among a large proportion of the ryots was, alas! no new thing, either in British India or in the States. But never before had the evil been brought out into the open, and the *sowcar's* part in bringing it about examined, in quite the same way as had now been done.

The nature and value of remedial measures, if such were practicable, must depend upon the ascertainment, not so much of the primary causes of the evil—these were sufficiently well known—as of their relative importance. Among hitherto recognized causes may be mentioned:

(*a*) Excessive revenue demands, or harshness in collection of land revenue where the demands were not in themselves excessive. The Committee found—and were unquestionably justified in the finding—that this cause did not operate in Bhavnagar.

(*b*) Caste and religious customs which required the expenditure, on various social occasions, of sums of money out of proportion to the means of the persons concerned. On the evidence before them the Committee believed that, while far from negligible, the importance of this cause was over-estimated.

(*c*) A third and probably the most frequent originating cause of debt was and is to be found in the vagaries of weather, upon which the farmer the world over—and nowhere more than in India—is so dependent. Kathiawar and Gujarat, indeed, have not even yet entirely recovered from the effects of the great drought which brought to a close the nineteenth century, and from which all subsequent happenings are reckoned to this day by the country folk.

(*d*) Moneylenders. And here emerges the most important of the Committee's findings; for they held it conclusively established that, whatever the origins, often insignificant, of the *khedut's* debts, "the alarming extent of agricultural indebtedness is the result of the peculiarly grasping and extortionate methods of moneylending of which the *khedut* has been the victim."

The activities of the Shylock brotherhood are doubtless based on much the same principles throughout the world. But circumstances elsewhere do not usually permit them so wide a scope as in India. In the first place, even today the great majority of the agricultural population is more or less illiterate. The percentage of literacy is, of course, steadily but slowly increasing, the great

difficulty in the way of more rapid progress lying in the fact that the farmer wants the assistance of his sons in the fields, and is therefore unwilling to allow them to continue their schooling beyond a tender age. Of illiteracy the *sowcar*, as may readily be understood, takes the fullest advantage.

Again, in an Indian village the moneylender and the local dealer in agricultural produce are usually one and the same person. This fact adds immensely to the possibilities for unfair dealings. Moreover, the caste system has made the trade-cum-moneylending profession hereditary. It is therefore not surprising that the association of opportunity with an inherited aptitude for exercising it, together with a very general freedom from inconvenient scruples, has brought the making of money at the expense of the ryot to a fine art. It may be of interest to give a few illustrative examples of some of the methods in use.

(*a*) A common practice—known as *savaya*—was to make out a bond for 25 per cent. in excess of the actual sum advanced, the same to be repayable in six months' time. The result was, in effect, a return of interest at 50 per cent. per annum. Simple but profitable.

(*b*) In the principal cotton-growing districts it was a very general practice to provide for repayment of a loan in raw cotton, calculation of the value of a fixed quantity of cotton being made at a rate of from 50 to 100 per cent. less than either the current or the prospective market price. There was a speculative element in the sort of forward contract here involved, but it was a case of "heads I win, tails you lose." The liberal margin in the rates of calculation safeguarded the *sowcar* against any likely fall in prices, whereas the *khedut* surrendered, without compensation, his chance of profit from any unforeseen rise.

(*c*) These two practices were sometimes combined. In addition to a premium as at (*a*) above, a bond would contain a penalty clause under which failure to repay the loan on the due date involved the debtor in a liability for immediate delivery of a certain amount of agricultural produce. To cite a concrete case: A loan of Rs. 100 would be entered in the bond as Rs. 125, payable on a date six months hence. The *khedut* would further bind himself, on failure to meet his obligations punctually, to hand over to his creditor one maund (40 lbs.) of raw cotton for each Rs. 2 due, or 62½ maunds in all. Should he be unable to make delivery, as not infrequently happened in a poor season, a fresh bond would be passed for the value of the cotton at the then prevailing market rate—always more than Rs. 2 per maund. During the boom period the rate was often as high as Rs. 8, but supposing it to be Rs. 6 the new bond would be for Rs. 375, a nearly fourfold increase on the amount of the original loan in six months! Instances were even noted where the new bond contained a still further addition to the increased debt of another 25 per cent.

(*d*) As already indicated, the combination in a single individual of the functions of moneylender and dealer in agricultural produce affords great opportunities for abuse of the *sowcar's* position. For instance, in some districts it was found that the poorer *khedutS* at harvest time would retain, for household use, only a couple of months' supply of grain, handing over the whole of the rest of their produce to the *sowcar*. For this credit would be given, but at 25 to 50 per cent. below market rates. On the other hand, for articles of domestic need which the *khedut* buys on credit from the *sowcar*, he is charged as much above.

Apart from these and a variety of other cognate practices, a very important factor in the increase of indebtedness is to be found in the *sowcar's* methods of maintaining accounts which, relying on the illiteracy of his clients, are often fraudulent and irregular and deliberately calculated to mystify. It was a common practice to make up accounts two or three times a year and, on each such occasion, to add some quite arbitrary amount to the total debt by way of "premium." A fresh bond would then be passed for the revised amount. These unjustifiable additions to the total were often falsely described as fresh cash advances, while renewal bonds would sometimes purport to represent new loans. The book entries, again, relating to a series of transactions between a *sowcar* and an individual client, were sometimes written up in two or three different account books, for no apparent reason except to complicate matters or to afford greater scope for deliberate fraud. In some cases one book or set of books was, there is little doubt, especially prepared for the scrutiny of a court of law in the event of legal proceedings. In short, accounts were found to be habitually so manipulated that, in a large proportion of cases, it was quite impossible to ascertain from them what was the real origin of a *khedut's* indebtedness.

It was not only the indebtedness of the *khedut* to the *sowcar* which was adversely affected by the machinations of the latter. The peculiar character of the business relations subsisting between a *sowcar* and a *khedut* in his own village enabled the former—in spite of the Durbar's prior claim—to exercise a measure of control over the disposal of produce, which of necessity had a detrimental effect upon the payment of the State's dues—especially since the removal of certain safeguards by the abolition of the old *bhagbatai* system. It is therefore not surprising that a substantial share of responsibility for the extent of the considerable arrears of land revenue could justly be placed upon the shoulders of the *sowcar*.

It will be obvious that in these circumstances it was directly to

the interest of the Durbar, as well as of the *khedut*, to find a solution of the problem of indebtedness to *sowcars*. It is true that attempts had been made to establish co-operative credit societies, but with no very great success. The ryot needs to be educated up to their use, a process which must take time. Experience has proved, moreover, that such societies cannot function satisfactorily so long as the *khedut* is heavily indebted to the *sowcar*, for his main idea is to borrow from the society to pay the *sowcar* and then to reverse the process. It became ever more clear that the fundamental need of the situation was to make an end of the chronic indebtedness to moneylenders. How was this to be done?

II. Bhavnagar's Solution of the Problem

The greeting of the peasant to his Prince is "*Bapu!*"—"Father!" That to the young Maharaja this is no meaningless compliment was apparent when, as the time approached for his investiture with ruling powers, he expressed a desire that existing arrears of land revenue should, so far as practical considerations would permit, be written off. Accordingly, in 1929, effect was given to his wishes by the complete remission of arrears to the large amount of twenty lakhs of rupees. The first step had been taken towards a lightening of the burden.

The Council now turned its attention directly to the bigger and more difficult question of the *sowcar*. It was realized, to begin with, that hitherto the Courts of Law had too often been unwilling—if not always unwitting—allies of the *sowcar*. When, for instance, a suit was filed upon a bond for a certain sum, a Court had, as the law stood, no power—whatever its suspicions—to go behind the letter of the bond and inquire into previous transactions. It was therefore liable to give judgment for the full claim, based as it was upon a written contract, in ignorance of the fact that the nominal principal really included much that, as unconscionable interest or as being without consideration, it would otherwise certainly have disallowed. The position then seemed to call, in the first place, for legislation to remedy this unsatisfactory state of affairs.

A *Khedut* Protection Act was accordingly framed, modelled in some respects upon the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, a measure which had been passed by the Government of Bombay. Its most important provisions empowered a Court:

(*a*) In a suit filed for the purpose by an agriculturist, to make a declaration of the actual amount payable by him in settlement of an account.

(*b*) To investigate all transactions leading up to the bond or other contract which constituted the subject matter of a suit, for

the purpose of ascertaining the real cause and amount of the original debt.

(*c*) To pass a decree on account of the real principal thus ascertained, with simple interest not exceeding 12 per cent., and subject to the proviso that the total amount decreed should not exceed twice the original principal.

So far, so good. But legislation of this kind, though bound to have valuable results, did not go to the root of the matter. It could, in operation, only deal singly with individual cases. If the *sowcar* contrived to keep out of court it could not touch him. It certainly could not of itself avail to remove the main burden of indebtedness to the *sowcar*. Were that burden once lifted and the *khedut* given a chance to make a fresh start, then only could he hope to derive in the future the full benefit from protective legislation.

Was it possible to remove this burden, to liquidate the whole indebtedness to *sowcars* of the *kheduts* as a body? Sir Prabhashankar Pattani believed that it was, that Bhavnagar was in a position to point the way that had been sought elsewhere in vain.

Here we come to the core of the Bhavnagar experiment. The solution contemplated was based on the view that, apart from the actual magnitude of his debt—though this also was to be dealt with—it would make all the difference to the *khedut* who, Durbar or *sowcar*, was his principal creditor. In respect of his debt to the State he knew exactly where he stood; he knew that his difficulties would be met with practical sympathy; and he knew that he would not be pressed beyond his capacity to repay. His position *vis-à-vis* the *sowcar* was very different. He seldom knew how much he really owed; his debt was subject to arbitrary increase in various ways; his creditor's main object was to keep him fast in the toils; and he had no incentive to get the best out of his land, since it would be only the *sowcar* who would profit.

The practical application of this idea involved, in the first place, the preparation of a scheme for (*a*) the reduction within equitable limits of the total nominal indebtedness to *sowcars* of the entire agricultural population and (*b*) the taking over of the whole of this indebtedness by the State. In the second place, it was necessary—no easy task—to prevail upon the *sowcar* creditors, *en bloc*, to play the part assigned to them in such a settlement.

The provision of the requisite funds was fortunately not an insuperable obstacle in Bhavnagar, whatever it would have been elsewhere; for the State had a tradition of sound finance and a dozen years of minority administration had accumulated considerable reserves. The proposed undertaking was none the less a tall order, besides being something of a gamble, but the President succeeded in convincing a Council, inclined at first to be some-

what sceptical, that the thing could and should be done. The outcome was the *Khedut* Debt Redemption Scheme.

The main points of the Scheme may be briefly summarized as follows:

(*a*) On receipt of a joint application from the *kheduts* and *sowcars* of a *Mahal* (revenue district), the Durbar would appoint a committee, of suitably representative composition, to examine all accounts of parties concerned and make an award, in each individual case, in accordance with principles laid down in the Scheme and in the *Kheduts'* Protection Act; a detailed statement of such awards to be submitted to the Durbar for orders.

(*b*) The Durbar further undertook to consider the committee's awards and, after approval, to advance the amount of their total for rateable distribution among the creditors, subject to the latter giving a discharge in full of all their claims.

(*c*) The amount advanced by the Durbar to pay the debts of each individual *khatadar*, with interest at 4 per cent., was to be recovered from him under an arrangement, based on the old *bhagbatai* system, which ensured that recovery would be dependent upon ability to pay without hardship.

It was not to be expected that the *sowcars* would display any enthusiasm for such a scheme. But it was an important fact in its favour that it offered the prospect of immediate cash payment of the debts of many practically insolvent *kheduts* from whom the capital debt could not have been collected in years. For even the most avaricious the bird in the hand, and a plump bird at that, could not but have its attractions. Presently, therefore, the persuasive propaganda which dangled before the *sowcar* this bait of a cash sum down in settlement of all debts, both good and bad, achieved a beginning. The work of the committee was laborious, and progress at first slow. But the pace quickened with increasing experience, and when it was seen that awards under the Scheme were promptly followed by the disbursement of solid cash, the objections of hitherto incredulous or obstinate *sowcars* weakened, and things began to move. The number of committees operating had to be increased, and the work, begun in April, 1930, was completed in March, 1934.

The ultimate result was that the Durbar advanced a sum of Rs. 20 lakhs in all, with which to liquidate a total nominal indebtedness to *sowcars* of Rs. 86 lakhs. In other words, the State became the sole creditor of the agricultural classes for an amount less than one-fourth of the aggregate claims of the moneylenders, the latter having entirely disappeared. It was a unique achievement, and deserves to be recognized as such.

It remains to consider briefly its meaning and probable consequences. What are the practical effects of the change in the

khedut's financial position? It may first be observed that, on the moderate assumption of an average of 25 per cent., it is calculated that the cultivators have been saved in interest some 21 lakhs a year. As to the principal, the proportions of the old debt were such, in most cases, that the prospect of the debtor ever becoming solvent was remote; with each succeeding year it became more so. The natural results were the apathy and inefficiency born of hopelessness. On the other hand, the new debt is rather less than a fourth of the old, its liquidation at no very distant date a matter of practical politics. And, provided the light interest charge be paid, it does not grow. Hope and enthusiasm spring to life and, by their direct results in more efficient work, bring the day of complete emancipation nearer. Already, in the case of *kheduts* in those areas first dealt with, a definite change for the better has been noted, both in the greater heart the cultivator is putting into his work, and in improved recoveries of land revenue. The transformation is a real one.

It is more difficult to answer the question as to what is the permanent value of this transformation. The avarice and cunning of the *sowcar*, the simple-mindedness and improvidence of the *khedut*, these are as they have always been—no transformation here. Are there any reasons for supposing that the next bad season will not see the beginning of a relapse into the old unhappy conditions?

I think there are reasons. Sir Prabhashankar builds great hopes upon another interesting experiment, an attempt which is being made to revive certain features of the ancient administration of the internal affairs of a village by a *Panchayat* or village council. The view is taken that "the low economic condition of the *khedut* and the narrow margin of the profits of agriculture, which generally necessitate the incurring of debts in the first instance, are the root causes of the evil of which indebtedness is merely a symptom." It is hoped that, by allowing and encouraging the village to manage its own affairs, the seeds of self-reliance and co-operation will be sown, with a beneficial effect on local economic conditions generally and eventually on the prosperity of the village as a whole. Space will not permit a fuller description or discussion here of an experiment which as yet has hardly advanced beyond the initial stage, and that in but a few villages. Undoubtedly it has possibilities, it may be great possibilities, for good. But it would be unwise at present to be over-sanguine as to their development.

Apart from this, however, there are certain facts in the present position which seem to warrant a reasonable measure of optimism as to the future. It may be true that indebtedness of the kind we have been considering should be looked upon as primarily merely

a symptom of economic ill-health. But credit in some form is necessary for agriculture, while we have seen how indebtedness, with its consequent ill-effects, can be and is alarmingly increased by abuse of the creditor's position, a process not inherent in the mere fact of indebtedness. In other words, we have seen the symptom greatly aggravated by an independent cause, with results disastrous in themselves. In such a case the aggravated symptom has acquired the character, in itself, of a distinct disease. If the cause of the aggravation can be independently dealt with there must be a very genuine gain.

Now there is nothing new in the existence of a chronic state of indebtedness to moneylenders; but it appears to be a fact that conditions in this respect, in Bhavnagar at any rate, had of late years become worse than ever before. For this there would seem to have been two main reasons. Firstly, the general economic depression following upon a period of high prices, of which, as has been shown, the *sowcar* took full advantage. Secondly, the pernicious *savaya* system of adding a premium, at the outset, to the sum actually borrowed—a system which is of recent origin and which has had the result of considerably accelerating the pace at which debt increases.

In the now changed state of affairs, the *Khedut* Protection Act provides the *sowcar* with a motive of some compelling force for a return to simpler and less avaricious methods, while, for a time at any rate, the manner in which the reprehensible character of their dealings has been brought into the open is bound to have some salutary effect upon the *sowcars* as a class. That the *khedut* will not again have occasion to borrow from the *sowcar* were too much to expect. But he is, in two respects, in a far stronger position than ever before. Firstly, in that he is able to start afresh with a clean slate; and secondly, in that the Law has now a power to afford him protection against the *sowcar's* rapacity such as it never possessed in the past.

Again, with this spiking of the *sowcar's* guns, resort to co-operative credit societies should have a greater chance of success. The Durbar, too, is always prepared to come to a *khatadar's* help with loans on easy terms for agricultural purposes. Of such facilities the *khedut* will be in a position to take more regular advantage when he is no longer bound hand and foot to the *sowcar*. Moreover, education is making and—encouraged to do so as it is by the State—will continue to make greater strides among the agricultural classes. Illiteracy has hitherto been the *sowcar's* most powerful ally.

These are facts whose importance can doubtless be over-rated. But they surely warrant the belief that the operation of the Debt Redemption Scheme and the *Khedut* Protection Act in combination has, if not eliminated, at least greatly reduced the maleficent power of the cause which has so aggravated the evil of agricultural indebtedness. Further that, in Bhavnagar, an amelioration of the *khedut's* economic condition has been effected which there is reason to hope may, to a considerable extent, prove to be of a permanent character.

In conclusion, it should be mentioned that more than one British Indian Province has made attempts to deal, by legislation, with the moneylending evil; and experience must lead to increasingly valuable results. But, without questioning the importance of much that has been done, it is difficult to see how any legislation can have its full beneficial effect unless, at the same time, the ryot is given an opportunity to make a fresh start. That fresh start can only be made possible by wiping out his indebtedness to the moneylender. This has so far been recognized that, in certain quarters, talk has even been heard of repudiation of debt. But that is not the way of economic sanity.

How the desirable opportunity can be given to the ryot, it has remained for Bhavnagar to show. Her method can doubtless be improved upon, and it will not be practicable everywhere. But the significance should be recognized of the fact that it is one of those "anachronisms," the Indian States, and not one of the most important of them, which has set an example that may have far-reaching results.

The other significant fact which I would emphasise is that both the inception of the idea and its translation into practical politics have to be placed to the credit, not of a British official, but of an Indian and that Indian a Brahmin.

And here I may be allowed to pay a small tribute to a remarkable personality. One of the most sagacious and experienced of India's elder statesmen, Sir Prabhashankar Pattani has played no small part in the councils of this critical period of her history; while the young Maharaja of Bhavnagar, who has recently crossed the threshold of a promising career, would be the first to acknowledge how much he and his people owe to a wise mentor and administrator and a loyal servant. A generous and kindly soul enshrined in a patriarchal figure; one of the world's workers; never, despite ill-health and frailty of body, despite the burden of his threescore years and ten, has he spared or will he spare himself. To one who has worked with him and known him well, that unconquerable spirit must always be his most memorable characteristic.

Finally, in view of the existence of the opinions to which I referred at the beginning of this article, I would invite consideration of the two facts, upon whose significance I have remarked above, by those who are pessimistic in regard to the part which

the States are destined to play in an All-India Federation; also by those who, anticipating that all power in the India of the future will lie in the hands of a largely Brahmin oligarchy, find in that belief cause for gloomy apprehension as to the fate of the "inarticulate millions" of India's peasantry.

RECENT PROGRESS ON INDIAN RAILWAYS

By V. P. Bhandarkar
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The Indian railways were begun as an experiment some time after the railways in this country had passed that stage and had proved themselves both useful and necessary. The first proposal for their construction came in 1844, and it was not until 1849 that contracts were given to two private companies for their construction, one from Calcutta and another from Bombay. A 5 per cent. interest on the capital was guaranteed by the East India Company. The promoters were not too sanguine at the beginning as to whether this new means of locomotion would be suitable to the country, the climate, and the people.

The sections to be first opened were from Bombay to Thana (22 miles) on April 18, 1853, and from Howrah (Calcutta) to Hooghly (23 miles) on August 15, 1854.

At first sight it might look strange that the work was entrusted to a company, while the liability in case of failure to make a profit was retained by the then Government (East India Company). Lord Dalhousie, who was largely responsible for pushing the policy of extensive construction of railways in India, stated in one of his minutes that although the State engineers could be entrusted to do the work, the withdrawal of such men would be detrimental to public service and that the functions of the Government did not cover commercial undertakings. Moreover, English capital and energy, he considered, were essential to the development of India in other directions also.

Between 1854 and 1860 Lord Dalhousie's policy was followed steadily. Companies were formed to build railways, and interests were guaranteed at $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent., according to market conditions. Half of the surplus profits was to be used for paying back any contributions the Government had made previously to make up the guaranteed interest whenever it had fallen short of the agreed $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 per cent. The balance half went to the shareholders. The Government had a right of general supervision of the expenditure, accounts, and matters of safety, also of rates and fares to the travelling public. The companies had a lease of 99 years, but the Government could exercise an option to purchase them after 25 years or 50 years, at a price calculated to be equivalent to the companies' interest.

From 1862 attempts were made to get companies to construct railways on more favourable terms to the Government. Land was given free, and an annual subsidy at £100 per mile of railway for twenty years, with an additional amount for bridges costing over £10,000, was given. This scheme, although accepted by two companies, was not successful, and the companies got into difficulties. The contract in one case was changed to 5 per cent. guarantee system and the other to 3 per cent., which was eventually absorbed into one with a 5 per cent. guarantee.

With the failure of the unguaranteed system of contracts, the Government was faced with the problem of the best means of encouraging railway construction in India. It was felt that the 5 per cent. guaranteed system encouraged uneconomic expenditure and over-capitalization, while it left a very poor chance of surplus profit by successful working.

The system was then modified broadly as follows:

1. Half of the surplus profits every year were to be Government property, and in return the Government relinquished the right of purchase for the first 25 years, from the date of the revised contract, of the three important main lines (Great Indian Peninsula, Bombay, Baroda and Central India, and the Madras).
2. The Government would raise and expend new capital required for railways and thereby obtain the benefit of its credit and its cheaper methods of obtaining funds.

Soon after the great famine of 1878, it was considered essential to extend the railways for protection against famine. Freer scope was to be given for such extension, and three companies were formed for building railways (Bengal and North-Western, Rohilkhand and Kumaon, and Bengal Central—since absorbed into the Eastern Bengal) without a guarantee and three with guarantees.

The guaranteed interest varied from 3½ to 4 per cent. and the balance of earnings, after payment of guaranteed interest, was to be utilized for payment of interest on Government advance and debentures of the company. Any surplus left after the above disbursements was to be divided between the Government and the companies in varying ratios. The Government also had a right to determine the contracts after about 25 years, and at subsequent periods of 10 years.

When the contracts expired, the Government acquired the lines, and in some cases made them over to the companies to work, and in others they were amalgamated with the Government-worked lines.

The present arrangement between the Government and the companies working Government lines is:

1. The lines are Government property.
2. The greater part of the capital is Government. (The companies' capital varies from one-fifth to one-fifteenth of the total.)

3. When more funds are required, either the Government may supply, or call on the company to do so. Interest at fixed rates is to be paid, and the surplus profit to be divided between the Government and company in the agreed ratio.
4. All contracts are terminable at the Government's option at specified dates, the company's capital being repayable at par.

A special mention is necessary of the two railways (Bengal and North-Western and Rohilkhand and Kumaon) built without a guarantee. These companies got no direct help, except free land. They, however, derive considerable profit from certain Government lines made over to them for working.

In 1923 the Indian Legislative Assembly definitely recommended the State working of all the State railways, and as the contracts have fallen due the Government has taken them over, and wherever possible amalgamated them with other lines.

In 1925 the Government of India laid down a policy of future constructions of branch lines, to the effect, generally speaking, that such lines should be constructed by companies only when the Government considered they were unable to find funds to finance the schemes.

Broadly speaking, there are the following different systems of working the Indian railways:

1. Owned and worked by the State (Government).
2. Owned and worked by Indian States.
3. Owned by the State or an Indian State and worked by Company.
4. Owned and worked by Company.
5. Owned by Company and worked by State.

The Government lines, usually called State lines, worked by the State are: The North-Western, serving the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, and Sindh; the East Indian, serving Western Bengal, Bihar, and United Provinces; the Great Indian Peninsula, serving Bombay Presidency, Central Provinces, and Central India; the Eastern Bengal, serving Eastern Bengal, Assam, and Eastern Bihar; the Burma Railways. The important State lines worked by company are: Bombay, Baroda and Central Indian, serving the northern parts of Bombay Presidency, Central India, and Rajputana; Madras and Southern Mahratta, serving the northern and central portion of Madras Presidency; the South Indian, serving the southern portion of Madras Presidency, Cochin, and Travancore State. The Indian State lines, worked by Indian States, are: The Nizam's State Railway, Baroda, Jodhpur, etc. The companies' lines, worked by companies, are:

The Bengal and North-Western, serving Bihar and the United Provinces; the Rohilkhand and Kumaon, serving United Provinces.

In the case of State-worked State railways, the Government of India have full control, but in the case of other railways they have control over the general policy and finance, and in making rules for the safety of the travelling public, the maximum and minimum of rates and fares, etc.

This control is exercised through the Railway Board, a branch of the Government of India. The Board at present consists of the Chief Commissioner (Engineer), Financial Commissioner (Finance Dept. official), and a member (from the Traffic Department). They are assisted by a number of Directors, Deputy Directors, Secretary, and Assistant Secretary, who have long experience of all technical and financial matters they are called upon to deal with.

On matters of relations between the railways, all the railways have formed an association called the Indian Railways Conference Association. To this body is entrusted the work of making coaching tariffs, classifications and general rules regarding goods, exchange of pooled wagons, disputes between railways in matters of division of freight, fares, etc. There is a clearing house for division of fares, freights and other amounts between railways.

A little explanation of the wagon pool is necessary. In India all wagons belong to individual railways. But in order to facilitate easy distribution and full use all suitable wagons are pooled. Such pooled wagons can be booked and used by all railways without their having to be returned empty if no load is available back to their parent line. It also makes it easy to lend such wagons to other lines whenever there is a rush of traffic on foreign railways, thereby minimizing the building of wagons for individual railways, and also getting the most use out of them.

A small number of special type wagons are, however, not in the pool, and they are used for the local traffic on the parent line. There is a special section of the Association Office which looks after the pool, and the accounts of wagons interchanged between the railways.

As a corollary, the standardization office of the Railway Board have brought out special types of wagons and fittings which will help further in pooling the wagons.

The present mileage of the Indian railways is roughly 43,000, consisting of: 21,000 broad gauge, 18,000 metre gauge, 4,000 narrow gauge.

The distribution according to ownership and working is approximately: State owned and worked by State, 17,700; Indian State owned and worked by Indian State, 5,200; State owned and worked by company, 14,000; Indian State owned and worked by main line, 1,700; company's lines worked by company, 4,400.

The total capital of Indian railways is approximately Rs. 884 crores, or £663 millions, as against the British railway capital of about £1,149 millions. The Government capital is approximately Rs. 787 crores, while the Indian States capital is Rs. 53 crores. The balance, Rs. 42 crores, can be called private company's capital.

The earnings of Indian railways had risen to well over Rs. 118 crores (£88 millions), but they have now dropped. In 1933-34 they were approximately Rs. 99½ crores (£78 millions). The earnings of the four British railways were £185 millions.

The earnings of the State-owned railways were about Rs. 87 crores (£65 millions). The ordinary working expenses were 56 per cent. of the earnings. To this is to be added 15 per cent. for contribution to depreciation fund, making a total of 71 per cent. This figure compares favourably with the British railways, whose ordinary working expenses were 84 per cent. of the earnings.

The interest on capital at charge was 36 per cent. of the earnings, which meant a deficit of Rs. 8 crores. This was made good by temporary withdrawal from the depreciation fund.

Like other countries in the West, Indian railways have suffered heavily on account of competition by motors for passengers and goods, and in Bengal and Assam by steamers for freight. Attempts are being made to co-ordinate wherever possible, as also to compete with the road transport. It must, however, be borne in mind that the average distance a person travels in India is small, and competition is difficult.

India being mainly an agricultural country, world production of primary produce affects it very much. Wheat, which used to be exported largely from the Punjab, has now to be consumed locally, thereby reducing the earnings of the railways. The buying power of the agriculturist has been reduced, hence the imports into these centres have gone down, affecting the railway earnings.

Although the fares are so low, they are not so cheap when compared with the average earnings of people in India.

The average distance travelled by a passenger, as stated above, is very small. There are, however, occasions when people travel far, and in large numbers. Such journeys are usually taken to attend religious melas or fairs, and elaborate arrangements have to be made, not only for carrying the passengers, but for good drinking water and sanitation. During 1933-34, important fairs took place at Ujjain, Kurukshetra, and Hardwar. The inward and outward number of passengers were: Ujjain, 115,000 and 130,000; Kurukshetra, 155,000 and 109,000; Hardwar, 229,000.

One of the greatest difficulties the Indian railways have to con-

tend with is nature itself. Every year excess of rainfall at one place or another does a lot of damage to the permanent way, and recently two earthquakes have added largely to their troubles. Recently the Ganges showed signs of changing her course, and heavy expenditure had to be incurred to protect the Hardinge Bridge on the Eastern Bengal Railway.

In the matter of carriage of goods, the largest amount of freight carried is fuel. The next in order are cotton, raw and manufactured, rice, oilseeds, gram pulse and other grains, iron and steel, wheat, sugar, kerosine, gur jagree and molasses, and metallic ores.

For carriage of fresh fruit over long distances, Indian railways have refrigeration cars. They are very successfully employed on the Peshawar-Calcutta runs. They were also tried for fish traffic to Calcutta, but did not prove quite so useful and efficient.

In the British Empire, Indian railways were the first to have electrification of the main lines. The G.I.P. Railway has an electrified system from Bombay to Poona, a distance of 120 miles, and from Kalyan, a junction on the Poona line, to Igatpuri, 51 miles. Construction of the Bombay-Poona section was beset with great engineering difficulties, and the Ghats section had to be realigned to do away with the reversing station. The other lines electrified are Bombay-Borivli (B.B. and C.I.), 19 miles; and Madras-Chinglepet, 38 miles (S.I. Railway on suburban sections). But, owing to the few large towns in existence, the greater portion of Indian transport must depend on steam trains. To a very limited extent, wood fuel is still used, but otherwise the railways depend on Indian coal. The main supplies come from Bengal, and the Indian railways own a certain number of collieries from which they obtain a large part of their fuel. The coal is, however, of a poor grade, and the fire-boxes of locomotives have to be of special type on that account.

The average receipts per passenger mile and one ton of goods carried were less than half of what the British railways obtained. They are: Indian railways 0·31d. per passenger mile; 0·62d. per goods ton mile. British railways, 0·74d. per passenger mile; 1·39 per goods ton mile.

The through runs of trains on the Indian railways are very much longer than in Great Britain. The Bombay-Peshawar train covers a distance of 1,498 miles, Delhi-Madras 1,361 miles, and Bombay-Calcutta, 1,223 miles.

The Indian railways have been paying special attention to the comfort of passengers, and the upper class coaches are made specially comfortable. Sleeping accommodation is provided without extra charge.

There are also what are called tourist carriages. These have three or four two-berthed sleeping compartments, sitting-room, bathroom, kitchen, and servants' compartment. They have refrigerators, fans, and cooking arrangements. They are aptly called hotels on wheels.

On the long-distance mail and express trains there are dining-cars on which European food is provided, while at almost all important stations there are refreshment rooms where European food can be had. Catering arrangements for Indian food offer some difficulties. Muhammadan food, Hindu vegetarian, and Hindu non-vegetarian foods are different, and have to be cooked by persons of different castes. On certain trains restaurant cars for Indian food (Hindu and Muhammadan separately) are run, and at a number of stations there are Hindu and Muhammadan refreshment rooms, the Hindu sections being subdivided into vegetarian and non-vegetarian. There are small teashops and Indian sweetmeats can be had at most of the stations from small stalls.

Up to about ten years ago the Indian railways did not take a direct interest in overseas traffic. The matter was left entirely in the hands of tourist agents. During the last ten years the Indian railways have been taking a direct hand, and about eight years ago an Information Bureau was started. Its work is purely advisory, and no tickets are issued for travel in India. The Indian railways have published a large number of illustrated pamphlets about interesting places in India. Descriptions of Agra, Delhi, Mohenjodaro, Sanchi, Kashmir, and Naini Tal, among others, make very interesting reading, as they give both historical and architectural information.

A holiday in India is much cheaper than a holiday of similar standard on the Continent. About eighteen months ago a tourist spent six months in India, visiting almost every place of interest in the northern half of India, at a cost of £175 from Naples back to Naples. He, however, did not go to the best hotels or travel first-class. It nevertheless shows what can be done with a limited amount of money.

For people in Europe it is a question of time, and how much of it can be set aside for a visit to India. The regular flying services have brought India nearer than one usually imagines. The steamer companies are also cutting down their scheduled time of voyage and speeding up their services generally.

As I said before, the Indian railways established a Bureau in London to put before people of this country the attractions of a holiday in India. Its work is not confined to the British Isles only, but caters for travellers from the whole of the European Continent. A similar Bureau was also established in New York for the American tourists.

During the last financial year the London Bureau helped 1,300 persons who wanted to travel through India, while the actual

enquiries were over 30 a day. A certain number of travellers, however, deal direct with tourist agents and shipping companies.

In India no suitable form of statistics is kept of tourists entering the country. The British Board of Trade maintain figures of emigration and immigration. From these it will be seen that during the twelve months ending March 31, 1935, 7,385 persons went to India and Ceylon for stays of less than twelve months. These figures, however, refer to persons embarking at British ports only. They do not include persons who embark at Marseilles, Genoa, and other Continental ports.

During the year 1933-34 the fares earned through tourist agencies amounted to over 14 lakhs of rupees (£105,000). These fares do not cover all the tourists, as a certain number of overseas travellers purchase their own tickets at stations in India.

The value of the tourist traffic to India as a whole has been estimated to be between 60 and 70 lakhs of rupees a year (£525,000). This amount is comparatively very small and does not play a very important part in the economics of the country.

The tourist trade in India is still in its infancy, but, with the rapid modernization of India, greater facilities for visiting many very interesting places will soon be available, and many ancient and interesting monuments will be within easier reach of tourists and other visitors. There is, however, a great paucity of good hotels. Whenever possible the Indian railways are putting up rest rooms where passengers can spend a night comfortably.

Some explanation about general enquiries made at the London Bureau is necessary. These enquiries not only refer to passengers' fares and rates on goods exported and imported, but also to goods moving within the country itself. One firm wanted to know freight charges for bottled Ganges water from Hardwar to forty different places in India. Whether Ganges water "untouched by hand" was put on the market or not, I cannot say, nor can I say whether only Brahmin labour was employed for bottling the Ganges water. Anyway, this class of enquiry we call direct, as it may give a direct benefit to the railways. There is a large number of indirect (not benefiting the railways directly or immediately) enquiries, and also a number of enquiries which have nothing to do with railway transport at all. One person wanted to know where he could get the largest elephant in India. Another wanted to know how to trek through Leh and Ladak into Tibet. A third wanted to know whether suitable types of men could be engaged for the different scenes in a cinema film of a jungle story about elephants and mahouts. Enquiries about temperature, rainfall, malaria at different places, and also about the cost of living, are quite common.

Our knowledge is expected to be encyclopædic. A good deal of the information sought has, however, appeared in the *Indian State Railways Magazine*. A certain amount has to be sought from books available, and the balance has to be obtained from India. This Bureau is greatly indebted to the Forest, Meteorological, Archæological, and other departments of the Government of India for readily supplying the information.

Another activity of this Bureau has been to get the British manufacturers to take a more direct interest in the Indian trade. The Indian railways offered to run an exhibition train over the broad-gauge section of the railways, visiting important centres, covering a period of about three months—something like the British Industries Fair on a small scale on wheels. Last year, as also this year, schemes were put before the manufacturers, but they have not yet taken advantage of them. Perhaps next year, if the situation is easier, it may be possible to induce the manufacturers to avail themselves of this offer. Such trains are run in India for the local manufacturers with very great success.

There is activity also in lantern slides. Not only are these used for travel lectures, but they are lent to schools and societies interested in India, for lectures, provided that politics and religious questions are not discussed at these lectures. These slides are in great demand. The Imperial Institute uses them for their lectures, and before long a much larger number will have to be made to meet the demand.

In a country like India, where the known span of civilization extends over 5,000 years, it is very difficult to make and keep typical slides. A certain number from each province are available. Ravages of time and foreign invaders, some of whom had no idea of, or respect for, art, have done a great deal of damage to many monuments and frescoes. The Moghul Emperor Babur considered there was no architectural beauty in India. Others thought anything symbolic of other religions was a sacrilege. Luckily things have changed, and the Archæological Department now looks after them and maintains them in good condition.

The present problem before the Indian railways is the falling earnings, and consequent inability to pay interest on capital. Whether the capital has been unnecessarily high, due to the old system of guaranteed interest, it is not proposed to discuss here. But the Public Accounts Committee, who considered the Auditor-General's reports on Indian railways, have quite often brought to notice the tendency to increase the capital. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Railway Board have to watch and control very carefully the expenditure on railways, both State and company. They have equally carefully to watch that the railways do not attempt to get as much as they can out of the public, and hence the fixing of maximum and minimum rates, and an advisory

body called the Railway Rates Tribunal to investigate and report preferential and exorbitant rates. The commercial community has been asking for reduction of rates, but it seems hardly possible to make any move in that direction at present. Simplification of rates appears to be the first move, and a committee has been formed to see where this can be done. The immediate future of the Indian railways is not rosy, but they have recovered from many a calamity with a rapidity hardly believable.

CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

By Baron Dan

The Society for International Cultural Relations was founded as the result of the very keen interest that was being taken in foreign countries in the art and culture of Japan and the Far East generally. In order to meet this demand certain influential people in Japan decided to found an organization that might be in a position to answer the many enquiries that were being made and at the same time to organize a system by which the universities and other learned bodies in Japan could make their information available for enquirers from Europe and elsewhere. Their chief aim was thereby to avoid the inevitable duplication that would have resulted from enquiries being addressed to different quarters and also invitations being extended to different professors and experts to deal with the same problems and perhaps be invited to the same places at the same time. There was, however, this further motive: that Japan desired to play her part in forwarding and encouraging the study of Oriental culture generally. Thus, she has taken an important part in research work regarding the life of the Buddha in India. Another example is the profound interest taken in Chinese art and history and co-operation with scholars and artists of that country. These activities are centred in Tokyo and Kyoto, where there are large institutions for Chinese studies.

The date of the incorporation of this society was April 14, 1934, and three days later there took place the first meeting of the directors, which was followed the next day by the opening ceremony, which was attended by the Prime Minister, Viscount Saito. It was announced subsequently that Prince Takamatsu, the brother of the Emperor, had consented to become the patron. No time was lost in setting to work. Committees were formed, and one of these dealt with the question of securing subscriptions towards the objects of the society and stimulating influential membership. Among the first members there were many of the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers and other foreign residents in Japan. Much practical encouragement was received from leading business houses, and Baron Mitsui and Baron Iwasaki were prominent in giving assistance in that respect. Collaboration was also arranged with the Japanese Tourist Industrial Bureau and other bodies likely to assist in propagating the work of the society and making it known in wider circles.

During the first year of its existence the society thought it best

to concentrate upon solidifying its position in Japan and initiating study of the fundamental culture of the islands. Reference will be made to some of these efforts, but before doing so I should mention the important steps that were taken to establish intellectual contact with the artistic circles in foreign countries. Thus Prince Konoe, the president of the society, visited the United States during the summer of 1934, while Professor Anesaki, who is the official representative of the Japanese Government at the Institute of International Intellectual Co-operation in Paris, established the necessary contacts with France and England. Doctor Tomoeda, who was at the time in Berlin as an exchange professor, undertook to visit the Scandinavian countries and also study conditions in Germany itself. A prominent result of these interchanges of information was that Professor Yashiro was sent to London, and has been lecturing at the Courtauld Institute, mainly on scroll paintings. It may be mentioned in this connection that he has been asked to deliver one of the official lectures in connection with the Chinese Exhibition. Further, a Japanese scholar, Mr. Harada, delivered a course of lectures at Oregon University in the United States. His name is, however, also well known in England as a contributor to art journals. Lastly, Mr. and Mrs. Horiguchi went to South America and established the necessary connections in that continent.

These efforts were supplemented at home by the arrangement of courses of lectures on Japanese art and literature for the benefit of foreign residents and visitors in Japan. These lectures were delivered by the leading experts upon the various subjects that were dealt with, and it was thus made possible for the first time for our foreign guests to come into personal relations with the leading professors and scholars of our country.

No time was lost in establishing a reference library, which was made accessible to foreign visitors to Japan and enabled them to supplement the knowledge they had acquired in attending these lectures by independent study. It was of considerable help to them that the above-mentioned lectures were printed in English for their convenience.

Another plan that was actively promoted was that of making arrangements for the visit of distinguished foreign scholars to Japan. The first of these has been Professor Wigmore, of the North-Western University in Chicago. He has devoted many years to the study of comparative legislation and is an authority on the Japanese Feudal Era. It was thought useful to invite Professor Wigmore to stay in Japan for a period of time to deliver some lectures and at the same time profit by his visit in order to complete his enquiry into Japanese feudalism through facts obtained on the spot. It is proposed to follow up this visit with one

y an English scholar who, it is hoped, will come to our country hortly.

Returning now to our work in Japan itself, it may be stated that he most important of our regular undertakings is that of prepar- ng and publishing an annual volume of bibliography in which is o be found a list of all the books published during that year that ave to do with Japanese culture provided they are written in the apanese language. This is found to be of considerable assistance y foreign students, and the Institute is willing, in certain cases, o provide translations of selected passages for their information. econdly, the Institute is preparing the publication of a work in ix volumes dealing with Japanese culture as a whole. These fforts, however, are merely those in which the Institute acts as ublisher. It has found, however, a further field for activity in dvising upon and assisting publication of works by others, and as thus been instrumental in the publication of many works which might otherwise not have seen the light.

Another important department of the Institute is that which as to deal with exhibitions of Japanese art. This department as already several successful enterprises to its credit. In the first lace, it organized the Japanese section for the exhibition of tex- iles that was held at the Metropolitan Museum in New York ast February. Another effort in this direction was participation n an International Exhibition of Industrial Art in Johannesburg: his being notable as the first official artistic contact of this nature etween Japan and one of the British Dominions. But the most nportant of them all has been the part it has played with regard o the International Exhibition of Chinese art which is now being eld at the Royal Academy in London. This participation has een the more gratifying for the reason that it has been the first ccasion on which, since the passing of the National Treasures ct, examples of art, which are under the protection of the apanese Government by the provisions of this Act, have been llowed to leave the country. There was some inevitable delay n overcoming the legal difficulties involved in allowing these easures to leave the country, but both the Japanese Government nd people are very gratified that it has been found possible to o so.

One of the unfortunate gaps in our knowledge of European art British art, which is the more deplorable in view of the position eld by the English language in Japan. Our people are especially ppreciative of the artistic achievements of William Blake, Turner, nd the Pre-Raphaelite School, not to mention the great land- ape painters. But they have not so far had an opportunity of eing examples of these artists' work. Their admiration has een caused by contemplating their works from reproductions in

albums and books. I believe you have a saying in England that, "They order these things better in France," and without entering into a discussion as to whether this saying is justified, I may mention, in passing, that in this case, at any rate, the French have shown great energy. There is, as is known, a special bureau in Paris which deals with the question of lending original works by French artists to other countries, and Japan has not been overlooked in their efforts.

Another example of the French desire for interchange of artistic ideas with our country has been the establishment of the Maison Franco-Japonaise, with which the distinguished Sanskrit scholar, Professor Sylvain Lévi, was associated, and in fact he resided in our capital for quite a long time. Other professors associated with this work have been Professor Foucher and Mr. Hackin. Although this does not lie within the sphere of the activity of our Institute, I express the hope that England will make a similar effort in that direction.

We are also anxious to study the art and culture of India. This is of special importance for us on religious grounds on account of the holy places in India associated with the Buddha. As India is, in reality, the original home of Buddhism, her art and literature have attracted many of our devout scholars and we are anxious to promote this study. An example of this has been the encouragement we have given to a Japanese artist to complete the painting of frescoes illustrating the life of the Buddha at Bodh-Gaya.

Cordial relations have also been established with Australia and New Zealand, and there has been an interchange of visits by scholars. Recently a company of Japanese players have been invited to visit Australia, and I hear that all the expenses in connection with the visit have been offered to be paid by people in Australia. A prominent part in this cultural movement has been played by Sir John Latham, who has shown much interest in Japanese culture and who visited our country recently.

These facts will, I hope, give some idea of the achievements of the Institute during the short period since its foundation. We hope from these small and tentative beginnings to lead up to more tangible results. My visit to this country has not been as long as I had wished, but I have been able to get a picture of what the co-operation between Great Britain and Japan in artistic matters might be, and I trust that that picture will become a reality before many years have passed.

FRENCH IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA

By Stanley Rice

If there is one thing by which the French are distinguished from other peoples in their outlook on the world, it is the absence of colour prejudice. It may be that it was to this that we should ascribe the policing of part of the occupied areas in Germany by dark troops, who moreover assailed the musical German ear with their outlandish strains. This does not necessarily mean that the French dominions are governed better or even with more sympathy, for France is sternly set upon maintaining her own supremacy. It is not in the abstract that this quality is manifested but rather in the contact of individuals. The French outlook is somewhat different from that of the English, and a French traveller will start on his journey with rather different ideas. And yet there is one chamber which he cannot unlock, or if he does unlock it, where he can only catch a glimpse of the veiled figure therein, for it is given to no one to see and to describe fully India's most carefully guarded secret—the secret of her soul.

This is perhaps a hard saying, and some who have visited India with the avowed intention of unlocking that secret may not believe it. Madame de Manziarly* certainly did her best to overcome the difficulty, for she stayed, not in the hotels provided in the larger places for Europeans, but with Indians themselves, doing as they did, and content to observe the customs which the observance of caste forced upon them. That she was able to do even this much is a sign of the times; fifty years ago it is very doubtful whether she would have been admitted into an Indian household, even on condition that her meals were served separately and that she conformed in other ways to Indian custom. Yet though these outward observances of caste have to a large extent broken down among the more educated, it cannot be said that the inner and far more important aspects of it are weaker than they were, and in the villages there is very little sign that even the outward observances are less strictly kept. She writes:

"When I left Europe, I was told that no European could be really intimate with the East; if that is true, I am not a European, for I have certainly been intimate with Indians and I have friends and true friends there. There is no real difference between Europeans and Indians, except a skin darkened by a stronger sun than

* *Pérégrinations Asiatiques*. By Madame L. de Manziarly. (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, P. Geuthner.)

we know. There is no barrier of the heart nor of the mind nor of the soul: the small differences that there are (which are to be found between a Norwegian and a Neapolitan)—in manners and customs and education—are easily levelled by comprehension and sympathy and a real interest. We have talked long and intimately, my Indian friends and I; we have understood one another and have felt ourselves close to one another. We never found that there was an unbridgeable gulf between us."

This rather long quotation has been given in full, because it is the keynote of the book. Madame de Manziarly has seen India through rosy spectacles; she is charmed with everything and, one is tempted to say, she deliberately shuts her eyes to what is ugly and unattractive. It is a trait that does her honour; it is in no spirit of cavilling that one is betrayed into thinking that the high lights are a little too high and the shadows are softened beyond strict justice. In fact, the only thing which she could never get used to was—the monkeys. "La seule chose angoissante, ce sont les singes." Bears, snakes, tigers, lions—where were the lions?—cholera, plague, and sunstroke—these things had no terrors, because they were never seen and so were out of mind. But she found it terrifying to be surrounded by monkeys "who make faces at you," though she knew they were not dangerous.

Agra was more than a delight; it was an enchantment. She liked to think of herself as a part of the place, she could imagine herself "a citizen of Agra, when she need never leave the Taj, could enter into the charm of Fatehpur Sikri, could understand the secret of the 'Shahs,' the Queens and the Sultanas." Yet it was neither the art nor the secrets of dead queens that really attracted her. What she was concerned with was rather the life of the people, of the people whom she saw and was able to visit, for she apparently saw very little of the life of the villages, which is the real life of India.

Perhaps that which differentiates her book from those of our other travellers may best be found in their impressions of Benares. All alike are impressed by the obvious considerations of dust and squalor, by the unpleasant sight of beggars exhibiting their sores for alms, of the general air of religious fervour amounting to fanaticism, and the crude gruesomeness of the fires consuming their human meal. But while Madame de Manziarly admits these things she looks a little deeper and beyond them to the religious exaltation and fervour which induces Hindus to accept them for the sake of the salvation which the holy river and the holy city promise; the others are more impressed by the external conditions.

M. Jean Pellenc,* as he says himself, went to India to paint pictures but never even began them. It is perhaps because he

* *L'Inde s'entrouve*. By Jean Pellenc. (Paris: Librairie Plon.) 20 fr.

an artist that he is inclined to describe India as a series of pictures, and this was the aspect in which Benares struck him: "I saw nothing but hideous faces, grotesquely painted, and bodies tattooed and mutilated." Nevertheless he, too, finds nothing to laugh at in the religious fervour of the place, for everyone is seeking after his fashion for a knowledge of the divine. Why, he asks, are the masses no longer guided by the ancient philosophy? Why has Hinduism thus sunk to this kind of superstition? He hesitates to supply the answers, but suggests that there is a decline of true religious sentiment; the priests lack moral influence in British India and in the States the Rajas can no longer supervise religion. It may, however, be doubted whether the people ever were much influenced by the ancient philosophy. It was too eclectic for them. While they accept certain doctrines, such as the caste system and the law of Karma, the rest of the religion of the masses is little more than a mixture of Hindu observances and of aboriginal cults. They were no more influenced by the philosophy of the Upanishads than are the masses of England by the learned disquisitions on theology which appear from time to time in the names of leading divines.

M. le Bourgeois,* who, like M. Pellenc, calls a spade a spade and is not tempted to idealize the facts of Indian discomfort, also sees the less pleasant side of Benares, the beggars, lepers, and guides who pestered him with their importunity. He did what he could to enter into the heart of India, to imagine, as he says, that Kali is a real goddess and that one ought to meditate upon her. But apparently Benares was too overwhelming for him and he turned his attention to the burning ghats. Yet even in this bustling crowd he found serenity, "a word which no longer means anything in Europe." But each of these observers has failed to notice what is perhaps the true meaning of Benares, as pointed out to me by an Indian friend; it is the centre and focus of Hinduism. Hindus from all parts of India flock to Benares, which thus becomes the nucleus of a nationality founded in religion. When sceptics point to dissimilarity of custom and to the Babel of languages, they are speaking the language of Europe. To the Indian mind such trivialities as these do not matter; the Hereafter is much more important than the Present. That is what is constantly preached from our pulpits and that is what in practice no one carries out. But in India, where religion is such a vital force, the unity of Hinduism is proclaimed at Benares as nowhere else. M. Jean Pellenc, though he by no means neglected British India, devoted a considerable part of his book to the States, of which he visited Udaipur, Jaipur, Kapurthala, Patiala, Panna, Jhalawar, and Kotah. In Udaipur he is charmed, as everyone must be, with the fairy view

* *L'Inde aux cent couleurs*. (Paris: Hachette.)

of the white palace dominating the town, and is disappointed, as everyone should be, with the interior of the fairy palace. What struck him most was the incongruity and occidentalism of the furniture. European, no doubt, but what part of Europe could have produced such examples? The bazaar was, however, the main attraction, for Udaipur is one of the least Europeanized of Indian States or capitals, a place where feudalism reigns supreme and where the old idea of absolute monarchy persists. Jaipur, on the other hand, was in strong contrast; a busy place with all the accompaniments of a Europeanized State—garden parties, cocktail parties, tennis, polo, and what not. But here too—of course, for so it is throughout India—when he left the capital with its half-European and, to Mr. Pellenc, rather banal entertainments, he found villages, primitive, squalid, almost atavistic. He speaks of the "wretchedness" (*misère*) of the people, and a great deal has been written on this subject. But the people are not really as wretched as they are sometimes made out to be. No one who has seen the serried ranks of dark eager faces on the occasion of a festival, as the elephants pace slowly by, could call them miserable, though they are often very poor according to European standards. Their wants are few and, provided there is a good harvest, it may be doubted whether they are not quite as happy in their simple way as the Prince who, as at Patiala, entertains royally and lavishly, and dazzles the eyes with a superb display of priceless jewels. Hinduism is accused of being pessimistic; the abstract doctrines may be so—that is another story—but everyone who has seen a great festival must be struck by the atmosphere of quiet and undemonstrative joy amongst the country folk who flock to the towns on such occasions.

M. Pellenc, however, does not confine himself to word pictures. The earlier part of his book, as he says, is a record of impressions received from the variety and the novelty of the scene. But what he aims at is the "unveiling of India," and it is in this second category that we must place his digression on the rise of Hinduism, with, of course, its accompaniment of caste, in which, if you grant the Aryan theory as established, he is accurate enough. But this digression seems to have been suggested by a visit to a temple in Chatapur where his European sensibility was shocked by the nature of the carvings. "The sculptor of Chatapur was "un maniaque." Why, he asks in effect, did this sculptor indulge in such an orgy when India as a whole is modest and only now and then is there mixed with "une religion douce et pure" the manifestations of "un sensualisme inattendu." He attributes the eroticism of such figures as those at Chatapur to the influence of the aboriginal cults which, working insidiously upon the pure gods of the Aryan belief, introduced it into the religion and so

inspired the artists who decorated the temples. It may be so, and M. Pellenc cites the authority of his Brahman correspondents; but there is another and perhaps a more probable explanation. Sir P. Sivaswami Aiyar says in his book on the evolution of Hindu morals: "Unlike Christianity, Hinduism never attached any notion of impurity to sex. . . . The fact that anthropomorphic conceptions of the deity in India included both the female and the male elements is an illustration of the absence in the Hindu mind of all such notions of impurity." The Hindu sees nothing indecent in the phallic symbol of Siva nor in the suggestive trident of Vishnu, because such things represent the ordinary processes of nature. We must remember that there is much in Hinduism connected with reproduction which we ourselves celebrate at the coming of spring—at the seasons of Lent and Easter. What inspired the artist was in no sense the idea of shocking sensibility, but simply the childlike and innocent desire to represent in stone the Spirit of Reproduction or to pay their tribute to the God of Fertility or else the expression of symbolic ideas in this manner.

M. Le Bourgeois is more anecdotal. Much of his book is taken up with the story of an unfortunate Frenchwoman who tried to sell some property. The story is evidently intended to show the tortuous ways of Indian lawyers and the specious promises they make which they cannot fulfil. It is not clear whether M. Le Bourgeois thinks that this is typical. No doubt there is a certain section which are quite capable of stooping to chicanery of this kind, but it is not true of the more reputable part of the legal fraternity. Incidentally, it serves to show up the cumbrous machinery of the law, which does give scope to this more disreputable section to display their ingenuity.

None of these three writers has much to say on politics nor upon the part played by England in the administration. All three are rightly interested in the country itself, its people, its manners and customs, its art and its bygone glories. It is therefore with some surprise that one reads in M. Le Bourgeois' book that he is prepared to "take off his hat" to England for three things—New Delhi, the railways, and the administration. What exactly he means by the last comprehensive word he does not explain. It is, however, remarkable, as showing the limitations of these industrious travellers, that no mention is made of that on which, perhaps more than anything else in the way of visible gifts, England most prides herself—the great works of irrigation which have turned so much of the country into smiling fields and have brought so vast an increase of prosperity to those who make use of them.

But if these three travellers had not the time or the inclination to

study the life of India in the villages, Père Lhande* transports us into a wholly different atmosphere. His journeys, unlike those of the others, are devoted to the three southern districts of Madras—Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevelly. Here is the great mission field of India and here are to be found large numbers of converts to Christianity. A good deal of scorn has sometimes been poured upon the evangelizing missions in India, and a good deal of equally undiscriminating enthusiasm has also been expended upon them. It is often said that the missionaries have begun at the wrong end, and that by aiming at numbers they have merely succeeded in identifying Christianity with the lowest of the low and so bringing it into contempt among the better classes and the more highly educated community. Père Lhande himself seems to subscribe to this view. It is really no answer to the charge that Christianity was originally founded among the lowly. M. Pellenc suggests that this lowly origin is sometimes forgotten. But the conditions of Rome were quite different. In India, Christianity is confronted with a living and not a dying religion and with the great—and insurmountable—barrier of caste. As Père Lhande, who writes throughout with considerable sympathy and with much understanding of the Hindu point of view, has said in his opening chapter: "The Pariah is by birth marked down for the contempt of India; a forced worker in the meanest occupations. He is a Pariah and he knows it. The Pariahs do not envy the lot of other castes. They look upon themselves as designed by fate for an irrevocable destiny." That is a sentiment which may be heartily endorsed. For, as Père Lhande says, conversion would have produced more valuable fruit if the Church had been able to elevate them in the social scale, and that, by reason of caste, it has not been able to do. It is a controversial point which will never be settled. There are those who believe in the evangelization of the Pariahs, content with the doctrine that all souls are equal in the sight of God, and would let the rest go their own way. Père Lhande, however, quoting with approval the words of another Catholic missionary, Père Martin, evidently agrees that the Portuguese made a profound mistake when they confined their efforts to the lowest classes, not realizing how great a gulf is fixed between these and the classes above them.

For all that, whatever we may think of the attempt to convert the "heathen," however we may smile at the figures which year by year the missionary societies produce with pride, to show the advance of Christianity, which is mainly among those who have nothing to lose and everything to gain, no one can withhold admiration from those devoted Catholic priests who go about the country upon this work, living too often too meagre a life to maintain health, housed in what are little better than huts that let in the rain and are infested with noxious beasts, and even sacrificing life itself at the call of duty, "if by all means they might save some." Living, as they often do, in villages cut off from the society of their fellow-Europeans, and indeed from all society save that of their own humble Christians, they set a noble example of self-devotion which not even the famous fasts of Mr. Ghandi can surpass.

* *L'Inde Sacrée*. By Pierre Lhande. (Paris: Librairie Plon.) 18 fr.

But for all their devotion they have been able so far to make very little impression upon the higher castes and especially upon the Brahmans. Père Lhande remarks with characteristic impartiality that you can hardly expect them to renounce everything to which they have been accustomed and easily to accept the doctrine of equality which is part of the Christian scheme, but which is repugnant to all that they have ever known. This idea of caste and of inequality is too deeply ingrained. It persists even among the Christians themselves. Quarrels have been known to arise about the seating in the churches and even about the order in which communicants should receive the Sacrament. On the West Coast, where the Portuguese made their earlier converts, caste is still maintained, at any rate to the extent of endogamous marriages; you hear of Brahman Christians, of Sudra Christians, of Pariah Christians, who seek wives among their own folk and not otherwise.

It seems a pity, from the point of view of the missionary himself, that whatever acerbity there is should be between the different brands of Christianity rather than between the latter and paganism. Even Père Lhande, for all his breadth of view, is roused to a mild form of expostulation when he speaks of Protestant missionaries, who, after all, if they do not always live the same comfortless ascetic life as do the Catholics, are still working in the same field of endeavouring to bring the "pagans" into the Christian fold. It must be confessed that there is sometimes jealousy, when the one entices away the fruits of the other's labour, and Indians themselves are bewildered by the sects into which the professors of a single faith appear to be divided. It is perhaps inevitable, having regard to the European history of the faith, but it is none the less to be deplored; and this sentiment, which only very occasionally peeps out, is the only blot on an otherwise fair-minded and studiously impartial book.

M. René Grousset,* in the second volume of his scholarly work on the civilizations of the East as expressed in their art, takes us into quite a different aspect of Indian life. It goes without saying that earlier Indian art is practically confined to religious subjects,

* *Les Civilizations de l'Orient*. By René Grousset. (Paris: Les Editions G. Crès et Cie.)

just as the Renaissance art of Europe is so largely a procession of Madonnas and Holy Families, of Saints and of Angels. In Buddhist art, M. Grousset finds an expression of universal brotherhood which the artists try to depict, not only in the serenity of the Buddhas themselves but also in the tenderness of the treatment of animal life. His impressions of Ajanta he sums up thus:

"To sum up these numerous impressions one may say that the dominant feature of Ajanta is the intimate and harmonious combination of the old Indian naturalism of Sanchi, which is so fresh and so youthful, with the infinite sweetness of Buddhist mysticism. And so Ajanta becomes the very synthesis of the Indian soul."

Amongst the more notable of the Hindu works is the famous dance of Siva. M. Grousset is careful to note the special peculiarity of Hindu art which, unlike Greek art, does not seek to represent the human form at its greatest height of perfection but rather to express abstract qualities in a way that is apt to shock the European. Every pose and every gesture has some kind of symbolic meaning. To the European mind—unaccustomed to art criticism—the sight of six arms and an undue number of heads is simply grotesque. But the underlying idea is omnipotence and omniscience, for the Indian, like the rest of us, is subject to human limitations, and he too, like the Greeks and Italians, can only express his ideas in anthropomorphic shape. In like manner the conjunction of two gods in one, such as Hari-Hara, is the Hindu way of expressing what M. Grousset calls "le syncrétisme hindouiste." It is the proclamation of the monistic idea which is latent in Hindu polytheism. M. Pellenc sees in the dance of Siva, represented by a "succession of movements," time and the processes of universal activity: production, conservation, destruction, incarnation, deliverance. "In the midst of shouts of laughter and of tears,* humanity dances." M. Grousset has explained in greater detail the meaning of the various gestures of the arms and even of the fingers. But, like much else in India, these have been reduced to formulæ, which in the hands of lesser artists have the effect of circumscribing the art and of limiting the imagination. One sees this also in the goldsmith's art, which reproduces special patterns with fidelity but seldom invents a new one, so that if a bracelet or a necklace is produced in court it is very difficult of identification, being exactly like any other article of its own kind and pattern.

Turning to architecture, M. Grousset distinguishes in the main three schools—the Maratha, the Orissa, and the Carnatic or Tamil. The school of Orissa is distinguished by its bulbous form, not unlike an enormous tub standing on end and surmounted by a cupola; the Dravidian or Tamil by the lofty gopuram or tower of many

* Or "sobs."

storeys, all profusely decorated. These schools, though differentiated sharply for the purposes of classification, are, in fact, derived the one from the other. The Orissa style is only the Maratha style (exemplified by the well-known "temple by the sea" which essentially is one of the group known as the Seven Pagodas) in which the several tiers or storeys have been simplified into a curved line, and this again with added height and decoration becomes the pyramidal form of the Dravidian gopura (exemplified by the great temple at Madura and the beautifully proportioned temple of Tanjore). The Maratha school is further illustrated by the temples at Ellora and other rock-hewn shrines which give the idea of being subterranean.

We must pass over the architecture of the Jains, merely noticing the great similarity between the Jain temple at Delhi and the mosque at Ajmere, which form two of the very numerous and informing illustrations in the book. The Mussulmans introduced a new style of architecture and a new style of painting; their buildings are those which most attract Europeans—notably the Taj Mahal and fort at Agra, the fort at Delhi, and perhaps the tomb of Akbar. Mussulman art reached its zenith, as everyone knows, in the time of Shah Jehan, the builder *par excellence*, to whom we owe the Taj itself, the Jasmine Tower and the Moti Masjid. Aurangzebe was not by comparison a builder, though he has left the Moti Masjid at Delhi; but he also had the bad taste, if not the insolence, to build a mosque at Benares where it seems to dominate the multitude of Hindu temples. But even in the Mussulman architecture M. Grousset distinguishes traces both of Hindu and of European influence. For if the conception of the Taj was Mussulman the workmanship was largely Hindu, and the delicate inlaying in designs of arabesques and flowers is Italian. Animals and figures were of course barred, but in place of the sculptured representations of animal life which had been such a feature of the earlier Buddhist and Hindu art, there arose a school of painting which has the merit of having handed down to us portraits of the emperors and has given us some insight into the manners and customs and especially the dress of those times. Nor were these the only innovations. We get rustic scenes and love scenes, not, as formerly, strung on to the thread of a religious theme, but standing by themselves as examples of secular art. The subject of a woman at her toilet suggests a modern picture of the Salon. Rajput art, on the other hand, derives not from the miniature, like the Mussulman, but from the mural fresco. It is at once freer and more popular.

M. Grousset is to be congratulated on his excellent book, to which it is impossible to do justice within the limits of a short article and without reference to the illustrations which appear on

nearly every page. He has taken us exhaustively from the early Buddhist and Brahmanic art through mediæval times down to the age when secular painting began to obtain its due importance. The next period may perhaps be that of the Modern Indian Art School, lately exemplified in London, though neither in that nor in any other has the indigenous influence been allowed to be submerged.

JAPANESE INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By Isoshi Asahi

[This article, presenting a Japanese view on competition in international trade, is by the Acting Consul-General for Japan and Commercial Secretary of the Japanese Embassy in London, but must not be regarded as having been contributed by him in his official capacity.]

The months of November and December, 1935, produced two remarkable items of cabled news from Tokyo to London. One concerns Japanese trade, the other Japanese population, two subjects which profoundly affect the future well-being of the Japanese nation.

The former news item was to the effect that the total exports during the eleven months January to November this year are the highest ever recorded, and that they exceeded imports for the same period, for the first time since the four years of the Great War. In 1934 I wrote that "it has always been a characteristic of Japan's foreign trade that imports are always in excess of exports. Unless some miracle happens, this tendency is likely to continue in the future" (*The Secret of Japan's Trade Expansion*, page 117). Has the miracle happened at last? Fools venture where angels fear to tread. Prediction is dangerous, or appears to be so at first glance in my case, but opinion in Japan seems to be that this favourable balance of some 10 million yen will be lost or greatly diminished before the year ends on account of an expected increase in the imports of raw cotton. Whether or not in a month's time this prophecy turns out to be wrong, there still remains the question: Has it come to stay?

The other item of news was that the natural growth of population in Japan during 1934 was smaller by 200,000 than that of 1932, which amounted to one million. In 1933 the growth was 900,000. The question naturally arises: Has the decline in the growth of Japanese population definitely started? Professor Uyeda of Tokyo University of Commerce, an authority on the Japanese population problem, holds that the stage has already been reached when the rate of population increase will begin to decline, and he estimates that the peak of Japanese population will be 80 millions, whilst during the two decades after 1930 the annual increment is likely to be something around 600,000.

The results of the quinquennial census taken on October 1, 1935, show that the total population for Japan Proper is 69,251,265,

an increase of roughly 10 millions during the past ten years, which gives an average annual increase of one million. It therefore remains to be seen whether or not Professor Uyeda's prophecy will be fulfilled, but the immediate concern for the Japanese people is how to find additional employment for this increasing population. Already the Japanese density of population is the highest in the world. Belgium leads in nominal density, Holland next and Japan third. But whereas 75 per cent. of the total area is fit for human habitation in these first two countries, less than 20 per cent. of Japan's surface is habitable, the rest of the country being too mountainous to give accommodation for man. Consequently, the real density of Japanese population is nearly three times greater than that of Belgium and Holland, and five times as much as that of Great Britain. The following table will illustrate the position (taken from the *Revue Diplomatique*, Tokyo, August 1, 1935):

DENSITY OF POPULATION.

Country.	*No. of Inhabitants per Square Kilometre.*	*Ratio of Habitable Area to Total Area.*	*Real Density.*	*Year.*	*Order.*
Japan Proper ...	174	19%	916	1933	1st
Japanese Empire ...	137	20%	675	1933	2nd
Belgium ...	264	74%	357	1930	3rd
Holland ...	231	75%	308	1930	4th
Great Britain ...	146	81%	180	1931	7th
Germany ...	134	63%	213	1925	5th

Japanese population roughly doubled during the past sixty years. At the beginning of the Meiji era, or about 1870, agriculture and fishing provided employment for 80 per cent. of the population. The absolute number of people finding means of livelihood in agriculture has since greatly increased, but the ratio to the total population dropped to 50 per cent. in 1930. Opinion seems to differ as to whether the saturation point in Japanese agriculture has already been reached. The Lytton Commission in 1931 definitely stated it had. The latest available figures show that the number of people gainfully engaged in Japan Proper was 29,220,000 in 1930, or about 45 per cent. of the total population. In 1920 the number was 27,260,000. In what field did this additional two million find employment? Agriculture provided work for the same number of people both in 1920 and 1930. But the number engaged in industry increased by 100,000 to 5,400,000. Trade absorbed 670,000 more, while 570,000 were added to public administration services, liberal professions and army and navy. It is important to note that agriculture did not, practically speaking, absorb any additional workers during the decade preceding

1930. During the coming two decades, additional employment has to be provided for 200,000 to 250,000 people every year. As the door to Japanese emigration is closed practically everywhere, the obvious way out lies in industrialization. Pressure of population has thus forced Japan towards industrialization. The spirit of conscious emulation might originally have furnished the motives for the policy of industrialization. During the past ten years, however, the urge came from the instinct of self-preservation. The result today is that Japan is exporting what formerly she used to import. But in spite of the increasing process of industrialization, the major portion of the nation is still agricultural, only 18 per cent. of the working population living on industry. In England and Germany, industry absorbs nearly 40 per cent. In this connection, Professor T. E. Gregory, of the London University, writes in the "Conclusions" of a recently published book entitled *Eastern Industrialization and its Effect on the West with special reference to Great Britain and Japan* (by G. E. Hubbard, Oxford University Press, 1935) as follows:

"There is some reason to suppose—as the preceding chapters make clear—that the extent and rapidity of the process (of industrialization) is being exaggerated by public opinion in the West, perhaps even in the case of Japan. However that may be, it is not the ultimate point to be borne in mind. *Industrialization is the only possible solution for the appalling absolute standards of life in the East:* it requires a degree of economic irrationality, of which the present writer is not capable, to regard the process as on balance undesirable. It follows that, difficult as the problems of adjustment may be, they remain subsidiary, not in the sense that solutions are easy to find, but in the sense that they flow from an historical process *which cannot be resisted, and which ought not to be resisted.*" (Page 371. Italics are mine.)

Given markets for her manufactures, there is still room for further industrialization in Japan. With the rapidly improving standards of life, home consumption is bound to increase. To a considerably great extent, however, Japanese manufacturers have to depend on markets abroad. The degree of Japan's dependence on consumption of her manufactures abroad is well illustrated by an investigation conducted by the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry. According to this inquiry, the export ratio for staple industries is 51·6 per cent. for cotton textiles, 45 per cent. for rayon textiles, 51·5 per cent. for hosiery, 93·3 per cent. for pottery, 76·2 per cent. for raw silk. Even in the highly industrialized United Kingdom the proportion exported is said to be only 16 per cent. in 1934. In Japan's case, since textiles still occupy the foremost place in her exports (57·3 per cent. in 1934), the overwhelming importance of foreign markets for Japanese industry can well be imagined from the figures enumerated above.

People who raise a hue and cry against Japanese competition seldom seem to pay attention to the relative importance of

Japanese exports in the world's markets. In spite of the spectacular recovery during the last few years, Japanese exports in 1934 accounted for the very negligible proportion of 3 per cent. of the total of world exports—that is, roughly one-fourth of the United Kingdom's share. Moreover, not all of this 3 per cent. enters into competition with manufactures of the highly industrialized West, for 40 to 50 per cent. of Japanese exports consist of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods, such as raw silk, which is the special produce of Japan. Until 1929, raw silk used to represent just over one-third of Japan's exports. Owing to the universal depression, and competition from rayon, the exports dropped from 781 million yen in 1929 to 286 million yen in 1934. As sericulture is the chief source of cash income to two million agricultural families, the hardships occasioned may better be imagined than explained. Between 1930-34, raw silk still accounted for 13 to 30 per cent. of the total exports. As the proportion of exports of manufactured goods is steadily rising (47 per cent. in 1930 against 62 per cent. in 1934), so is the proportion of imports of raw materials equally on the increase, as Japanese manufacturing industry depends on foreign countries for raw materials. This brings me to the other side of the story of Japanese trade expansion, which has attracted very little attention—the part Japan plays as buyer in the world's markets. The importance of the import side can hardly be over-emphasized, for since 1868, the year when Japan emerged from feudalism and entered into the new era of Meiji (Enlightment), imports exceeded exports in 47 years out of 67, most of the exceptions (excess of exports) occurring in the nineteenth century. Since the war there has not been a single year in which Japan has had a favourable balance of trade, the total adverse balance to 1934 amounting to the colossal figure of 3,689 million yen.

More than 60 per cent. of the total imports is represented by raw materials. The most important of the raw materials bought abroad is raw cotton, which forms 25 to 35 per cent. of the total imports and is increasing every year. Next comes raw wool, chiefly from Australia and South Africa, which is rapidly increasing as the demand for woollen goods grows with the greater prevalence of Western style clothing throughout the country. Apart from these textile raw materials, increasing quantities of iron ore, coal, crude rubber, paper-pulp, etc., are being imported. Most of these raw materials are imported from the British Empire, cotton from India (and U.S.A.), wool from Australia, pulp from Canada, and rubber and iron from Malaya. Many people will be surprised when told that Japanese imports from the British Empire are far in excess of her exports thereto, for many of the newspapers in the British Empire on Japanese competition

are quite likely to have created the impression that Japan never competes in buying as well as in selling. As a matter of fact, however, the sum total of Japan's export activities in the world markets, not only in the British Empire but also in the remote corners of the world—*e.g.*, in Abyssinia or Guatemala—is to pay producers of primary products in the British Empire. For, after all, the fact remains that the excess of Japan's imports from the British Empire is greater than her total excess of imports from all countries. In other words, Japan's deficit in her overseas trading account results entirely from her trading with the British Empire. Japan has a favourable balance of trade with the entire non-British countries, but it is completely wiped off by a huge adverse balance with the British Empire. Thus, during the five years from 1930 to 1934, Japan sold to the non-British countries 117 million yen more than she bought from them. But this favourable balance was quite insufficient to write off the adverse balance with the British Empire during the period, which amounted to 470 million yen. Japan still had to get 353 million yen more somehow or other in order to pay the British Empire. The following table shows the position during the past five years (in millions of yen):

JAPAN'S FOREIGN TRADE (1930-1934).

	Exports.	*Imports.*	*Balance.*
Great Britain	372·6	387·3	(−) 14·7
British Dominions, India, and Self-Governing Colonies	1,276·4	1,929·2	(−) 652·8
British Crown Colonies, Protectorates, and Dependencies	422·5	224·9	(+) 197·6
Total, British Empire	2,071·5	2,541·4	(−) 469·9
Non-British Countries	5,988·4	5,871·6	(+) 116·8
Total Foreign Trade	8,059·9	8,413·0	(−) 353·1

In the preceding table, the whole five-year period is given in preference to the customary annual statistics, for brevity and economy of space, as it is quite unnecessary to follow the ebb and flow of figures year by year. In any case, to pick out any single year or two would be rather misleading. The period covers, however, the two years 1930 and 1931, when Japan was on the gold standard, and the rest of the period when she was off gold. It is, indeed, during this period that the rise in Japanese exports attracted the attention of the world, and when Japan was subjected, largely in British countries, to quite unwarranted charges of "unfair" practice, and finally to discriminatory measures, of which she is still the victim. The following table briefly explains how Japan has managed to pay for her excess of imports from the British Empire:

INTERNATIONAL BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OF JAPAN FOR FIVE YEARS, 1930-1934. (IN MILLION YEN.)

Receipts.		*Payments.*	
For goods exported	8,060	For goods imported	8,413
Interest and dividends received	108	Interest and dividends paid	575
For services rendered ...	2,911	For services received	1,811
DEFICIT	432	Net outflow of capital ...	702
	11,511		11,511

The net result of Japanese trade with the British Empire is, therefore, that Japan has added 470 million yen to the purchasing power of the British Empire by transferring the 117 million yen trading surplus derived from her exports excess to the non-British countries—which exports represented 75 per cent. of Japan's total exports, and a further 353 million yen out of the earnings from her shipping, insurance, tourist and other services. In addition to this, a considerable portion of the "interest and dividends paid" went into British pockets. An estimate of the amount which thus found its way to the British Empire is not available, but the annual interest on Japanese sterling bonds and loans quoted in London amounts to nearly five million pounds sterling, while more than 60 per cent. of Japan's outstanding foreign loans is in sterling. In her eighty years' intercourse with the world Japan has never been a defaulter, either on the principal or on the interest, although a substantial part of these loans represents the "War Loans" of 1905-6.

It must be patent to everyone that the two sides of the account, viz. receipts and payments, have to be balanced. No one can expect to reduce any items on the left-hand side without a corresponding reduction taking place eventually in one or other of the items on the right-hand side of the account. The converse is the case: an increase on one side producing an eventual increase on the opposite side—other things being equal. Expressed in other terms, it is perfectly true to say that there cannot be such a thing as "one-way" trade. No adjustments in the trade relations between countries are practicable unless they are of lasting equal benefit to both parties, otherwise they cut at the root of the trade relations. These platitudes could be avoided if the natural law of trade, which is quite commonplace, were allowed to operate smoothly without artificial impediments. But the countries of the world, including the various units of the British Empire in their relations with Japan, would seem to be bent on restricting the left-hand column without regard to the other side.

British people do not seem to appreciate the part Japan plays in adding to the purchasing power of the British Empire, thereby

enabling India, Canada and Australia to buy more goods from the United Kingdom and pay interest and dividends on the United Kingdom investments in these countries. On the contrary, British India, the Dominions, the self-governing colonies and Crown colonies all intensified their discrimination against Japanese goods as a result of the Ottawa Agreements. India raised tariff after tariff and, in 1933, the Indo-Japanese Treaty, which contained the most-favoured-nation clause, was denounced. Subsequent negotiations accompanied by the Japanese threat of boycott of Indian cotton resulted in the conclusion of a new Agreement in January, 1934, whereby the Indian tariff of 75 per cent. on cotton tissues was reduced to 50 per cent. Canada went so far as to raise duties to 300 per cent. A series of protests from the Japanese Government were, however, of no avail, and it was forced in July, 1935, to retaliate by charging additional duties of 50 per cent. on Canadian wheat, flour, paper-pulp, etc. Canada, in return, imposed a further 35 per cent. duties on Japanese goods. Trade between the two countries practically stopped. It is fortunate that the King Government, which replaced the Conservative Government in October, 1935, seems to be more reasonably disposed over this question. An adjustment satisfactory to both countries is likely to be reached in the near future, bringing to an end the "tariff war" which benefited nobody at all. South Africa imposes a "dumping duty" in addition to the ordinary duties on Japanese goods. In the Crown colonies and Protectorates a higher tariff barrier was erected against non-British goods so as to enable the United Kingdom manufacturers to sell their wares under the safe shelter of tariff walls. As these walls were not sufficient protection to Lancashire, the United Kingdom Government ordered these colonies to impose quotas on cotton and rayon textiles from May, 1934. Protests were overruled, and it may be mentioned that in the case of Ceylon the legislature voted against the measure. These colonial tariffs and quotas differ little from a direct governmental subsidy in their effects on British industry, the only difference being that whereas the taxpayers in the United Kingdom would be called upon to bear the cost of an actual subsidy, the burden is borne by the native consumers in the case of colonial tariffs and quotas.

In May, 1933, British West Africa withdrew from the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, which contains the most-favoured-nation clause, so as to be free to discriminate against Japanese goods.

British colonies which do not practise discrimination against Japanese goods in some form or other are the exception rather than the rule. The case of British East Africa, including Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, is one of the very rare exceptions. The Congo Basin Treaty, of which

Japan is one of the six signatories, precluded the British authorities from adopting legal measures of a discriminatory nature against Japanese goods, as the treaty maintains the principle of the open door and of equal opportunity. Representations have been made by Lancashire in which the hope has been expressed that a quota system comparable to that which has led to "an enormous increase in cotton exports to other parts of the Empire might be introduced" (the *Morning Post*, November 11, 1935). The Law Officers of the Crown pointed out that the treaties involved could be terminated or modified only with the consent of all parties. However, although it may not be possible to discriminate in the letter of the treaties in the territories concerned, there is—wittingly or unwittingly—discrimination in fact since duties are levied by reference to weight, which operates particularly unfavourably against low-priced Japanese goods. But because actual discrimination as practised in other British colonies is ruled out as inconsistent with the treaty obligations assumed in 1919, according to the *Morning Post*, "a rich market in the British Empire is today virtually closed to British exporters, . . ." and the position Lancashire held formerly has now passed to Japan, who today provides 85 per cent. of the goods imported into British East Africa, while the British share has dropped to 8 per cent. The case afforded by British East Africa is very instructive. Lancashire seems incapable of competing with the Japanese cotton industry in overseas markets except under conditions of preferential tariff walls and quotas. But even tariffs and quotas do not appear sufficient to secure the British cotton industry, which has been officially classed, during the past decade or so, as one of the "contracting industries" as against the "expanding industries" in the employment statistics of the United Kingdom. Thus, in the month immediately before the imposition of quotas, in April, 1934, 390,000 people were employed in the British cotton industry, whilst the latest available figures of employment puts the number at 357,000 (October, 1935). Exports to the protected areas may have increased, but the fact cannot be disguised that employment in the cotton industry dropped, while employment as a whole in all industries is rising. Discussing the latest report of the Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organizations on "Empire Trade in Cotton and Rayon Goods Before and After Ottawa," the *Manchester Guardian* (November 29, 1935) states that "This should serve to remove many false impressions on the degree to which the cotton trade can rely on Empire markets and on the causes of the recent increase in Empire trade. Its conclusions have an even wider bearing. Lancashire, it thinks, cannot expect a much greater share of the Empire market without a considerable widening of the margin of preference, greater than

is likely to be secured. . . . We come back to the old truth that attempts to restrict trade to Empire countries cannot assure the prosperity of Lancashire."

The case of British North Borneo offers a living illustration of the views of Lord Riverdale expressed in July at the Eighth Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce to the effect that Japan is doing good service by providing cheap goods which the native populations of the less advanced countries can afford to buy. Major-General Sir Neil Malcolm, chairman of the British North Borneo Chartered Company, referred to Japanese competition in the following words at the annual meeting of the company on July 16, 1935:

> "We have not felt justified in putting on either a prohibitive duty against Japanese goods, or imposing a quota. In the interests of this Company as a whole, and of our population, we have felt most strongly that neither of these courses, which have been rather pressed upon us, would be wise or justifiable. Consequently cheap Japanese cloth has continued to come in, and very many of the poorer members of the population—and on the whole our population is decidedly poor—have discovered that it is possible for them to be far better clothed now than ever before. But there seems to be another result which could hardly have been foreseen. Cheap Japanese clothing and other goods seem to have encouraged a taste for better things, and it is very remarkable that the rebate paid by our Customs on British goods rose from £1,600 in 1933 to nearly £11,000 in 1934. The result is extremely interesting. The truth appears to be that cheap Japanese goods have encouraged a taste for better things, and that the Chinese have a natural tendency, just as we have in this country, to buy the best quality they can afford. They know just as well as we do that in most commodities it pays to buy a good article. In this same connection I was surprised to find when visiting one of our schools—it was a school in Jesselton, as a matter of fact—how many of the boys had bicycles which were of British make. Japanese bicycles are absurdly cheap, and by no means bad at the price, but just about half of the bicycles I saw at the school were British."

The question whether or not the Ottawa policy shall be continued and intensified is one for the statesmen in the British Empire to decide. But so far as Japan is concerned, it seems that the British policy of discrimination against Japanese goods earned in Japan more feelings of enmity than are likely to be compensated for by the material benefit which might have actually accrued to British industry. In fact, the application of discriminatory measures was preceded by declarations throughout the British Empire that Japan was guilty of "unfair competition." The real facts about Japanese competition gradually came to be known among the British public with the publication of the masterly report of the Barnby Mission which was sent to Japan and Manchoukuo in the autumn of 1934 by the Federation of British Industries, the report of M. Fernand Maurette, Assistant Director of the International Labour Office, Geneva, and a Memorandum on Japanese Competition by Professor T. E.

Gregory of London University. As a result, one seldom hears nowadays about "unfair Japanese competition." But that does not alter the fact that anti-import measures directed against Japan are still being vigorously applied in many parts of the British Empire.

It is small wonder, therefore, that opinion should recently have grown in Japan criticizing the whole range of British policy. Does the British Empire, so the argument runs, want to shut out Japanese goods from the British markets and at the same time expect Japan to continue buying raw materials in increasing quantities from the British Empire? The *Revue Diplomatique*, an influential periodical published in Tokyo, in a leading article entitled, "What is British Policy towards Japan: Is England Friend or Foe?" in its issue of October 15, 1935, points out that the British Empire has closed its doors not only to Japanese immigration, but also to Japanese goods, and still asks Japan to keep the door open in Manchoukuo. Great Britain should, the article asserts, abandon the short-term policy of attempting, in the name of co-operation in China, to demand of Japan that which she herself has denied to Japan in other quarters.

The *Tokyo Asahi*, one of the most influential dailies in Japan, advocates that it is without any significance whatever to co-operate with Great Britain solely on the question of the proposed financial assistance to China unless British policy is guided fundamentally by the proper understanding of Japan's economic and population problems (September 3, 1935). Further, Baron Keishiro Matsui, formerly Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain, and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, contributed an article on "Anglo-Japanese Relations" in the *Fortnightly* (November, 1935). In the concluding part of the article the Baron asks:

> "Will the British try, or not, to shut out Japanese goods from their markets, to prevent the peaceful growth and expansion of Japan, to close the only path for Japanese advance? And finally, do they recognize the awakening and the evolutionary progress of all Asiatic races? All these questions must be answered to the satisfaction of the Japanese, dispelling all misgivings. The two countries should first clear away all sources of political friction through mutual understanding of their respective stands in East Asia; and then seek the elimination of the economic friction which is produced by artificial trade barriers. When the political and economic friction is removed, Anglo-Japanese relations will be put once and for all upon a sound and enduring basis."

My object in these quotations is only to show the direction in which Japanese public opinion is being influenced in reaction to recent British policy. Moreover, it will be seen that these arguments are not restricted to "militarist" circles as is suggested by the *Statist* (November 2, 1935). Discussing "Japanese Aims in China," the *Statist's* Tokyo correspondent mentions a pamphlet published by

the Japanese War Office on the day of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross's arrival in Tokyo, and says that "Most reasonable, perhaps, were the men of finance. They represent the least nationalist and the most pro-British of the various sections of Japanese opinion." A misunderstanding will arise if the British public is led to believe that men of finance in Japan are so "pro-British" as to be blind to the Japanese financial position, which is most profoundly affected by the balance of trade. The impartial observer, however, would find it difficult to notice anything particularly anti-British in the quotations I have given at some length, if regard is paid to Japan's specific trading relations with the British Empire. The burden of all these arguments is that the time has arrived for the two Empires of the East and the West to take a full stock of their complex and manifold relations with a view to bringing about some fair and equitable adjustments. As the Report of the Federation of British Industries Mission to the Far East very aptly remarks, such adjustments "should not be one-sided in nature, and each side would have to recognize the legitimate aspirations and the difficulties of the other."

The Japanese people have heard with some gratification the happier pronouncements of responsible British leaders in industry and commerce on the question of Japanese competition. They regard these pronouncements as decided improvements on the position two years ago. But they would like them to go a step further and translate their pronouncements into actions, so that something positive may result to the benefit of both parties.

Japan needs raw materials. The British Empire can supply them. Here the interests of the two parties are in complete harmony. Both sides derive benefit out of the transactions. But the community of interest does not stop there. Would not Great Britain as well as the other parts of the British Empire involved be effected should financial necessity compel Japan to balance her foreign trade by restricting imports from India, Canada and Australia to the amount she could export to these countries? As a matter of fact, the Argentine is asking Japan to buy more wool from her, while Central American Republics, 'Iraq, Iran and other countries want Japan to buy as much from them as she sells to them. Again, would not British holders of Japanese sterling loans be shocked should Japan's balance of international payments so deteriorate as to force her to suspend the annual payment of £5,000,000 interest on these loans? Thanks to the energy and efficiency of the Japanese people, these are mere hypotheses, and very *remote possibilities*, as far as Japan is concerned. In some countries, however, the two hypotheses have not remained such; today they are realities.

The gold reserve in the Bank of Japan in December, 1935, was

the highest since December, 1931, when Japan went off gold. Incidentally, this fact stands in a most satisfactory contrast to the dismal prophecy which was current at the time of the Sino-Japanese Dispute of 1931-32 to the effect that the financial pressure involved would soon drive Japan into bankruptcy—another case proving the wisdom of the English admonition: Do not prophesy until you know.

In the last analysis, international trade is essentially a barter, not a mere exchange of goods and services for gold. "Enlightened self-interest," which Sir Samuel Hoare propounded in a most effective manner at Geneva in September, 1935, would at once admit that the present British policy in regard to Japanese competition in overseas markets does not particularly stimulate Japan to buy more primary products from the British Empire in preference to other producing countries.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AND EXHIBITION OF IRANIAN ART AT LENINGRAD

By Arthur Upham Pope

(Director of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology.)

The International Exhibition of Iranian Art and Archæology in the Hermitage Galleries in Leningrad, which opened on September 10, at the same time as the Third Congress of the International Association for Iranian Art, together constituted an event of first-class importance for all interested in the history of Asiatic culture. There have been a number of important exhibitions of Islamic art in general, several of Persian art in particular, of which the famous London Exhibition of 1931 was the most notable, while a comprehensive exhibition of Chinese Art is now engaging the attention of all connoisseurs in London. The Exhibition and the Congress in Leningrad differs from all these other exhibitions by the fact that for the first time it deliberately, and with a prodigious amount of material at its disposal, addressed itself especially to the problem of the relations and interchanges between various aspects of Iran and all the cultures from Spain, Greece and Sicily, through Western, Northern and Central Asia, even to China. The London Exhibition of Persian Art had concentrated on masterpieces that were exclusively Persian. The Leningrad Exhibition, on the contrary, sought to set the art of Iran in relation to the art of all those numerous cultures with which it came in vital contact, from which it learned and to which it contributed, and that means the greater part of the civilized world down through medieval times.

The potency of Persian art, and one of the major reasons for its extraordinary diffusion throughout the rest of the world, a diffusion in scope and creative power rivalled only by the art of Greece, was due in large measure to the variety of its contacts. Iranian art has played a dominant rôle in the art of Asia, chiefly because it was in continual contact with all of them, appropriating from all and contributing to all. Iranian art thus acquired a cosmopolitan character to which the genius of Persia gave a specific and individual character. Persian art thus expresses at the same time a certain universality and individuality which is the essence of every really momentous creation. But the various ways in which these relations between Iranian and the other cultures were concretely realized had never before been presented in a systematic and comprehensive way.

The extraordinary wealth of relevant material in the Russian collections made it possible to organize an exhibition along these

lines on a scale impossible elsewhere. There were gathered together at the Hermitage some twenty-five thousand objects, of which only a few hundred were lent by Western museums. These occupied some 84 galleries, constituting an exhibition from the point of view of size more than ten times as large as the exhibition in London. There was not such a high proportion of masterpieces of purely Persian art as there was in the London Exhibition. An impressive collection of the handsome wares from Afrasiab and the great mass of lustre tiles did surpass anything ever seen in any Western collection, but other types of early and medieval pottery, despite a few notable exceptions, did not rival the ceramics of the London Exhibition. There were indeed many superb and little-known manuscripts, particularly of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but in manuscripts the London Exhibition was too overwhelming, perhaps, for it to be rivalled again. There were relatively few important carpets. While the textile collection was not extensive at Leningrad there were many sumptuous examples, some of them decisive for the history of the art. Fragments from Central Asiatic finds dating from the beginning of the Christian era threw important new light on the origins of the craft, while ancient royal and ecclesiastical garments, preserved either in fragments or entire, gave a new idea of its scope and character in medieval times. There was one whole satin robe of the fourteenth century, the only complete costume of this type known. The sixteenth and early seventeenth century velvets proved once more that in this art, opulent and refined at the same time, Persia was not rivalled.

The prehistoric pottery from Iran itself and the prehistoric metal far surpassed what was available in London, thanks largely to the Persian loans, which included the results of recent archæological expeditions there. The art of Achæmenid times was exemplified by a superb silver and gold plate, magnificent animal-headed rhyta, jewellery and bronzes of a quality and variety that have never been gathered together in a temporary exhibition before. It gave a new impression not only of Achæmenid art, but its technical competence and deep passion for sheer beauty. Some of these animal figures here shown have never been surpassed.

Parthian art is in itself a little dull and ambiguous, but it is vital for historians because it reports the impact of Hellenistic civilization on the spent art of Western Asia which was after a temporary absorption of European styles and themes due ultimately to a revival and an enthusiastic reaffirmation. Parthian art was one of gestation, and out of it was born a new art of Persia, the Sassanian, which combined the ancient traditions with new content, derived partly from the Classical Orient, more from Bactria and some from India, infused it all with a robust and creative spirit,

achieved many intrinsically superb things, and led to a new diffusion of Iranian art throughout the world.

Perhaps from the point of view of pure beauty and excitement, always with the exception of Scythian gold, it was this Sasanian art that marked the high point of the exhibition. Of the approximately 130 pieces of Sasanian metal known, 104 were on view, and were superbly displayed. Next to architecture these powerfully conceived forms best express the character of this important epoch. Even those scholars who were most familiar with this period were quite amazed by such an ensemble, and the greatness of the Sasanian art was never more impressively demonstrated.

Another valuable feature of the exhibition was the notable gallery of Seljuq art, an art which was, until the time of the London Persian Exhibition, curiously neglected. It was, like the Sasanian art to which it owed much, a virile and robust style, and the vigour of its idea in every media and the skill and the finesse of execution in many have scarcely ever been equalled. The group included not only masses of superb silver and gold inlaid bronzes that would be hard to match anywhere, not only a whole wall covered with dazzling lustre tiles, not only seven previously unknown textiles, an art which, in the view of many, reached its zenith at this time; but also the great cauldrons and stone carvings of the Caucasus which mark a definite revival of Sasanian themes and styles. Some of these stone carvings are so close in spirit to the Sasanian style that they were for a time thought in the West to be really of that period, of which they are indeed worthy successors. The collection included all the finest pieces extant of this admirable style.

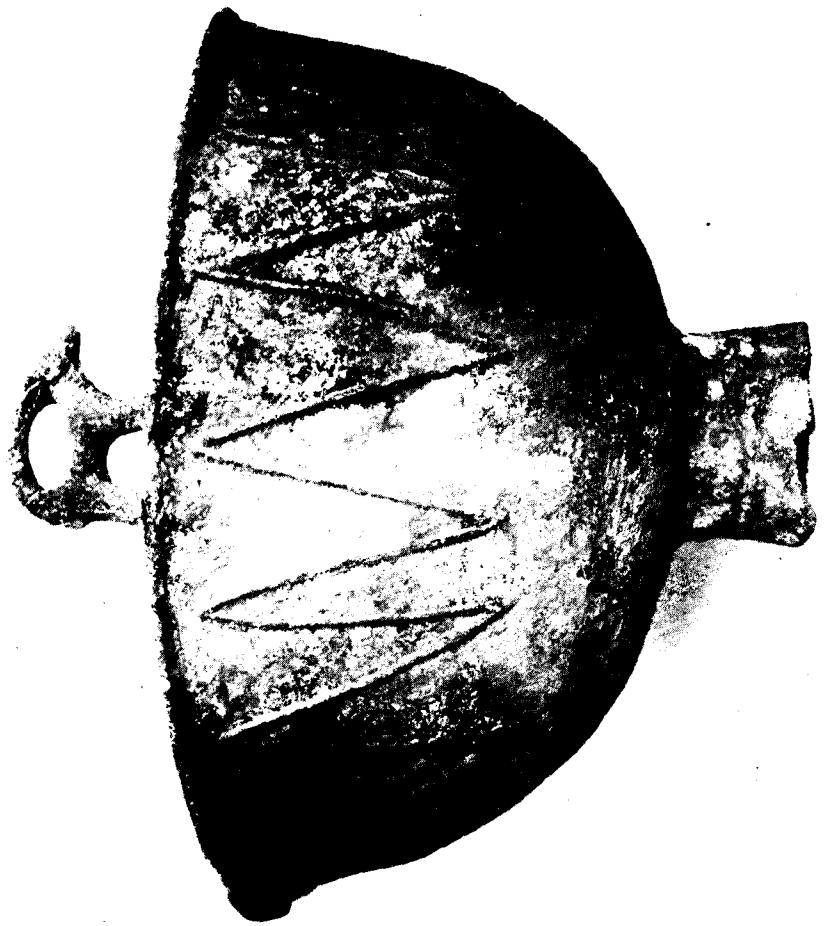
Manuscripts, textiles, arms and armour, rare pottery, all were present in mass, and documents of first-class importance were to be found in each of these groups, but the greatness of the exhibition, after the Prehistoric, Achæmenid, Sasanian and Seljuq rooms, lay less in what it had to present in the art of the Iranian plateau, than it did in the art of the outlying provinces and that of other regions with which Persia maintained vital and productive relations.

The art of Timur, the subject of rhapsodies by visiting European envoys, is hardly to be appreciated by the material in Western museums, but here were not only admirable records in the way of plans and elevations of the architecture itself, stucco ornament, faience mosaic panels, and superb wood carving, but also some bronzes, majestic and opulent beyond all rivalry. The colossal Cauldron of Timur, a sensational affair weighing about two tons and ten feet in diameter, was brought by special car all the way from the mosque where it had been first deposited. It was a handsome as well as an impressive object, but the magnificence

and artistic sophistication of Timur's Court were better expressed in the chandeliers, inlaid with silver and gold, large, not merely by weight and size, but by conception. It would be hard to find more noble metal objects, and they had the further advantage of being in perfect condition.

Outlying regions of Persian culture, like that of Urganj, east of the Caspian, and Serai on the Volga, medieval towns of the Caucasus and Chersonese, are little known in the West, but this exhibition had presented a mass of material from these regions, spoils of extensive archæological work, which was admirably classified and arranged, that showed the interchange of styles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and many important connections with the art of the great capitals on the plateau. Some of the stucco ornament at Serai, for example, is indistinguishable from some of the contemporary stucco ornament on the Mausoleum of Uljaitu at Sultania.

If the exhibition contained no more than what has been recounted it would have been a memorable event, but surpassing in historic interest as well as novelty were the galleries that presented the culture of other lands, distinct in itself, yet related by interchange of influence. The Mogul art of India was represented by superb arms and armour, several fine carpets, lent by the Persian Government from the Shrine of Mashad, and a notable collection of paintings obviously of Persian inspiration. But very little in the way of new idea or fact emerges from the contact, except that several silk carpets which were previously regarded as Persian were seen to be actually Indian work. Nor did many new ideas or facts appear concerning the relation of Persia to the art of Western Islam, which by comparison with the other departments was meagrely represented, but the unique character and perhaps epochal importance of the exhibition lay in the fact that it presented for the first time in history a systematic and relatively complete exposition of the art of all the people that lay to the north and east of Irania proper. The art of this vast domain was shown with a system and with an abundance that were both admirable, although at the same time for the visitor with limited time quite overwhelming. Here at this exhibition were gathered 90 per cent. of the extant material from these regions. One saw in the primitive pottery and bronzes the sure sign of influence radiating from the Iranian plateau, for the variety, quality and antiquity of the prehistoric art of Iran is only beginning to be appreciated. What was the precise relation of the bronzes of Luristan to those of the Caucasus still remains something of a mystery despite all the material on view at the Hermitage. More study and more expeditions, especially to Armenia and Azerbaizan, are urgently needed. The superb examples of the Scythian



BRONZE CAULDRON WITH FIGURE OF A GOAT: SEVENTH CENTURY B.C., FROM KALEKMES

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SILVER EWER WITH FIGURE OF THE SACRED DOG-BIRD OF THE AVESTA, THE SENMURV, IN RELIEF AND GILT: SASANIAN, CIRCA FIFTH CENTURY

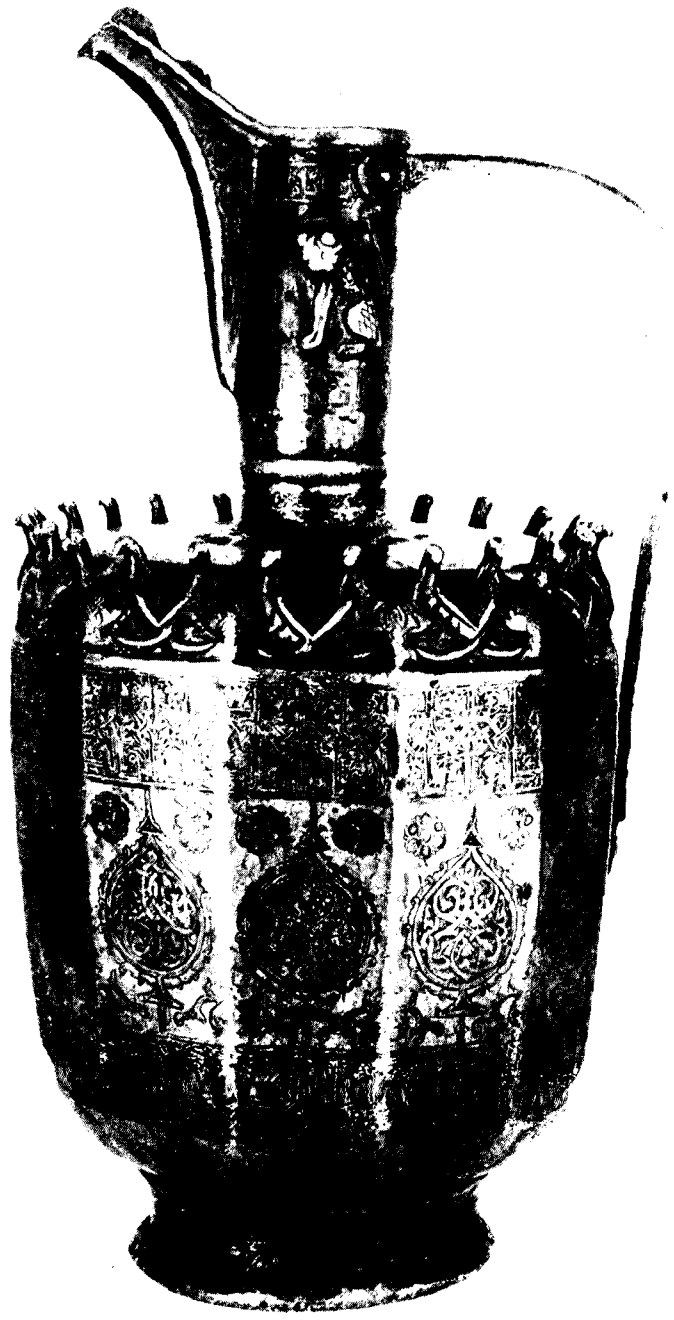
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POTTERY VASE PAINTED IN MANGANESE ON A WHITE SLIP, WITH A KUFIC INSCRIPTION: SAMANID, TENTH CENTURY, FROM SAMARQAND

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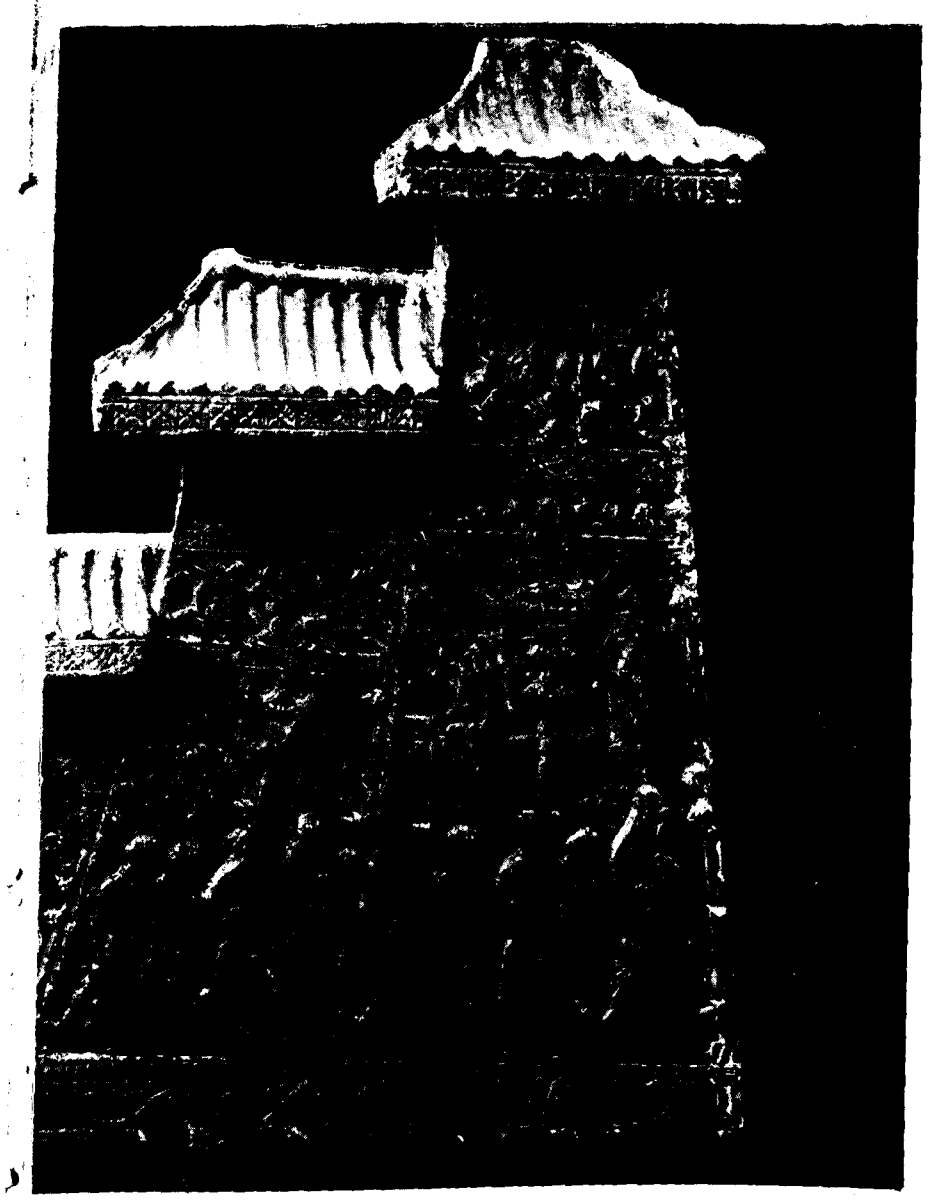
PLATE IV



BRONZE EWER WITH RELIEF AND ENGRAVED ORNAMENT, SO-CALLED NACHSHIVAN TYPE: TWELFTH-THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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PLATE II



: STONE (ONE OF A PAIR).

für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne. In the International Exhibition of Chinese Art.

By courtesy of the Royal Academy.

culture, from the Greco-Scythian gold to the Scytho-Siberian bronzes, reveal a constant dependence, indeed a veritable consanguinity between them and the older styles of Iran proper. The Scythian animal art, despite the varieties of its form, which report so often a technique of wood carving, presents but one version of the Iranian animal style, and all subsequent in date to a very finished and spirited art that had been developing on the plateau itself since at least 2500 B.C. These objects themselves, often of the most intense and poignant beauty, exemplify the abstract decorative spirit in art to a remarkable degree. Here is design that is formal and conventionalized and yet at the same time vivid and compelling. Here are symbols that live, and ornamental forms from which the art of today can derive not only delight, but sound instruction. The animal art of Pazirik, which dated from the beginning of Achæmenid times, astonished everybody by its striking conventions, its vivid spirit and splendid design.

Russian scientists have been engaged over a long period of years in a series of expeditions that have stretched clear across Asia. This vast material has at last been prepared and classified and was now visible for the first time. A long corridor of mural paintings from Turfan with terra-cottas, sculpture, wood and precious textiles gave witness to the splendour of the art of the ninth and tenth centuries, and showed in detail how the Buddhist missions to China, passing through regions that were Iranian in language, culture and æsthetic point of view, were modified and enriched. Much of the art of Central Asia and the Far East becomes quite detached from Iranian motifs, and much of it shows no sign of intercourse, but at some points the relations are clear and this Central Asiatic material throws important light on dating problems, both Iranian and more especially Far Eastern.

The exhibition was enriched in many departments by loans from the Persian Government, in many cases duplicating the loans to the London Exhibition, but new material not before exhibited included important prehistoric painted pottery from Syalck and examples of some of the other archæological finds of the last few years. Although confined to the nineteenth century, which somewhat limited its significance, a loan by M. Diba of Teheran of an extensive collection of various pictorial representations of religious themes showed again how independent Iran has been of the traditional prohibition of figural representation, and also that she was the first in Islam to challenge it decisively.

The exhibition included a good deal of modern work done in Persia of uneven merit. The effort to revive weaving according to the old standards is creditable, and interesting material has already been achieved, although it does not yet equal in skill or

finesse the work of the modern Damascus looms. It is, none the less, most promising, and as older models are the more employed and the technical skill develops it is possible that Persia should see a real revival of this art that brought her in the past such fame and wealth. The carpets chosen were uniformly unfortunate and gave little idea of the soundness of the work that is being done on a number of looms, especially a few at Isfahan, Tabriz, Mashad and Birjand. These crafts showed technical competence, but as yet artistically uninspired; yet there are signs in Persia that genuine taste is reviving. If the older Kufic caligraphy is neglected, none the less there are passionate connoisseurs of early caligraphy from which they acquire a taste for design and execution that will be a valuable factor in the development of taste. A new spirit is already abroad in Iran, and the last few years have seen the appearance of a number of enthusiastic collectors, and sound taste is to be found in many of the more isolated parts of the country from which the best streams of national inspiration can, it is hoped, be refreshed. This movement for the revival of arts has the cordial endorsement of the Shah himself, and it is an essential part of the policy of M. Hekmat, the Minister of Education; and a talented designer, Tahir Zadeh Bizhad, is energetically and enthusiastically directing a busy school of arts. All of these enterprises have the cordial support of the Prime Minister, M. Jam, himself an ardent connoisseur of Persian art, and it is quite possible that Persia may again resume a high place among those people who not only prize but create beauty.

If some of the contemporary Persian art was only occasionally of high standard nothing could really be said in defence of the Kajar art, with the exception of the flower paintings, which frequently throughout the nineteenth century reached high levels of skill, taste and often real beauty. But of the melancholy rubbish that the Court painting of the time of Fath Ali Shah and his immediate successors, which, unfortunately, occupied precious space, nothing useful can be said except that it proved to what utter depths the art of Persia could descend under the vulgarity and brutishness of this justly detested dynasty.

The International Congress for Iranian Art and Archæology, which was held concurrently with the exhibition, opened on September 10, and was attended by 218 delegates assembled from 24 different countries. The British delegation included Mr. Leigh Ashton (Victoria and Albert Museum), Mr. Kenneth Clark (National Gallery), Mr. Basil Gray (British Museum), and Professor Talbot Rice (Courtauld Institute) The French delegation included M. Julien Cain, M. Hackin, M. Georges Salles, and Dr. Morgenstern. There were nearly thirty delegates from the United States. Representatives were present not only from Persia

and India (Dr. J. M. Unvala), but from Afghanistan, Central Asia, Irak, Syria and Turkey, a testimony to the rapidly developing interest in Western Asia in the problems of the history of Iranian culture, and marking a quite significant step in the rapid mastery of European intellectual technique by young Asiatic scholars in dealing with such questions. The delegates from Persia and Turkey reported the active progress that has been made in the last two years by each, thanks to Government encouragement. Archæological research, conservation of monuments, arts, education and the revival of arts have all made substantial progress.

In addition to these reports there were serious contributions to historic problems, and several of the papers given by Persian scholars proved again how important it is that European studies of Oriental problems shall be supplemented by the work of well-trained Eastern scholars, whose first-hand knowledge of tradition and practices in their own country can often throw valuable light on difficult problems.

M. Bihzad, Director of the School of Arts in Teheran, gave a delightful account of the methods used by the Persian painters. M. Diba was able to throw new light on religious inconography in Persia, and M. Moghadam was able to ingenuously supplement Dr. Contenau's interpretations of the symbolization by prehistoric paintings by reference to practices and superstitions still operative in the country. M. Mustafavi offered valuable information on the recent archæological work at Persepolis.

The Russian contributions were particularly valuable in the field of Central Asiatic art and culture. Here their acquaintance with the original material long in their own museums or recently acquired by extensive expeditions gave to their work an authority which few Western scholars could claim. Professor Trever gave a magisterial discussion of the Bactrian problem, that mysterious outpost of Hellenic culture in Central Asia which was a distributing centre for classical styles and ornamental patterns throughout nearly the whole of Asia. India, Central Asia and the Far East alike profited, and it was from Bactria that many classical patterns were reflected back into Persia. Professor Trever was able, by skilful analysis and expert use of coinage and documents, to establish a substantial corpus of Bactrian material and define the style and the course of its development and influence in a convincing manner which represented a notable advance in dealing with this important subject. Professor Strelkov threw valuable light on the whole problem of Parthian art in West Central Asia, and Professor Denike reported in new detail his excavations of the twelfth century buildings and palaces at Termez. Professor Yakoubovsky summarized new and illuminating documentary discoveries covering the presence of Persian workmen in Central Asia, particularly

at the Court of Samarqand in Timurid times. The important stucco Mihrab at Mashad-i-Misrian was discussed in detail by Professor Kotov. Recent researches in Persia were reported by Professor Arne, who sagaciously interpreted the results of the Swedish expedition to the prehistoric sites of North-East Iran. M. Hackin, Director of the Musée Guimet, discussed the Sasanian researches in Afghanistan, while M. Godard gave a most important paper on the influence of Sasanian architecture on the early mosque plans of Persia, accompanied by studies in the plans of the early mosques which thoroughly supported his contentions.

Mr. Schroeder gave the first detailed account of the Jebel-i-Sang, an important Seljuq monument in Kerman, and Mr. Robert Byron reported new discoveries, both documentary and monumental, of Timurid architecture in Afghanistan.

If the European scholars in general concerned themselves with the more usual departments, none the less they offered contributions that substantially advanced the solution of many important aspects of Iranian art. Professor Stryzgowski threw out the rather startling suggestion that the beginnings of the artistic impulses may have revealed themselves in Persia during a break in the Ice Age. Professor Sarre showed in a broad and authoritative manner that the remarkable continuity which is one of the outstanding features of the life and art of Persia was maintained by the presence of folk lore and literary traditions which constantly found renewed but similar expression in art. New discoveries and research on the question of identification of ceramics and textiles were given by Mr. Pope and Dr. Ettinghausen and Dr. Ackerman of the American Institute. Professor Kuehnel gave a definitive account of the character and work of the great Persian painter, Bizhad. An interesting and important aspect of the Congress work was the discussion in one aspect of the problems of falsifications. The cause of the confusion and panic that had so disturbed the councils of experts of the last few years was thoroughly analyzed; and a systematic procedure for detection of falsifications was outlined and proposed which would include in a more or less formal routine investigation of every phase of such problems. Individual objects that had been challenged were discussed, and it seemed to be the consensus of opinion that there had been unreasoning condemnation of a number of well-known pieces which were genuine and at the same time important for the history of Persian art. Professor Leo Mayer, of Jerusalem, made a plea for the rights of the palæographer, claiming that frequently it is he that must deliver the final verdict. Dr. Plenderleith, of the British Museum Laboratories, gave an extremely interesting account, illustrated by microphotographs, of old metal, showing the tests by which its antiquity can be established, and why the recutting of crystallized

metal is not likely to deceive a competent metallurgist, who can command the full resources of chemistry and the microscope.

The exhibition and the Congress together mark an important step forward in the study of Iranian culture and its contribution to civilization, and went a long way to establish the broad claims for Persia's rôle in art and civilization that, when first advanced, seemed extravagant. That civilization emerged in the Iranian plateau seems increasingly evident, and that here art has had its longest continuous history can no longer be doubted, and the constructive influence that the art of Persia has played in the rôles of other lands was again impressively set forth, both by fact and argument. There are still many gaps to be filled in, but archæological work in Persia, the formation of research institutes in various countries, the increasing number of scholars undertaking studies in the Iranian field, and the increasing attention being shown by museums all over the world to Persian art, to say nothing of a whole series of important publications that are now pending, give promise that in a short time we shall be in relatively complete control of the history of a culture that has played a vital rôle in the art of civilization.

M. Bubnov, Soviet Commissar for Education; M. Hekmat, Minister of Education for Iran; Professor Orbeli, the Director of the Hermitage, who was primarily responsible for both the exhibition and the Congress; and Professor Sarre, President of the International Institute for Iranian Art and Archæology, were the Honorary Presidents of the Congress, while the Directors were Professor Youkobovsky and the writer.

The entire proceedings of the Congress will be shortly published in full in two well-illustrated volumes, in both English and Russian, by the Russian Department of Education.

At the last session of the Congress it was unanimously voted to accept the invitation of the Société des Études Iraniennes to hold the fourth Congress in Paris, in 1937 and in conjunction with an international exhibition of Iranian art which will be held at the same time.

INSURANCE BUSINESS IN INDIA

By R. W. Brock
(Managing Director, *Great Britain and the East.*)

Although the educated classes in India are steadily becoming more "insurance minded," and the number of indigenous insurance companies shows a rapid increase, there are indications that, unless Government takes strong action to enforce closer and more general conformity to sound principles, disaster looms ahead on a scale which will bring discredit on the whole movement. "With the exception of the few oldest companies which have been transacting business for over 25 years," the Actuary to the Government of India writes in his latest Annual Report (*The Indian Insurance Year Book*, 1934), "a large number of companies of over ten years' standing have not yet been able to pay any dividend to their shareholders. The advent of a large number of new companies has resulted in intensifying the struggle for existence and forcing up expenses to uneconomic levels. Most of the companies of under 20 years' standing have not yet secured a footing, and the indiscriminate flotation of new insurance companies will not be conducive to the best interests of the enterprise in India, especially in view of the fact that more than 80 companies have been established in the last five years."

Nor does this type of warning come from official quarters alone. *Capital* (Calcutta), which reflects the view of the British commercial community in India, endorsing the Government Actuary's view as quoted above, observes that "His warning comes none too soon, if indeed it is not somewhat belated, for in the past year this spate of insurance company flotations has continued almost unabated. It is true that against the fresh arrivals there are always to be set some who have given up the ghost—but apart from such a state of affairs bringing discredit to the business as a whole, the former usually succeed in outnumbering the latter, so the general increase is maintained." "It is evident," *Capital* adds, "that for the satisfactory position of insurance in India today, credit goes to those few long-established and carefully nurtured Indian companies who have worked along sound insurance practice developed in the West and subsequently adapted to suit Indian conditions. Despite their example, however, it is a regrettable feature of the whole enterprise today that customs, principles and even at times integrity have been thrown to the winds in the desire to float new companies on insecure foundations. The time

is long overdue when a halt should be called, and in this connection the old-established concerns in their own interests would be well advised to take the initiative."

Informed Indian opinion, as reflected in *Indian Finance*, is equally critical and emphatic. Declaring that "there must be disquietude because the very success of these companies has led to a large mushroom growth, which threatens the life and vitality of the healthier concerns," this Indian-edited journal, whose sympathy with Indian enterprise is not open to challenge, points out that though Indian companies are gaining ground and are now able to claim 75 per cent. of the turnover, "it is to be regretted that the position in the insurance world is far from healthy. In regard to general insurance business, the system of clandestine rebates is rampant despite tariff regulations and so-called surveillance by the Insurance Association. Some of the more prominent members of the Committee of the Association are themselves guilty of this pernicious practice. What can we expect of the humbler members? Competition is marked by insane and unprofitable methods; and the authorities of the Association have to devise methods which will be more strictly fool-proof and knave-proof. As for life business, the scramble for business is even more disgraceful. There is hardly any decorum or etiquette as amongst the companies in the matter of employing agents who have left the service of one company, exchange of medical reports, etc. Business at any price seems to be the vogue. The cost of procuring business seems to be a secondary consideration. This cut-throat competition is primarily due to the numberless new companies which have sprung into existence. *Indian Finance* has, over the past seven years, uttered repeated warnings that legislative steps should be taken to prevent the starting of mushroom companies. Our warnings have not been given heed to. It is to be hoped that the Commerce Member will pay greater heed to the gravity of the situation as expounded by the Government Actuary in his last report (quoted above). His remarks in this regard must occasion serious misgivings and call for immediate action. . . . Is the Government Actuary's plea also to prove another cry in the wilderness?"

Stressing the urgency and importance of insurance legislation, the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce urge that after the Special Officer appointed for the purpose by the Government of India has submitted his report a Public Inquiry Committee should be appointed to prepare the way for the introduction of a Bill in the Legislative Assembly. Alluding to measures for the prevention of the initiation and growth of "mushroom" companies, the Chamber express the opinion that the growth of such concerns

and the failure of some of them, which is more than probable, should be checked and stronger organizations should be brought into existence in order that they may withstand competition. With this object in view the Chamber suggest that the initial deposit of new companies in Government securities should be a statutory deposit of Rs. 2 lakhs (£15,000) instead of the present deposit of Rs. 25,000 (one-eighth of the preceding figure), the deposit to be paid either on registration or half in one instalment and the balance in equal annual instalments within four years. Furthermore, the new companies' literature should be certified by a qualified Actuary and by Government before they are granted permits to commence business. For the protection of policy holders the Chamber, *inter alia*, suggest that all receipts in respect of any class of life assurance business should be carried to a life assurance fund and that this fund should be an absolute security to life policy holders as though it belonged to a company carrying on life assurance business alone. While deprecating stringent regulations interfering with the freedom of companies in regard to their methods of business and the nature of their investments and advocating extensive publicity as a more reliable safeguard, the Chamber consider that every company should be compelled to invest not less than 75 per cent. of the life assurance fund within the country, that every director of the companies should be under the same liability as if he stood in the position of a trustee in relation to life policy owners, and that non-India life offices should be required to establish local boards of trustees with responsibility relating to Indian business.

It is not necessary to adduce further evidence of the deep and widespread anxiety with which the activities of a large percentage of the more recently established Indian insurance companies are regarded.

The desirability of carefully considered insurance legislation is accentuated by the immense potential advantages which the wider establishment of the life insurance habit among India's vast, and still rapidly increasing, population would confer. Even the most stringent legislation would be justified if its provisions could be relied upon to avert the setback to so beneficial a movement likely to arise from the collapse of a large number of the "mushroom" companies to which the Indian Chambers of Commerce, and the leading newspapers, have directed official attention. Abnormally rapid development, leading to excessive expansion, unhealthy competition, loss of capital, and finally loss of public confidence and co-operation are unfortunately not exceptional features in the history of Indian economic enterprise; and, in respect of insurance business, the Indian Government and legislature may well profit by the lessons of past experience, and intervene be-

times. As an example, I may recall certain chapters in the history of Indian banking enterprise. It would be unfortunate if, through lack of timely guidance, Indian insurance enterprise were permitted to travel the same road, and commit the same mistakes. Especially in regard to life insurance, the question of foreign competition hardly arises, for, as the Government Actuary's Report states: "Most of the Indian companies carry on life assurance business only. They are 145 in number, and of the remaining 49 Indian companies, 34 carry on life business along with other insurance business and 15 carry on insurance business other than life." On the other hand: "As regards non-Indian companies, most of them carry on insurance business other than life. Out of the total number of 147 non-Indian companies, 123 carry on insurance business other than life, 11 carry on life business only and 13 carry on life business along with other insurance business." Consequently, in the sphere which probably offers the widest scope for immediate development, Indian companies have the field largely to themselves, and the only safeguard they require is conformity to sound principles and the establishment thereby of complete public confidence in their resources and integrity. The volume of business accruing when these conditions are complied with is reflected in the turnover of the older companies, to whose management the Government Actuary pays tribute.

The official analysis shows that the total new life insurance business (excluding business on the dividing plan) effected in India during the year 1933 amounted to 183,000 policies assuring a sum of 33 crores (one crore equals £750,000) and yielding a premium income of $1\frac{3}{4}$ crores, of which the new business done by Indian companies amounted to 155,000 policies assuring a sum of 24 crores and having a premium income of $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores. The share of the British companies in respect of new sums assured is $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores, of the Dominion and Colonial companies 5 crores and of the single German company nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ crore. The average sum assured under the new policies issued by Indian companies is Rs. 1,555 and under those issued by non-Indian companies is Rs. 3,126. The total life assurance business effected in India and remaining in force at the end of 1933 amounted to 867,000 policies assuring a total sum of over 193 crores, including reversionary bonus additions, and having a premium income of 9-2/3 crores. Of this the share of Indian companies is represented by 636,000 policies assuring a sum of 114 crores and having a premium income of 5-1/3 crores.

Some Indian life offices have extended their operations outside India, mostly in British East Africa, Ceylon and Straits Settlements. The total new sums assured by these offices outside India in 1933 amounted to 74 lakhs (one lakh equals £7,500) yielding a

premium income of 4½ lakhs, and the total sums assured, including reversionary bonus additions, remaining in force at the end of 1933 amounted to 4½ crores, having a premium income of 22½ lakhs.

The total new sums assured by Indian life offices in 1933 amounted to nearly 25 crores and exceeded the previous year's figure by over 5 crores. The total business remaining in force has increased from 42 crores in 1924 to 82 crores in 1929, 89 crores in 1930, 98 crores in 1931, 106 crores in 1932, and 119 crores in 1933. Meanwhile the total life assurance income of the Indian companies has risen from 290 lakhs in 1924 to 815 lakhs in 1933. The life assurance funds increased by over 3½ crores during 1933 and amounted to 28¾ crores at the end of that year. The average rate of interest earned on life funds during the year was 5-1/6 per cent. The latest valuations disclosed a surplus in the case of 48 companies and deficit in the case of 9 companies.

The net Indian premium income of all companies doing insurance business other than life during 1933 was 2½ crores, of which the Indian companies' share was 71 lakhs. The Indian companies which transact a substantial amount of fire or marine insurance business also operate outside India. These companies had a premium income of nearly a crore in 1933 from business outside India, of which 56 lakhs was from fire, 21 lakhs from marine and 16 lakhs from miscellaneous insurance business.

Finally, the total assets of Indian companies amount to 36¼ crores, of which the bulk is invested in stock exchange securities, which are shown in the accounts at a net value of 25 crores. The total assets *in India* of non-Indian companies, by way of contrast, amount to 41 crores, of which 35 crores represent the Indian assets of companies constituted in the United Kingdom and 5¾ crores those of companies constituted in the Dominions and Colonies.

The value to India of the activities of the non-Indian, mainly British, companies includes not only the facilities they offer, or the resources by which their commitments are supported, but, not less important, the high standards of efficiency to which they conform, and to which Indian insurance companies must also adhere if they are to achieve comparable success. It is necessary to stress these considerations, in view of the tendency in certain quarters to urge the imposition, on purely political grounds, of legislative restrictions intended to give Indian companies something approaching a monopoly of the available business. As against such a programme it is permissible to emphasize not only the services which non-Indian companies have rendered to India in the past, and continue to render, but the desirability of retaining these services, if not in the interests of Indian insurance companies—although fair competition is a salutary discipline even to

these—certainly in the interests of all who desire insurance facilities, and are entitled to a free and unfettered choice as regards the companies with which to transact business. As has been indicated, it is life insurance in which Indian companies are mainly interested, and in this direction the scope for further advance is almost limitless, for, in view of the size of India's population, now approaching 370 millions, the number of policies so far issued is, of course, negligible. In course of time, subject always to sound management, there is no reason to doubt that Indian insurance companies will make a contribution of immense importance to the happiness and welfare of the Indian people, incidentally creating a large and expanding source of demand for Government securities.

Whether, as in Great Britain, insurance in India will ever become a direct and important function of the State it is perhaps premature to discuss, despite the ambitious and praiseworthy health insurance scheme recently adumbrated by a distinguished Indian doctor at a special meeting in London. A scheme applicable to a compact and highly industrialized country like Great Britain is not necessarily suitable, even in a modified form, to a country with so large and predominantly rural a population as India. A health insurance scheme, intended to reach a hundred million people, is at present, and probably will remain for many years to come, outside the ambit of practical politics and administration. No insurance fund in India that I can conceive could stand up to the strain which, so long as public health remains at its present low level, would be imposed upon it. To mention only one relevant fact, according to the latest annual report of the Public Health Commissioner attached to the Government of India, in 1933 12½ million diagnosed cases of malaria attended at hospitals and dispensaries, and a million people died from this disease alone. Year after year in India, it is officially estimated, malaria is probably responsible for about 20 per cent. of the total recorded deaths, and "many millions of the population experience periods of sickness which cause grave loss of earning power and much economic distress. The problems associated with the prevention of malaria in this vast sub-continent are such as might well daunt the most courageous, for the poverty of the people and the lack of resources among local boards and municipalities prohibit all expensive measures." Although "under present circumstances, probably more benefit can be conferred by the distribution of quinine than by other anti-malarial measures," it is, the Public Health Commissioner remarks, "an unfortunate fact that India cannot herself produce anything like the amount of quinine her population requires and that present prices make it largely a prohibitive luxury to most of her people."

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In a country so heavily handicapped National Health Insurance is unhappily a very difficult proposition. The British Unemployment Insurance Fund was rendered temporarily insolvent by the abnormal unemployment during the first years of the world depression, but the abnormal sickness rate in India would be an even greater embarrassment from the outset. Equally relevant is the continued increase in the population of India, despite the ravages of disease. At the present rate of increase, the Health Commissioner estimates, by 1941 the population of India, which by 1931 had reached 352 millions, will have increased further to 400 millions, the gravity of the position arising from the further calculation that "were all available cultivable land given over to food production alone the supply would fall short of reasonable and adequate demand." If that authoritative estimate is even approximately correct, and chronic under-feeding is inevitable in India for as far ahead as can be foresecn, then the obstacles to National Health Insurance are not merely formidable but insuperable. Furthermore, under pressure of recent financial difficulties, expenditure on public health activities in India, previously low, has been further reduced, prompting the Health Commissioner to utter the grave warning that "unjustifiable risks are still being taken and a heavy responsibility rests on all those who continue to take these risks. The epidemiological history of India does not permit of any degree of confidence in the prolongation of the present period of comparative freedom from epidemic outbursts, and we have had a recent warning from the neighbouring island of Ceylon that such outbursts may flare up in devastating fashion without premonitory signs." Evidently the plans for a National Health Insurance Fund in India would require very careful preparation. But although these are the technical difficulties, as I see them, the importance of the problem cannot be exaggerated and the earnest discussion of ways and means of overcoming these difficulties which has recently been initiated in London is very timely, and, I hope, will be continued.

THE POSITION OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES IN WORLD ECONOMICS

By Charles M. Morrell, f.r.g.s.

It is no exaggeration to say that one of the major results of the Great War and its aftermath is the realization of the economic interdependence of the nations. Intelligent observers of post-Armistice events cannot fail to be struck by the manner in which so-called experts have attempted to disregard this fundamental fact.

Attempts economically to cripple a great country inevitably injure the crippler; trade is stifled and with it the allies of trade, such as transport, banking, insurance, etc. Efforts have been made to correct the initial error by tariffs, quotas, and similar trade-stifling measures. These, in their turn, lead to what may be described as an uneconomic false nationalism, which manifests itself by the creation in specific countries of industries for which such countries are not always properly equipped, owing to their climatic and other conditions, geographical situation, etc.

This, in turn, leads to still higher tariff walls, more quotas, and other restrictions, till the world which formerly was economically strengthened by the fair winds of free trade is crushed and weakened by the stifling effects of the never-ending and ever-widening man-made depression such as obtains in the world in which we live today, and finally the countries which are hardest hit resort to war in sheer desperation, as there is apparently no other means of escaping from the vicious circle.

Holland and the Netherlands Indies never seem to have lost sight of the economic interdependence of the nations of the world, and consequently have held out as long as possible against the restrictions imposed by other countries. Finally, they too have been drawn into the vortex, and have been forced to impose tariffs and quotas in defence of their economic existence.

In considering the position of the Netherlands Indies in this chaotic world of today, it is advisable to obtain a bird's-eye view of the vast Archipelago which bears this name, and is sometimes known as Netherlands India.

Netherlands India consists of what might be termed a series of island groups extending from South-east Asia to Australia. The whole of this vast territory—which would stretch, approximately, from Ireland to beyond the Black Sea, if superimposed on Europe—is under the administration of Holland, with the exception of

the north-western part of Borneo (British), the eastern part of Timor (Portuguese), and the eastern part of that vast island continent known as New Guinea (Australian Mandate).

The principal groups are:

(1) Java, Madoera, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and the adjacent smaller islands.

(2) The islands due east of Java, of which Bali, Lombok, Flores, and Timor are the most important.

(3) The western part of New Guinea and the adjacent islands, *i.e.*, the Moluccas.

Politically, the Archipelago is grouped into two divisions, namely:

(1) Java and Madoera.

(2) The Outer Possessions—*i.e.*, all the remaining islands of the Archipelago.

Historically, it is interesting to recall that Marco Polo, who lived in the thirteenth century, appears to have been the first to have made known in Europe the existence of Java.

The Dutch arrived there towards the end of the sixteenth century, and remained in possession until the Napoleonic wars, when France hoisted the French flag at Batavia. This brought in the British, who landed an expeditionary force, defeated the French, and remained in charge of Java from 1811 to 1816, when it was returned to the Dutch at the conclusion of the Napoleonic war.

After many vicissitudes the Dutch gradually evolved a system of government which is today rightly regarded as a model of what good colonial government—as applied to an Asiatic country—should be. Supreme power and the highest legislative authority are vested in the Netherlands crown. A Governor-General rules the Archipelago in the name of Queen Wilhelmina of Holland. He is assisted in his legislative and executive capacities by a body known as the Raad van Indië (Council of the Indies), and by various departmental heads, who together with the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army and Fleet constitute a separate council of departmental chiefs.

There also exists a legislative assembly known as the Volksraad or People's Council. This body, which met for the first time in 1918, was originally intended to act, with certain exceptions, as a purely advisory council. Subsequently, however, it obtained certain legislative powers. Its President is nominated by the Crown, and its remaining sixty members are partially nominated by the Governor-General and partially elected from three groups of Dutch subjects. These groups are divided as follows, namely:

(1) Hollanders.

(2) Netherlands Indies natives.

(3) Subjects of foreign origin (mainly Chinese).

Broadly speaking, the aim of the Government is to devolute authoritative responsibility to native administration so that the natives feel (and actually are) governed by their own nationals. The system appears to be working admirably, and, incidentally, tends gradually to inculcate a feeling of responsible citizenship. A necessarily complicated system of sub-divisions achieves this end, and it is interesting to note that one of the aims of the Government is to maintain and develop the native states as far as possible, so that they are not incorporated in directly governed territory unless it is in the interests of the population to do so. Moreover, wherever possible small states are welded into one larger state in order to assist the development of governmental supervision through these native officials.

The population of the Archipelago is nearly 61,000,000, of which nearly 42,000,000 are in Java and Madoera. The total European population is 242,000, and the foreign Oriental population (mainly Chinese) is nearly 1,340,000.

The wealth of the Netherlands Indies—which is enormous, in spite of the depression—is agricultural and mineral, and nowhere in the world are found so many different products of the earth which are vital to the economic life of the world as we know it today. This can be appreciated by reference to a list of the principal Netherlands Indies' products:—Oil, tin, rubber, tea, sugar, tobacco, coffee, copra, quinine, palm oil, kapok, pepper, essential oils, cassava products, timber, hides and skins, fibres, ground nuts, and many other smaller articles of produce.

Very roughly a percentage of some of the Netherlands Indies produce *vis-à-vis* total world produce are as follows:

Oil	2 per cent.
Tin	23 „ „
Estate rubber	30 „ „
Tea	13 „ „
Coffee	5 „ „
Quinine	nearly 100 „ „
Cocoanut products	nearly 30 „ „
Kapok	80 „ „
Pepper (an article which has recently received some prominence in the London market!)	75 „ „

In 1934 the total value of exports from the Netherlands East Indies was approximately £80,000,000. The principal customers of the Netherlands Indies (roughly in their order of importance) are: Holland, U.S.A., Great Britain, Hong Kong and China, Japan, France, Australia, and Germany. Formerly British India purchased no less than 10 per cent. of Netherlands Indies' produce

—mostly sugar, but this has very considerably declined owing to the imposition of tariffs.

In spite of the disastrously low level to which world prices have fallen the Netherlands Indies have been able to show a favourable visible trade balance of approximately £8,000,000 for 1934.

Here it is of interest to note the countries who furnish the bulk of the Netherlands Indies imports; they are, in their order of importance: Japan, Holland, Great Britain, Germany, U.S.A., and Australia. Actually Singapore is stated to be the third most important country of supply, but the goods this refers to are transhipments, and figures showing the actual countries of origin are not available.

The economic interdependence of the nations to which I referred at the commencement of this article is undoubtedly realized by the Netherlands Indies at least as fully as by any other country in the world. Here it should be borne in mind that Holland, whose total population is smaller than that of Greater London, is one of the greatest colonial powers in the world. She has therefore found it highly desirable—in fact, necessary—to adopt an open-door policy in regard to the influx of foreign capital.

Great Britain, with her characteristic enterprise, was the first to realize that the Netherlands East Indies, under the solidly founded rule of the Dutch, offered a reasonably safe field for the investment of British capital, and today many millions of pounds sterling are invested in the Netherlands East Indies, mostly in rubber, tea, and oil. What may be termed invisible British investments there, are shipping, banking, insurance, and cables. If "visible" and "invisible" figures were available it would, I think, be found that the total British capital invested in the Netherlands Indies is much more than that of all the other foreign countries in the world put together, and in the case of certain specific articles it would undoubtedly be found that the value of Great Britain's investments approaches that of Holland herself.

One very happy result of what might well be termed this Anglo-Dutch partnership is to be found in the admirable manner in which the Dutch and British Empires co-operate in regard to the rationalization of certain products which they jointly control in and out of the Netherlands Indies Archipelago. I refer to rubber, tea, and, to a lesser extent, tin.

A manufacturer usually estimates his potential outlet before deciding his year's output, but until comparatively recently it does not seem to have been realized that a similar principle could be applied to agriculture and mining industries if they were to be saved from bankruptcy. As a result of this lack of realization cut-throat competition between India, Ceylon, Federated Malay States, and the Netherlands Indies took place in regard to tea and

rubber. The world markets were glutted and world prices dropped to such alarmingly low levels that disaster to these great industries appeared to be imminent. Various remedies were tried, but were found to be useless. Finally common-sense prevailed, and today admirable organizations exist through which, by controlling exports from the Dutch and British countries of origin, production is adapted to consumption, and what is quite as important to my mind, international machinery now exists in order to induce increases in world consumption.

It is a peculiarly happy fact that the Dutch and British have actually progressed so far, although the difficulties have been enormous, and even now much remains to be done to improve and tighten up the existing machinery so that its effects may be fully developed.

It should be added that there is no question of causing prices to become exorbitant, and although at first sight it seems paradoxical, consumers welcome stabilized prices even if they are somewhat higher than heretofore.

Now let us turn to what I term the ever-widening vicious circle in which the world finds itself today. Put broadly, every country wishes to be a seller and not a buyer, except, possibly, of raw materials. This wish expresses itself in the establishment of quotas and tariff walls. The countries which formerly exported and used the proceeds of their exports to purchase goods from overseas have no longer the money to do so, and therefore establish industries themselves.

Let me give an example by referring to Java sugar. Not many years ago Java sugar exports reached the colossal total of 3 million tons. Her chief customer was British India, but she also sold to many other countries, including Great Britain. Owing to tariffs in British India and to a much smaller extent the utterly uneconomic sugar beet industry of Great Britain (which, incidentally, has cost the British taxpayer some 50 million pounds to date and looks likely to cost him considerably more), Java no longer has the money to purchase to the extent she formerly did. Consequently, Java, which is essentially an agricultural country, has commenced to establish her own manufacturing industries, and in the last few years these have developed to an incredible extent. Few realize that Java now manufactures the following articles which partially satisfy her requirements to the detriment of her former suppliers (including Great Britain), whose exports are now diminished by the quantities of goods in question manufactured in Java, *inter alia*: Cigarettes, soap, paints, motor tyres, bone and mother-of-pearl buttons, biscuits, paper, textiles, canned provisions, steel drums and tin containers, beer, cement, etc.

The reaction by the consumers of Java produce can well be the

imposition of further tariffs and quotas against her. These, in their turn, lead to the establishment of more industries; and so the vicious circle goes on until, if universally pushed to its logical conclusion, the practical extinction of overseas trade results. It is to be hoped that as far as the British Empire is concerned trade agreements with the Netherlands Indies will prevent this disaster.

Here it is interesting briefly to refer to trade between the Netherlands Indies and Australia. Australia purchases from the Netherlands Indies considerable quantities of oil and tea, amongst other things, and in return supplies the Netherlands Indies with practically the whole of their requirements of flour and butter. This trade can be developed considerably further, and it is gratifying to note that with this end in view both Australia and the Netherlands Indies have established Government Trade Commissioners in each other's territory.

South Africa has also received her share of attention by the establishment of a direct Dutch shipping line from the Netherlands Indies and by the establishment of Trade Commissioners in both countries. Both these developments are comparatively recent and are being watched with much interest.

The geographical position of the Netherlands Indies has, in recent years, brought Java and other islands into prominence by reason of the fact that they lie athwart the air route between Europe and Australia. This has rendered the Netherlands Indies still more important in world economic affairs, and the link thus formed by the Netherlands Indies is, in the future, likely to be of paramount importance in what will undoubtedly become the world's greatest aerial trunk line.

Our Dutch friends have every reason to be proud of their vast colonial empire, particularly of the manner in which they have developed the beautiful island of Java with its magnificent garden cities, asphalt motor roads, excellent electric and steam trains, shipping and aeroplane services, telephones and wireless telegraphy, and telephony. When the clouds of world depression have finally rolled away it is quite certain that the Netherlands Indies will be one of the first countries to recover, and, as can be seen from what I have written, Great Britain will automatically share in our Dutch friends' renewed prosperity.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL

EASTERN INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ITS EFFECT ON THE WEST, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GREAT BRITAIN AND JAPAN. By G. E. Hubbard, assisted by Denzil Baring. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. (*Oxford University Press.*)

(*Reviewed by* SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

Chatham House, once the home of William Pitt and later of W. E. Gladstone, is now the headquarters of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, which was founded in 1920 to encourage and facilitate the scientific study of international questions. The publication of more than forty volumes by the Oxford University Press attests the wide scope of the studies and the thoroughness with which they have been pursued. Of these the latest to be issued is by Mr. G. E. Hubbard, assisted by Mr. Denzil Baring, and it deals with the industrial development of Japan, India and China, and the repercussions caused thereby on the industry and commerce of Western nations, and more especially with those of Great Britain. The book concludes with a brief review of the facts disclosed by Professor T. E. Gregory, who, whilst admitting the gravity of the problems arising from the emergence of Eastern competition in particular industries, is by no means inclined to take a pessimistic view of the situation. Indeed, accepting industrialization as the only possible method of raising the appallingly low standards of living in the East, he regards the growth of production as necessary to bring about the increased international trade which will conduce to the material advantage of both East and West.

The main problem which has to be faced today in Britain is the mitigation of the loss caused by the elimination of markets, resulting in the unemployment of both capital and labour. The creation of new markets is sometimes possible, but the dislocation caused by successful foreign competition often results in the disappearance of capital and a long and painful process of transferring labour to other fields of employment. There is a grave danger that whilst the industrial development now in progress in India and the Far East may improve the condition of the teeming millions of those regions, it may react very unfavourably on countries like Great Britain which have built up an economic system based on foreign trade. In a period of intense commercial depression international exports have declined in volume, but those from Japan have increased by nearly 60 per cent.

Mainly the textile trades have borne the brunt of this intense competition, and the Lancashire cotton trade has, beyond hope of recovery, lost the major part of its Eastern markets. In all three countries—Japan, India, and China—the number of spinning mills and weaving sheds is rapidly increasing, and year by year these countries are becoming less dependent on foreign sources for their internal requirements. But the rate of progress in

these three areas is strikingly different. Only by high tariffs and quota agreements can India to some extent exclude Japanese goods; China, largely as the result of enterprise in the treaty ports, has become nearly self-sufficing in cotton textiles; Japan, on the other hand, not only holds her own domestic market, but has built up a great export trade chiefly in the East, but steadily tending to deprive Lancashire of its supremacy in the cotton trade in all but the finer classes of goods. Beyond displacing foreign imports of manufacturers from their territories, India and China are not likely to become serious competitors for world trade, but Japan has in recent years challenged the world and bids fair to become a formidable rival to the exporting countries of the West.

In view of these facts, Mr. Hubbard has set out to furnish answers to the following questions: "What limits are fixed to the competitive power of Eastern manufacturers *vis-à-vis* those of the West? Will there be a redressing of the balance, or has the West to expect an extension of competition resulting in a further displacement of trade? Is the Eastern factory worker destined, in fact, to supplant the Western operative in ever-widening spheres?" It was not to be expected that any final or definite answer could be given to these questions, but Mr. Hubbard has been able to present a clear picture of the course of events and with some certainty indicate the probable trend in the immediate future. The main value of the work is that it brings together a useful summary of a great deal of statistical information and places in true perspective a view of the situation which has arisen which should be of great value to those who will have to deal with the problems of the future, whether it be from a political or commercial standpoint.

During the last five years of depression Japan has exhibited remarkable versatility and resource in dealing with the situation. The solidarity of the Japs in pursuing the national policy of intense industrialization has contributed largely to their striking success. Cheap labour, combined with the scientific application of modern methods of manufacture, and the strenuous pursuit of new outlets for trade, have enabled them to overcome the difficulties of their surroundings. From an insignificant group of islands on the fringe of Asia they have become a world power, dominating the Northern Pacific and with aggressive tendencies not unlikely to lead them into conflict with other world powers. The pressure of a rapidly growing population forces them forward, and in estimating the probable economic effects of their industrialization, social and political considerations are of paramount importance. Checked in certain directions by the diminished purchasing power of her customers or by tariffs, trade agreements and quotas, new outlets have been found for her goods, the range of which has been extended with extraordinary rapidity. No evidence is produced to show that they have shot their bolt, and it would seem that in the immediate future the West must be prepared to face further inroads into what have hitherto been regarded as their markets. Trade, however, is reciprocal, and in exchange for her manufactures raw materials will be imported almost entirely by her own mercantile navy. So that here in Great Britain there is an almost certain prospect of further losses in directions which we have hitherto regarded as peculiarly

our own. How they are to be made good is another question which cannot now be discussed, but to which there are fair prospects of a satisfactory solution.

India is chiefly occupied with the supply of goods for her own market, and her exports are still mainly raw materials or half finished products for which she has special facilities. Her output of pig-iron exceeds 900,000 tons a year and of steel 600,000 tons. In this industry she enjoys exceptional advantages so far as cast-iron is concerned, but the steel works are only kept going by the imposition of a high tariff on imports. Similarly under a high tariff, combined with the adoption of better types of cane, the very large imports of sugar, chiefly from Java, have shrunk to comparatively trifling quantities. Again, the expanding demand for cement has been more than met by local factories, thereby throwing out of employment a large tonnage of shipping. The future depends mainly on the working of the new Constitution, and all that can now be said is that if it is successful India should enter upon an era of increased prosperity, exchanging her exports for goods of higher quality and greater value than those now imported. As a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, though the progress of her internal development may severely stress some industries in this country, it should benefit others, so that taking a long and broad view we can accept with equanimity future changes.

The Chinese are great traders and the artisans are skilful workmen, but as yet no great aptitude has been displayed for organized industry on a large scale. What has been accomplished in this direction is largely due to foreigners in the treaty ports. Political instability dominates the situation, and there is a possibility of disintegration. Manchuria has seceded and the Northern Provinces may break away. Till some permanent régime is firmly established and law and order prevail over the vast area under Chinese suzerainty, progress is bound to be slow and fitful. To open up the country railways are necessary, and only by an influx of foreign capital can they be constructed, and that is only likely to be forthcoming in return for concessions which may impinge on the sovereign rights of the State. The inter-jealousies of the great Powers render it improbable that any one of them will be allowed to obtain a dominating position. The natural resources of China are considerable, and the country can furnish an inexhaustible supply of cheap labour, but for a civilized country its people are probably the poorest in the world. The West has little to fear from her industrialization, but probably much to gain, as any material increase in wealth would surely be accompanied by new demands for manufactured goods beyond the range of local industrial enterprise.

It is not possible to separate the problems discussed in Mr. Hubbard's monograph from those arising out of the world-wide depression brought about by the inability of our present economic structure to cope with the increased productivity of human effort in recent years. Neither can we ignore the deplorable economic consequences which have resulted from the short-sighted views which prevailed during the Armistice after the Great War. Our greater command over natural forces has brought the nations of the world closer, but only to exhibit a lack of confidence in one another and

to engender a latent hostility which expresses itself in rearmament on a vast scale. With these problems the economist cannot deal, but he can direct attention to tendencies which, by producing an inequitable distribution of wealth, lead to social discontent and a search for panaceas which if adopted may end in disaster. Mal-distribution of the products of industry is the primary cause of the instability of our economic system, and it matters little whether the surfeit of goods is due to the creation of new centres of industry such as have arisen in the Far East or to the increase in effectiveness of those established at an earlier date in the West. The vast majority of mankind are engaged in cultivating the soil, and in the interchange of their crops for manufactured goods an inequitable bargain has been struck. That is to say, the relative values of different types of human labour have been wrongly assessed, and till a fair adjustment is made the phenomena of poverty in the midst of plenty, and of overproduction accompanied by dire necessity, will continue to exist. The remarkable success of Japan is partly due to her command of cheap labour ensured by a ruthless exploitation of the rural population. It is notorious that all the world over the cultivator can earn less than the artisan, and now the condition of the latter is seriously jeopardized by the inability of the former to obtain a surplus beyond the bare necessities of existence. The catastrophic fall in agricultural prices has been the opportunity for Japan, and the main hope of resisting her penetration into the markets of the world lies in a return to at least the old ratios which obtained between agriculture and manufacture.

INDIA

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF INDIAN STATES UNDER FEDERATION. By Sahibzada A. Wajid Khan. (*Jarrolds.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR WILLIAM BARTON.)

It will be recalled that during the discussion at the Round-Table Conference important issues affecting their financial relations with British India were raised by the Indian Princes. These were subsequently investigated by the Indian States Committee. No decision has, it is believed, been come to on the Committee findings. There are many difficulties and complications in the way of an agreed settlement which may well delay the fruition of the Indian scheme.

The case for the Princes as regards the financial issues involved is developed in a work entitled *Financial Problems of Indian States under Federation*, by a Moslem writer, Sahibzada A. Wajid Khan. The Sahibzada served for some time in the secretariat of the Chamber of Princes, and thus had opportunities of studying the attitude of the Princes and their advisers on the subject. His view is that British policy is mainly responsible for the weak position in which the Princes now find themselves. For a hundred years Paramountcy has pressed heavily on them to the advantage of British India in matters such as the taxation of salt, opium, railways, excise, posts and telegraphs, customs, tariffs, currency, etc. He insists, however, that British statesmen in what they did were thinking of British interests and

not of India. It is now the moral responsibility of Britain to ensure that the encroachments on the sovereignty of the Princes are obliterated before federation; or where this is not possible, that allowance should be made in the financial settlement for what the States have lost. Apart from all this, he is greatly concerned with the defects of the federal scheme which, he thinks, will make it impossible for India to regain the economic stability it has lost as the result of British exploitation. Indians must have power to prevent further economic squeezing. They should be free to adopt whatever monetary policy they consider best suited to their interests (the author is strongly opposed to the "bondage to sterling"); similarly they should be able to prevent non-Indians from working for a living in India; and if necessary should buy out external businesses and investments in India. In other words, the policy should be economic nationalism. Logically, if these are his views, the Sahibzada should advise the Princes not to federate unless there is a complete transfer of power to the Indian politician. Probably he feels that most of the Princes have no desire to see British influence weakened, much less eliminated, especially in view of the threats directed against the States by various Congress extremists.

Mr. Wajid strongly criticizes the findings of the Indian States Committee. The matter is, of course, still *sub judice*, and it is possible that the Princes may be given reasonable concessions in the sphere of finance which would take into account some of the prerogatives they have lost and will lose in future. But there is no hope that Mr. Wajid's scheme will be accepted. Some of the principles he lays down will presumably be adopted—*e.g.*, that the States should not contribute to pre-federation debts and pensions; nor to the subventions paid to deficit provinces; nor be expected to contribute to the deficit in the posts and telegraphs budget. It will not, however, be generally conceded that since the British Government has pledged itself to defend the States as a *quid pro quo* for their renunciation of their international status, they are not liable to contribute to the military budget. It is surely not unreasonable that both the States and the Provinces should share responsibility for this vital purpose, except when the States pay a subsidy or have ceded territories in return for a military guarantee.

Applying his theories Mr. Wajid suggests that the States' share of the cost of federal administration should be fixed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores (about two million sterling) on an estimated budget of 76 crores, and that most of what they contribute in Customs (10 crores roughly) should be refunded to them. He realizes that this would mean the collapse of the federal budget, but he is prepared with a scheme to obviate the danger. This is to cut down the military budget by 14 crores or so; to abolish the political department except for a very small cadre; further economy might, he thinks, be effected by eliminating the British Ecclesiastical Department.

Mr. Wajid would probably have done better service to the Princes and his country if he had examined the economic position from the point of view of the peasantry as well as from that of the politician. Still, with all that is unpractical in his treatment of the problem in dispute, his close analysis of the financial issues between the States and British India will give the general reader an idea of what has to be faced before federation comes into being.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COFFEE SCIENTIFIC OFFICER, 1934-1935. By W. Wilson Mayne, B.Sc., Scientific Officer to the United Planters' Association of Southern India. (Department of Agriculture, Mysore State: The Mysore Coffee Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 13, 1935.)

(*Reviewed by* S. E. CHANDLER.)

The Annual Report of the Coffee Scientific Officer to the United Planters' Association of Southern India is published as a bulletin of the Coffee Experiment Station of the Mysore Department of Agriculture. Perusal of the Report for 1934-35 conveys an impression of careful and painstaking spade-work in connection with the investigation of problems which are as difficult as they are important. The activities recorded are grouped under the heads of Touring, Scientific Investigations, and General Notes on coffee problems which have arisen during the year under review.

The scientific work has naturally formed the major part of the operations and has been concerned mainly with the investigation of coffee diseases, experiments with spray materials and methods, and studies in fruit set and development. The fungal diseases dealt with were leaf disease, which unfortunately needs no description, and "die-back" of the shoots, which in many coffee areas is as definite a trouble as the better known affection of the leaves. The results obtained from the work on leaf disease are admittedly no more than a contribution to the mass of data necessary to enable conclusions to be drawn from the investigations in progress. The work has been concerned almost entirely with studies of resistance and susceptibility possessed by various families of coffee plants available at the Experiment Station and is being carried out on Mendelian lines. In the circumstances discussion of the information obtained so far would serve no useful purpose. The object of the researches on die-back has been to ascertain the part played in the disease by the fungus *Colletotrichum coffeanum* (*Glomerella cingulata*), which, although invariably isolated from the attacked tissues of affected shoots, is nevertheless commonly present on healthy shoots. Cultural work and inoculations (both as laboratory and field experiments) were carried out, but the results obtained were inconclusive: on the other hand, the work showed that before the fungus can be definitely ruled out as an important factor in the causation of die-back, it is necessary to prove the inability of the fungus to invade fresh wounds. While further mycological work in this direction is most desirable planters (and others) will appreciate the practical significance of the Scientific Officer's remarks in recording his field observations of this disease. He states that, although the work suggests that the dying back of the young wood most commonly follows premature leaf-fall caused by leaf disease, there is no doubt that die-back may follow a large variety of unfavourable growth conditions, although the sequence always appears to be premature leaf-fall and shoot decay. The value of spraying against leaf disease in this connection is obvious, but it is pointed out that this treatment alone is often insufficient, and that in such cases it is frequently found that soil conditions are unfavourable. The conclusion reached that control of the disease lies rather in amelioration of such contributory factors than in direct measures against the fungus is one that finds abundant support in other fields of work.

The work on spraying was mainly concerned with testing, as regards efficacy against leaf disease, of spray mixtures containing "new" materials employed as spreaders or adhesives: these comprised jingelly oil, sodium linoleate, groundnut oil and honge oil, as against casein, resin soda, fish oil soap and linseed oil used in earlier experiments. For various reasons no positive conclusions can be drawn from the tests, but, in regard to another aspect of the matter, it is urged that the general tendency of the results is to suggest that, in spraying against coffee leaf disease, there is little to be gained in the use of an adhesive or spreader of the types tested. Any convincing evidence as to opportunities of reducing cost of materials or simplifying spraying operations would certainly be welcomed by the coffee planter, but it must be confessed that the qualifications to his suggestion advanced by the Scientific Officer himself create in the mind of the reader a certain hesitancy in accepting the view put forward. This no doubt has suggested the comment of the Director of Agriculture in his foreword to the report, in which he remarks that a decision to omit the use of spreaders in spray mixtures should be deferred until more evidence on the subject is available.

In discussing the work on fruit set a point of interest is the observation of a fall of partially swollen fruit occurring about June, a loss to be correlated with a period of extremely dry weather. This factor doubtless acted by its effect upon the nutrition and availability of food supplies at a critical period. It is observed that control of such losses in other kinds of fruits has been secured by the use of quick-acting nitrogenous manures previous to fruit set.

The studies on nematode worms—a troublesome coffee pest—were interrupted by illness of the assistant in charge of the work. Useful observations were made of the life habits of the worms in the soil, and inoculation experiments are to be continued. In this work and that of manuring plants in nematode-infested areas the experience of Dutch workers in Java is being carefully borne in mind.

BETWEEN THE OXUS AND THE INDUS. By Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg. (*Martin Hopkinson.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* ARTHUR DUNCAN.)

The little cluster of small semi-independent States in the Gilghit Agency lies in a beautiful region of high mountains and glacier-fed valleys between the Oxus and the Indus. It is an almost inaccessible area where life has gone on unchanged for centuries; and each State—Punyal, Ghizr, Yasin, Hunza, Gilghit, and the rest of the dozen—differs from its neighbours in language, literature and customs, and often in race.

Colonel Schomberg has travelled extensively in these States. He has studied the folklore, history, manners, customs and religious beliefs of these cheerful people, and thereby has acquired a deep insight into their character. His account of them contains none of the conventionalities of the usual

travel book. Colonel Schomberg is not merely a hard-boiled traveller; he has a ready eye for the attractions of the country and a nimble pen for describing them. There are also qualities more compelling in the book; it is written expressively, yet with no superfluity of phrase; and he has filled his pages with flesh and blood because he understands the mental processes and values of the people about whom he writes.

An excellent map and several fine photographs add to the value of the book.

EPIGRAPHIA CARNATICA. Vol. XIII. Part I.: General Index. Part I.: A to K. (Bangalore: *Mysore Archæological Survey.*)

The *Epigraphia Carnatica* is one of the famous series well known to all scholars who specialize in Indian history and philology. A number of volumes are out of print, and not likely to be reprinted in the near future. The use of the series has been greatly hindered through the want of an index. Everyone whose duty has been index making knows the difficulty of such work, especially when dealing with seventeen huge volumes of important scholarly work, and it is certain that Indian and Western scholars will be grateful to the late Director, Mr. R. Narasimhachar, for the preparation of this Index, which Dr. M. H. Krishna, the present Director of Archæology, has so ably seen through the press. The second volume of the Index is in hand, and one may hope that its final issue will not long be delayed.

GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL STUDIES. Vols 57 to 62. (Baroda: *Oriental Institute.*)

The *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, issued under the able editorship of Mr. B. Bhattacharyya, has become one of the best and of the most scholarly series published in the East. The volumes are brought out in a very handsome manner; they are well printed on good paper and grace the chief university libraries of the world. The new volumes have added to its reputation, and complete confidence may be placed in the general editor's wide knowledge and his ability to carry on the tradition. Another happy idea of the editor was to provide an English introduction and analysis to each volume.

Vol. 57 gives the Persian text of the Ahsanu't-Tawarikh, a chronicle of the Early Safawis; edited by Mr. C. N. Seddon. It is a chronicle of Persian affairs from 900 to 985 A.H.

Vol. 58, the Padmananda Mahakavya, gives the life history of Rsabhadeva, the first Tirthankara of the Jainas; edited by H. R. Kapadia, with a lengthy introduction and an analytical digest of the work.

Vol. 59, the Sabdaratnasamanvaya Kosa, a Sanskrit lexicon of the Nanartha class, with the words arranged in alphabetical order according to finals; edited by Vitthala Sastri.

Vol. 60 concludes with an all-word index in alphabetical order, with page and sloka references to the Kalpadrukosa (previously issued as vol. 42) by Shrikanta Sharma.

Vol. 61, Saktisangama Tantra, Vol. I., Kalikhanda, is one of the most popular, most authoritative and extensive Tantric Hindu works; edited by the learned general editor himself.

Vol. 62, the Commentaries on the Prajnaparamitas. Vol. I., the Abhisamayalankara, in Sanskrit, edited by Professor G. Tucci.

HIMALAYAN WANDERER. By Brig.-General Hon. C. G. Bruce. With twenty-four illustrations. (*Alex. MacLehose.*) 12s. 6d. net.

General Bruce has made a notable contribution to the literature of reminiscences of military life in India. In 1922-24 he was the leader of the so-called Mount Everest expedition. One may infer from General Bruce's enthusiastic accounts of his climbing experiences that mountaineering is his favourite pastime. All these adventures in Northern India are jotted down in lighter vein, and should arouse the younger generation to the pleasures as well as to the hygiene of mountaineering, and entertain lovers of this sport. Apart from these chapters, the General gives an account of his services during the war as a Gurkha officer in Gallipoli, without pretence to serious study, evidently also told for amusement, as stated in his prefatory note.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, CALCUTTA. Vol. VIII., 1932-1933. Biological and Physical Research. Edited by Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose. With 131 illustrations. (*Longmans, Green.*) 21s. net.

There are fourteen articles in the latest volume of the Transactions, and all are compiled by different able research workers. Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose has for many years past acquired fame throughout the world of science, thus showing that India has produced men well able to take their place amongst the great scientists in Europe. The author of *Life-Movements in Plants* opens the new volume with an article on the effects on fishes by water disturbance and by vegetable extracts; Mr. Guru P. Das writes on the effect of drugs on tissues of animal and plant; Mr. Provash Ch. Bose has given a chapter on the racial affinities of the Mundas; and so on. From these short excerpts it will be seen that all the articles are important contributions to modern science.

FAR EAST

SECRETS OF TIBET. By Giuseppe Tucci and E. Ghersi. (*Blackie.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* O. M. GREEN.)

Dr. Tucci not only speaks and reads Tibetan fluently, but is profoundly versed in the religions of Tibet. His companion, Captain Ghersi, kept an admirable diary and took some of the most interesting photographs one can recall. The result is a book of fascinating interest about a land of mystery whose very name stirs one's pulses. The only criticism one can offer is that a glossary of the numerous Tibetan words and phrases that sprinkle every page might have been added for the benefit of general readers.

The title perhaps suggests more than the book contains: it is in the main a straightforward diary of journeyings and campings and the various personages encountered. There are, however, some vivid descriptions of incidents certainly abnormal, such as the sorcerer going into a trance and speaking with the voice of a god; and the authors say that there can be no shadow of doubt that the Grand Lamas "by a long apprenticeship and through complicated control of breathing and certain processes of auto-hypnotism induced at will" do acquire wholly abnormal powers over the body. For many Lamas, too, by prolonged meditation, their visions have become the only real world, the ordinary surroundings of life entirely unreal.

It must be confessed that, for all their practised indifference to mundane things, the Lamas they met showed a keen appreciation of good Indian rupees. Thus the travellers were able to purchase a huge store of relics, images and books.

But who can blame the travellers for carrying off what some Tibetans have so little care to preserve? Western Tibet, once the splendid domain of the kings of Guge, is a dying land. Its great castles and monasteries are ruinous, its libraries are scattered—in one cave the travellers found a pile of derelict books from which they sifted out numerous treasures—and its once populous towns have dwindled to hamlets of a few families. It is indeed well that Ghersi's camera should have preserved a record of the many beautiful frescoes and paintings that remain in the temples before they go to dust.

The ordeal of travelling in the terrifying Tibetan landscape is well known now, but stories of it never lose their interest. The travellers alternated between temperatures of several degrees below zero to 112. They were drenched with rain, blasted by wind, swarmed up almost vertical cliffs, slithered down hideous ravines. There was no verdure and the roads were a mere succession of boulders. The country seemed "an immense cemetery from which the desert as it creeps forward is destroying and effacing all traces of life."

The travellers searched carefully for relics of the Jesuit mission which visited Western Tibet in the seventeenth century, but no traces could be found; a solitary, supposed cross proved to be only the frame of a Buddhist roof ornament.

CHINA CHANGES. By G. J. Yorke. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 10s. 6d.

(*Reviewed by* O. M. GREEN.)

Modestly disclaiming any title to pronounce political judgements, setting out merely to describe what he saw, Mr. Yorke in many vivid passages throws more light on the real conditions in China than some far more pretentious writers. He was one of the few foreigners who saw the Japanese invasion of, or rather Chinese flight from, Jehol in 1932. Its story is summed up in this one sentence:

> I never saw Chinese troops occupy a defensive position in time to prepare adequate defences before they were attacked.

Jehol, a country ideal for defence, fell without a blow struck for it. The reason, to those who know what Chinese soldiers can be, is obvious: they knew that their generals, fiercely jealous of each other, did not mean business.

A very interesting chapter is devoted to Buddhist meditational practices, of which Mr. Yorke gained personal experience during the weeks he passed in a monastery:

> The senses are roused to their keenest pitch, colours appear to live and glow with a light of their own, the emotions experienced are more vital than in everyday life. . . . Most Europeans who stumble into this world return convinced that they have seen God or the devil and spoken with his angels or imps.

The concluding chapter gives a good summary of China's problems as seen from close quarters with her humblest folk. Certainly she is changing. How will she ultimately combine what she wants of the new things with the old which she will never relinquish?

SINGAPORE PATROL. By Alec Dixon. (*Harrap.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* A. G. MORKILL.)

A first-rate and most readable book written in a pleasant style and spiced with humour. The author was a detective officer in Singapore for four years. As such he had opportunities of observing closely the everyday life of the ordinary local people which do not come the way of most Englishmen in the tropics unless they take the trouble to go out of their way.

He has made good use of his time and opportunities. He approached his work with an open mind, prepared to take men of all races as he found them.

That his sojourn was brief has been no handicap. Rather the reverse; for he has not been long enough in the tropics for his enthusiasm and interest to become quenched by long residence and uphill work in a trying climate. Thus he avoids the disillusionment, cynicism and feeling of hopelessness which so often colour the outlook of the old-timer.

The author exemplifies in a marked degree that enthusiasm for his job, tolerance, and common sense which make the Britisher a success as the world's policeman. He is sympathetic without being sentimental.

He is a rare hand at painting a word picture. Chapter VII. (Japanese Mary), the descriptions of the Chinese and Japanese dinners, the Malay wedding, and his visit to Kassim in exile, are all vivid.

His account of his daily work is graphic and thrilling. A police officer in a place like Singapore has a man's job, and the pay is not generous for the risks involved.

On the subject of crime he has much to say which should be taken to heart by all reformers, especially those of the "anti-imperialist" persuasion. Centuries of freedom and self-government have made the man in the street in England law-abiding. In the East it is often otherwise. Crime is nearer

the surface. There may be thousands of would-be bandits who are kept in check solely by an efficient police force. Such a state of affairs is inevitable in a country where half the population consists of sojourners of different races who do not regard the country as their home. An inefficient police officer—and happily they are few—transferred to a district means an immediate increase in organized crime.

Again, in England the public helps the police. Its attitude in parts of the East is described on page 136, where we read that an appeal by the Government to the Straits-born Chinese to defy the Hailam communists' boycott of the trolley-buses fell upon deaf ears. In the investigation of crime, apart from paid information and that of persons directly interested in the result of a case, evidence is very hard to obtain. Nor are the difficulties with which the police have to contend provided only by the local population; frequently they are made by their own people.

The chapter on piracy is intensely interesting, and should be widely read, and read especially by those who seem to think that the Englishman's work in the East is finished. Piracy in Chinese waters will break out whenever precautions are relaxed or preventive agents are removed.

In Chapter XXI., "Daughters of the Night," the author has some interesting and sound things to say on the difficult problem of the "social evil." The sane view, "remove the opportunities and you lessen the evil," ultimately prevailed over those who asserted loudly that brothels were a necessity and should be provided. The same wise policy was successful in the case of gambling. The fewer "official" gambling houses or brothels, the less likely is the ordinary man to be led astray.

The chapters on "River and Jungle" and "Going Native" give a glimpse of a part of the interior of the mainland. As regards the aboriginals, there are numbers living far from civilization and avoiding contact with other races. But it is not true of them all to say, "It seems unlikely that civilization will ever touch them, for they are shy, wandering folk." In parts of the pensinsula they have settled in permanent encampments, and this tendency to settle should persist.

Altogether an excellent book.

JAVA PAGEANT. A description of one of the world's richest, most beautiful, yet little-known islands; the strange customs, beliefs, the industries, religions, wars, of its fascinating people. By H. W. Ponder. With two maps and many illustrations. (*Seeley, Service.*) 18s. net.

The descriptive title informs the public of the contents of this entertaining and interesting volume. Years of residence in Java as an inquirer have enabled the author to give us facts of the island and its people which his engaging, lively style helps us to enjoy. Many will welcome the chapters on mythology and history, others can learn from those dealing with the occupation of the people and their economic life, including irrigation, rice and rubber growing, while others will turn especially to the life of the Dutch, or of the Chinese who abound in Java. The illustrations are

numerous and well chosen, and one can predict that visitors to Java who are attracted by a natural life impulse in an increasing manner will turn to this volume for guidance and information.

COLOURED PLATES OF THE BIRDS OF CEYLON. By G. M. Henry. With a short description of each bird by W. E. Wait. Part 4, with sixteen coloured plates. Published by the Ceylon Government. (*Dulau.*) 30s.

The new part of this most beautiful work on Ceylon birds adds to the well earned reputation of Mr. Henry. It is true that the explanatory text by Mr. Wait is not meant to be a textbook of ornithology, but it fully suffices to describe the plates. The names are given in the Latin words, with the English, Sinhalese and Tamil renderings, and the distribution, the habits and measurements are also mentioned. However, the chief value of the work lies in the plates. The printer has made them an artistic publication, but the real artist remains Mr. Henry. The birds stand out well and distinct, in the midst of a mellow landscape, either on the ground or in flight, or else perched on trees and bushes. Nor has the artist forgotten to give us a life-like picture of every one of his chosen subjects.

CORAL GARDENS AND THEIR MAGIC. A study of the methods of tilling the soil and of agricultural rites in the Trobriand Islands. By B. Malinowski. Two vols. With maps and numerous plates. (*Allen and Unwin.*) £2 2s. net.

Professor Malinowski enjoys a high reputation, not only in England, on account of his various contributions to his speciality sociology, and students of the subject will welcome the latest addition dealing with the small group of Melanesia, called the Trobrianders. We must needs learn the lesson that however small an object may be, it can teach a lesson. These islanders have their gardens and have their own ideas of tilling the soil and of reaping their harvests.

These are connected with all kinds of magic valuable to the community. The two large handsome volumes are a perfect encyclopædia of the cult of this magic which forms most fascinating and instructive reading. They alone are the work of a lifetime. Documents and evidences of deep learning abound.

To the linguist the second volume offers an immense amount of material. Both parts, the narrative and the linguistic, are intimately connected, and Professor Malinowski lays down the rule that language is part and parcel of our actions. A perfect *corpus inscriptionum* of agriculture has been compiled, divided into the various departments, or, as the learned professor styles it, the language of gardening. This part of the work is no less interesting than the rest, and to the student quite as valuable, the running commentary keeping even the lay-reader spellbound. With these two volumes a great mine of information is handed over to the serious and

studious reader, and it is for him to show himself worthy of the labours of the great scholar, Professor Malinowski, to whom we indeed owe a great debt of gratitude.

THE ROMANCE OF THE WESTERN CHAMBER. A Chinese play written in the thirteenth century. Translated by S. I. Hsiung. Illustrated. (*Methuen.*) 8s. 6d. net.

Some years ago when the German translation of Hsi Hsiang Chi, *The Western Chamber*, was published, I regretted that this beautiful novel had not yet been placed before English readers, and wondered how much longer we should have to wait. Many lovers of good literature—and the Modernists may be included—will delight in reading the English version, which the well-known Mr. Hsiung is now offering, of this famous play, and will appreciate the charm of this Eastern literature. Mr. Hundhausen's German rendering has delicate charm, but so has Mr. Hsiung's, and it would be difficult to select the better edition. The end of the romance is not the same in the two translations, and it appears that Mr. Hsiung thought a happier ending more suitable to English taste. Illustrations from the Chinese editions are to be found in both renderings and add to the welcomed text. Mr. Hsiung's *Western Chamber* is assured of a good reception.

A BUDDHIST BIBLIOGRAPHY. Compiled by Arthur C. March. (*The Buddhist Lodge.*) 21s. net.

In 1869 appeared in pamphlet form a bibliographical essay of Buddhism by Otto Kistner, and it is astonishing that no other work of this kind has been published until Mr. March issued his excellent *Bibliography*. It is true that some special catalogues have been compiled by a few booksellers, including the one by Probsthain and Co. and one more recent on Chinese Art issued by the National Book Council. But then catalogues do not aim at completeness nor at permanence. I have consulted time after time Mr. March's *Bibliography*, and am struck at not finding an omission, as far as I could see. An error has, however, occurred on the very first page: the work *Ancient Monuments of India* was compiled by James Burgess, and in 1911 there appeared the second volume. The compilation is a most creditable performance on the part of Mr. March. The *Bibliography* consists of two sections in alphabetical order, with a very correct analytical subject index. It is to be hoped that Mr. March will be encouraged in the issue of the annual supplements which have been planned.

A MANCHU MONARCH. An interpretation of Chia Ch'ing. By A. E. Grantham. With portrait. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The author is well known for the publication of historical books dealing with China, of which the *Pencil Speakings from Peking* was the first. In

the new volume Mrs. Grantham describes the life and tribulations of the son of Emperor Ch'ien Lung, Chia Ch'ing, whose name is today, perhaps, not well known to the English people, but who nevertheless decided the affairs of China, when Lord Amherst put in an eventful appearance at the Court of China. No foreigner at the time knew the significance of Chinese ceremonial and etiquette, and Lord Amherst was the first to dispense with it. The latter's visit did not remain without consequences as the face of the country became changed. Mrs. Grantham is a painstaking historian of that period and deplores the proceedings of the leader of the British Embassy. The life of Chia Ch'ing ended a period in world history and opened a new one the course of which is very uncertain. Mrs. Grantham has given us an instructive and interesting volume.

CHINA. A short cultural history. By C. P. Fitzgerald. Edited by Professor C. G. Seligman. With text, illustrations, and twenty-one plates. (*The Cresset Press.*) 30s. net.

The Cresset Press has done great service by the issue of a former volume on Japan by G. B. Sansom which will become a standard work, and is now adding to its fine reputation by the great volume on China by Mr. Fitzgerald which is on similar lines. In 1933 Mr. Fitzgerald published a work, *The Son of Heaven*, the founder of the T'ang dynasty, which brought him to the fore as a scholar of Chinese history. In the new volume he displays his full range of knowledge, which is deep and wide. It is a most difficult task to compile a history of culture of China, comprising all phases of life, and it is a pleasure to be able to state that the author will satisfy probably all demands that may come from a critical student. This history is all-embracing from the earliest times down to the end of last century. It is arranged according to the dynasties, and the divisions deal with the various subjects, such as politics, religion and philosophy, literature, fine arts, etc., until we come to the more materialistic nineteenth century. Special chapters have been devoted to the philosophers of the Sung dynasty; the foundation of Chinese philosophy may be attributed to the scholarly treatise of the late Professor Bruce on Chu Hsi and the Sung School. There is one special chapter on the great statesman Wang An-shih, also of the Sung, and it is interesting to note that quite recently a work has been published by Mr. C. R. Williamson on him which evidently could not yet be considered by Mr. Fitzgerald.

It would have been advantageous if a bibliography to each part of the work had been appended at the end to allow readers to look for further information.

One cannot conclude a notice of this important volume without paying tribute once again to the Cresset Press for the handsome, nay, splendid way in which it has been produced. The illustrations, and especially the beautiful plates, deserve the highest commendation.

BEAUTY IN JAPAN. By Samuel H. Wainwright, jr. With 200 illustrations by the author. (*Putnams.*) 1935. 21s. net.

The author of this beautiful book has had the advantage of having been born in the land of beauty, Japan. This circumstance has allowed Mr. Wainwright to learn in childhood the Japanese language, and in addition to imbibe the cultural side of the land. The result has been that Art has followed his footsteps in every sphere of life and that he can see loveliness where visitors frequently gaze totally devoid of appreciation. With such a mentality, which should be supreme throughout the world, the author has presented us with a novel book, charming us from beginning to end with his descriptions of life and culture where Beauty rules, but he has also adorned each page with his own illustrations, showing the distinctive Japanese style combined with that of a Western mind. Mr. Wainwright wonders what the future will bring to the art genius, since a material outlook may alter the destiny of the Japanese nation.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE JAVA BANK AND THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR 1934-1935, being the 107th of the Company, presented at the General Meeting of Shareholders on July 1, 1935. English version. (Batavia-C: G. Kolff and Co.)

(*Reviewed by* P. K. WATTAL.)

The annual reports of chairmen of British banks, though addressed to their shareholders, are usually intended for a wider audience and are read with interest by economists, financiers, and publicists as authoritative expositions of monetary and commercial policy. British bankers, however, do not survey economic developments in countries other than their own with such detail and thoroughness as one finds in the report of the Java Bank mentioned above. The student of International Economics will find in the first 25 pages of this publication much of the information usually given in great detail in the *World Economic Survey*, issued annually by the League of Nations.

The report may be divided into three distinct parts: (1) Comments on the economic situation in the principal countries of the world; (2) comments on the economic and financial policy of the Government of the Netherlands East Indies; and (3) results of the 107th financial year of the Java Bank Company. The general conclusion arrived at from a survey of economic developments during the year in the United States, Germany, and Great Britain is that no country has, by the pursuit of separatist economic policies, achieved results of any importance, and that on the contrary untold damage has been done to the general world situation. The remedy proposed by the President is the *quickest possible de facto* stabilization of currencies *at existing levels* and the *immediate* return to the former international gold standard. This view is the well-known view of the gold bloc, and is not shared by persons in authority in Great Britain. These two views have been stated so often that it is not necessary to discuss them here, beyond inviting attention to the sharp divergence of opinion that exists between the principal countries of the world on monetary policy.

The Netherlands East Indies is an agricultural export country and is dependent to a very high degree upon international trade. Consequently, it has been adversely affected by the restrictive economic policies of the countries of the world. In self-defence the Government in its turn has been obliged to place restrictions on imports and to intervene to a considerable extent in the commerce of the country, much more perhaps than one is accustomed to see in Great Britain and the British Empire generally. As a result of this policy, the export surplus has increased by about 43,000,000 guilders during 1934, as compared with 1933. In view of the position of the Netherlands East Indies as a debtor country, the existence of such a large surplus must be a source of satisfaction to those concerned in the regulation of public policy. It is, however, necessary to add a rider to this, that budgets in Java have been unbalanced over a number of years, and the time when public revenue will overtake public expenditure is not yet in sight. The report adds that the population of the country is already burdened to the limit with taxation, and that an increase in State revenue can now emanate only from an improvement in the general economic situation and not from a further increase in the burden of taxation.

The results of the 107th financial year of the Java Bank were not as satisfactory as in the previous year, but the position of the bank continues to be sound. A dividend of 8 per cent. has been declared and compares favourably with the yield on British bank shares during the year (*vide The Banking Supplement of the Economist*, dated October 12, 1935, p. 24). The Bank's reserve percentage, which amounted to 65·07 per cent. on March 31, 1934, rose to 66·53 per cent. on March 31, 1935. The official discount rate of the Bank was lowered from 4½ per cent. to 3½ per cent. during the year, but, as will be noticed, even this is higher than the English Bank rate.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

MATÉRIEL DE LA VIE BÉDOUINE, RECUEILLI DANS LE DÉSERT DE SYRIE. Par A. de Boucheman. With seven plates and fifty-four text illustrations. (*Damascus.*) 40 fr.

This beautiful volume forms Tome III. of the Documents d'Etudes Orientales, issued by the Institut français de Damas. We have, indeed, regretfully to agree with the learned author, that the time is fast approaching when the interesting material pertaining to Beduin life will have disappeared in order to make room for European influence. The French Government is wise in having the material studied, and especially by such an eminent scholar as M. de Boucheman. The volume deals with the dress of men and women, with the harnesses of camel and horse, the kitchen utensils, and, finally with the furnishings to be found in the Arab tent. Each item is named by the romanized Arabic word with French rendering, and a full description of the object is added, with frequent designs. The index is

very complete, arranged in alphabetical order of Arabic words, again with French explanation, and the pages are added for reference. Altogether a painstaking ethnographic monograph.

Les Perles Choisies d'Ibn Ach-Chihna. Traduit par J. Sauvaget. Beirut. (Paris: *Ernest Leroux.*)

In 1850 von Kremer gave extracts of this work, but in 1909 a complete Arabic text was issued which Monsieur Sauvaget has translated. It is a valuable monograph of the city of Aleppo during the end of the Middle Ages. There is nothing wanting in the description of the city, thus giving a delightful picture of the place itself, the citadel, the mosques and places of pilgrimage, the madrasas, the streets and buildings. To make the picture complete, an account is given of the construction, the walls and the gates of Aleppo. The volume, therefore, is important from many points of view. Monsieur Sauvaget is a scholar; he has endowed the rendering with all his wide reading and learning by adding notes on all subjects referring to Arabic and European writers, and has provided a short Arabic-French architectural glossary. Altogether we have here a living and trustworthy history of Aleppo of times gone by in the form of a most able translation.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

An Essay on Landscape Painting. By Kuo Hsi. Translated from the Chinese by Shio Sakanishi. (*John Murray.*) 2s. 6d. net.

The series "Wisdom of the East" has issued a great many volumes which have brought much enlightenment and enjoyment to the English-reading public. The latest volume is a work of sixty-four pages, and is certainly one of the most charming that has appeared in the series, and, it may be added, one of the most important on Chinese art. Every visitor to the Chinese Exhibition in London should not merely possess the book, but should read it and re-read it before viewing the paintings. It teaches how to look at landscape paintings, and, in addition, at Nature itself. The book was written during the Sung dynasty, and it is a wonder that this gem has not been translated before. Mr. Cranmer Byng's poetic introduction to Miss Sukanishi's translation is most inspiring.

L'Art Malgache. Par H. Lormian. With fifteen plates. (Paris: *E. de Boccard.*)

This work is probably the first attempt, at least in Europe, to acquaint us with the art of Madagascar. There are certainly here and there articles, issued in journals, which, however, are not generally available. The volume, beautifully produced, and containing good collotype plates, giving samples of all subjects, deals in outline with all branches of art, such as architecture and sculpture, painting and tapestries, ceramics and metal work. It is a most useful handbook, but we are still waiting for detailed and fuller monographs for the use of the specialists.

Hiroshige. By Yone Noguchi. With two wood engravings, seven plates in colour and ninety-one plates in half-tone. (Tokyo.)

Although the art world has already had the benefit of a certain amount of literature on the artist Hiroshige, who has charmed with his colour prints so many homes, we heartily welcome this new work for several reasons. The newcomer has been brought forth by an artist, an art-critic, and a poet, Mr. Yone Noguchi, whose name is a household-word amongst collectors and lovers of Japanese literature. He is the one with whom, apart from the late Mr. Okakura, people in England are best acquainted and whose ripe judgment they value. The book is issued in a most handsome style, delicate, like Japanese poetry. The introduction is full of charm and truth. How can we know life when we are wanting in observation, though not in the power of seeing? Hiroshige, so says our guide, humanized nature and made it speak our human tongue. We need, therefore, not be surprised at Mr. Noguchi's belief that Hiroshige will outlive other Ukiyoye artists, and that he will live as long as the world lasts. After the preliminary essay Mr. Noguchi gives an account of the great landscape artist, but the greater part of the work is taken up with a detailed description of the ninety-one plates where neither the dates nor the publishers' names are omitted. It is by reading such definitions and explanations that we can appreciate Japanese art in full: in this case the art of Hiroshige. We must indeed be grateful to the writer for providing what is lacking, and the reader will turn to the letterpress with gratitude.

Geschichte der indischen Miniaturmalerei. By Hermann Goetz. (Berlin: *Walter de Gruyter and Co.*) R.M. 15.

This is an excellently arranged art-history which in the space of 57 pages gives a thorough account of an intricate subject. The author naturally divides his subject into the Mughal and the Rajput and traces the developments of each in a clear and succinct manner. The volume is embellished by sixteen plates of well-chosen and splendidly reproduced illustrations. Both the author and publisher can claim credit for a thoroughly praiseworthy enterprise.

MISCELLANEOUS

My Little Russian Journey. By Mrs. Gwyneth Foden. (*Stockwell.*) 1s. net.

This chatty unpretentious account of a tour in Russia has the merit of complete candour and absence of propagandism. The author's impressions are set down without any trace of the partisanship she condemns and which is still so marked a feature of most studies, whether for or against the Soviet

experiment. She suggests that other countries should mind their own business and recognize the courage of the leaders of a nation still in the process of rebirth. F. H. B.

GENGIS-KHAN. By Fernard Grenard. (Paris: *Armand Colin.*) 18 fr.

This is a welcome addition to the publisher's series: *Ames et Visages.* The biography of Gengis-Khan is one of those romantic stories the glamour of which will never fade, and historians of every generation will try their hand at making this great figure live again. The present volume is written by an author who is in every way worthy of his subject. He has the historical sense and at the same time the gift of vivid expression—above all, the book is not too long: 202 pages, and the interest is sustained to the end.

AT THE COURT OF THE LAST TSAR, being the Memoirs of A. A. Mossolov. (*Methuen.*) 12s. 6d. net.

The author was head of the Court Chancellery from 1900 to 1916 and had all the facilities for close observation. Besides giving an intimate account of the daily life of his master, Mr. Mossolov here describes the careers of the Grand-Dukes at the Court and also devotes considerable space to the influence of Count Fredericksz. He writes throughout with understanding of the Tsar and his difficulties, but the following sidelight on his character is also given:

"The Tsar was incapable of unmasking his batteries, or of provoking his Minister to an energetic rejoinder that might have induced the sovereign to change his mind. . . . The Minister would take his leave, delighted at having, to all appearance, carried his point. But he would be sadly mistaken. . . . Next day the Minister would receive a letter from him—a letter of dismissal." And again: "He could part with the greatest ease even from those who had served him for a very long time. The first word of accusation breathed in his presence against anybody, with or without evidence, was enough for him to dismiss the victim, though the charge might have been a pure fabrication." In his view, to establish the facts was the business of the victim's superiors, or, if necessary, of the courts. How different was this attitude from that adopted by Napoleon, in whose eyes a minister subjected to such attacks increased in stature.

WHO'S WHO, 1936. (*A. and C. Black.*) £3 net.

With the growth of international, administrative and general public activities *Who's Who* becomes more and more necessary, not alone in newspaper offices, but wherever there is need to have ready to hand information about prominent men. No other regular publication, nor indeed several annuals put together, can make up for the absence of *Who's Who* from the desk, for nowhere else can so comprehensive a compendium of the men and women of the time be found. It is not surprising that the volume for the previous year still has a substantial market value when a new issue comes out.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE DEATH OF KING GEORGE V

ON the afternoon of the day of the funeral of King George V., January 28, 1936, the President sent the following letters to H.M. King Edward VIII. and to H.M. Queen Mary:

TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

Lord Lamington, President of the East India Association, on behalf of the Vice-Presidents, the Council and Members, begs leave to tender to Your Majesty an expression of profound sympathy on the loss of our late beloved Sovereign, His Majesty King George V. The Association, which came into being a year after the birth of His Majesty, has had constant occasion to rejoice in his great and steadfast devotion to the welfare of Indian subjects and the beneficent results. The Association is well aware of Your Majesty's own deep interest in the Indian Empire, and recalls your memorable tour of 1921-22 therein. We assure Your Majesty of the intense loyalty of our Members, British and Indian, to your Throne and Person, and of our prayers for a long and prosperous reign.

TO HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY.

Lord Lamington, President of the East India Association, on behalf of the Vice-Presidents, the Council and Members, begs leave to tender to Your Majesty an expression of heartfelt condolence on the loss of our late Sovereign. The Association has not failed to observe the deep solicitude of King George V. for the welfare and contentment of the Indian Empire. We recall with satisfaction his tours with Your Majesty in India, both when Prince and Princess of Wales and for the historic Coronation Durbar at Delhi, and the manifestations of loyalty and attachment to the Imperial Crown which were thereby evoked. We cherish the hope that Your Majesty's sorrow is assuaged by the knowledge that, as was so

spontaneously demonstrated during the Jubilee celebrations, King George V. lives in the deep affection and proud recollection of his subjects, and not least in those of the Indian people.

Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Home Affairs, has written to Lord Lamington:

> "I have had the honour to lay before the King the loyal and dutiful address of the East India Association on the occasion of the lamented death of His late Majesty King George the Fifth, and have received the King's Command to convey to your Lordship His Majesty's grateful thanks for the assurance of sympathy and devotion to which it gives expression."

A further reply from the Home Office expressed the grateful thanks of Queen Mary to Lord Lamington and the members of the Association for the address of condolence.

THE KING'S BROADCAST

THE broadcast of His Majesty King Edward VIII. to the Empire on Sunday, March 1, made special reference to the Princes and peoples of India. The reports show that the broadcast was picked up by the Indian State Broadcasting Service and relayed throughout the country, and made a deep impression. His Majesty said:

> To the Princes and peoples of India I send my greeting as the King-Emperor. The manifestations of your sorrow and of your loyalty at this time have been a source of deep gratification to me. The associations in peace and in war between the British and Indian peoples have been long and honourable, and the example set by Queen Victoria, by King Edward VII., and by King George lays on me as their successor a solemn trust to maintain and strengthen those associations.

The first public meeting of the Association after the death of King George was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, February 11, and before the business of the meeting was begun

The PRESIDENT (Lord Lamington) said: I am only for a moment in the Chair, just for the purpose of rising and saying a word as to the lamentable loss to our Empire—indeed, to the world at large—sustained by the death of King George V. On behalf of the Association I sent letters of condolence and sympathy to H.M. King Edward VIII. and also to Queen Mary. We also shared with other Empire Societies in sending a wreath to Windsor, and a telegram to King Edward VIII., as follows:

> "The thoughts of the members of the Joint Empire Societies are with Your Majesty today. We trust that the heartfelt sympathy and prayers of your subjects throughout the Empire will help and sustain Your Majesty in this time of sorrow. JOINT EMPIRE SOCIETIES."

The following answer was received:

> "SECRETARY, JOINT EMPIRE SOCIETIES. The King is touched by your kind message of sympathy, and asks you to express his sincere thanks to all who have joined in it."

I need not enlarge at this time upon the great distress of the world at large on the death of that remarkable man, H.M. King George V. His life exemplifies that it is not so much what a man does but what he is that counts in his influence on the world. I feel I must quote a couplet which seems to embody vividly and concisely the great devotion of that pathetic drama of the King's passing—a couplet which appeared in a Maltese paper:

> "'How is the King?' the trembling Empire cried.
> 'How is the Empire?' the King asked—and died."

OUR EXPORT TRADE WITH INDIA: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND POSSIBILITIES

By Sir Thomas Ainscough, C.B.E.
(H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon.)

The subject of my address this afternoon requires little introduction to a body such as the East India Association, which provides one of the most authoritative and influential platforms in London for the consideration of questions affecting the economic life and welfare of the Indian people. Most of the economic problems which have hitherto been discussed at your meetings have been those of India's internal development, whether agricultural, industrial, or financial. I shall approach these problems from a different angle and shall endeavour to give you a brief account of the sharp reactions which recent developments in India have had upon the trade of her leading supplier and economic partner.

So long as India remains the greatest outlet for British manufactured goods and takes over 9 per cent. of our total exports, the prosperity of the country and the maintenance of the purchasing power of the Indian people are of the first importance to United Kingdom industry. Conversely, it will be agreed that so long as 32 per cent. of India's total exports of merchandise are shipped to this country, which, moreover, provides the greatest consuming market in the world where Indian products are encouraged and are admitted duty-free, India also has a direct interest in the prosperity of United Kingdom industry, without which the expanding consumption of Indian products here would be impossible. Indian politicians and writers in the past have been prone to ignore this reciprocal character of the exchange of commodities between the two partners and to regard the displacement of imports by indigenous manufactures as a desirable end. This viewpoint probably originated in pre-war days when the balance of exchange in merchandise between the United

Kingdom and India was unfavourable to India to the extent of no less than 59 crores of rupees. Of recent years, however, imports and exports of goods have drawn together until in 1931-32, and again in 1933-34, there was an exact balance at Rs. 45 and 48 crores respectively. As Sir George Schuster once stated:

> If India produces what other countries used to sell to her, their purchasing power for her exports will diminish unless we can raise the general standard of living in India and provide an increased market capable not only of absorbing the products of Indian industries, but also of continuing the use of imported commodities.

The Difficult Years

In order to provide a general background to the comments which follow, it will be as well to review the course of events during the period of the world-wide economic slump, which has so seriously restricted the purchasing power of the Indian consumer. It appeared, in 1929, that the market was settling down to a post-war position of somewhat unstable equilibrium with United Kingdom imports into India on a greatly reduced scale. Then, towards the end of that year, India experienced the full force of the world-wide economic storm and found herself in the position of having large quantities of surplus exportable crops, which could not be exported except at a heavy loss, owing to the low level of prices in all markets and general lack of demand. While prices of primary agricultural commodities slumped to an extent which left the cultivator little, if any, margin after paying his rent and other fixed charges, the price index of imported articles only fell to a relatively minor degree.

The consumer was not able to secure any compensating advantage in the fall in prices of his requirements of such items as cotton piecegoods, hardware, metals, kerosene, and tobacco, etc. He therefore economised as far as possible—*e.g.*, by mending his torn dhoti and allowing his youngest children to wear the minimum of clothing, or he confined his purchases to the cheaper forms of country-made articles and substituted handloom or Indian mill goods for the finer Lancashire product and

—where imported goods only were available for his needs—he substituted the cheaper Japanese cloth, Continental metals and hardware and Russian kerosene for the higher-priced goods of British origin. There is no doubt that the fall in the purchasing power of the Indian consumer as a result of the drop in the prices obtainable for his produce is the dominant factor that has affected the off-take of United Kingdom goods during the past five years. Until there is a world-wide revival in demand for India's staple exports we cannot expect any real recovery in the import trade.

To add to the difficulties of the situation, the years 1930 and 1931 were years of unsettled political conditions, of which the principal manifestation in the commercial field was the boycott of foreign, and particularly British, goods. Apart from the damage inflicted upon United Kingdom exporters by the cessation of business, the indirect effects of the political campaign such as the closing of markets, general suspension of business activity, tightness of money and widespread lack of confidence were probably more lasting than any other. Moreover, a further fillip was given to the "Swadeshi" movement and the upcountry distributing organization for British goods was severely shaken. The United Kingdom percentage figure of India's imports fell in 1930-31 from 43 to 37 and reached the low-water mark of $35\frac{1}{2}$ in 1931-32.

The year 1931 witnessed two events which have had wide repercussions on the import trade. Firstly, the suspension by the United Kingdom of the gold standard and the linking of the rupee to sterling at the ratio of 1s. 6d. gave a temporary stimulus to India's exports to countries remaining on the gold standard, while the depreciation of the sterling and rupee exchange enabled United Kingdom exporters to quote rupee prices below those quoted by some of their keenest competitors, notably Germany and the United States, which were still on gold. These advantages, however, were soon discounted by the depreciation of the gold dollar and by the adjustment of continental prices to meet the situation. Secondly, the Indian budget of February, 1931, and the supplementary budget of September in the same year imposed surcharges on all import duties, which raised the

general level of revenue duties to 25 per cent. and of duties on luxuries to 50 per cent. These emergency imposts have had a dual influence. Not only have they tended still further to restrict imports, but they are having a protective effect which was not intended and are stimulating local industries, many of which are economically unsuited to the country, but will strongly oppose the removal of the surcharges when the time comes for the Finance Member to redeem the pledge given that they shall be removed so soon as the financial situation permits.

Viewed at the close of the fiscal year 1931-32 the position of our export trade with India was parlous indeed. As a result of the factors I have referred to, the United Kingdom percentage of India's imports had reached the low-water mark of 35·4 as contrasted with an average figure of 49 for the years 1924-25 to 1929-30 and the post-war peak figure of 61 in the abnormal year 1920-21. The combined effects of the reduction in purchasing power due to the agricultural slump, which affected all imports, and the political boycott aimed at United Kingdom goods, struck at the very heart of our trade position in the country. The great Lancashire cotton trade had been reduced from a pre-war figure of three thousand million yards and a 1928-29 pre-slump total of fourteen hundred and fifty-six million yards to a paltry three hundred and eighty-three million yards and appeared to be threatened with extinction. Imports of British steel had fallen from 685 thousand tons to 140 thousand tons in the short space of five years due to reduced consumption of sheets, the curtailment of Government and industrial programmes and the increased competition from the Tata Iron and Steel Company and from Belgium. The valuable trade in machinery and plant and engineering supplies, while not being affected so much by the political movement, was severely restricted by financial stringency and consequent curtailment of Government expenditure on capital works such as railway construction and renewals, irrigation projects and public works developments. All import trades were being adversely affected by the all-round surcharges in the rates of import duty, which stifled such consuming power as remained and gave added stimulus to a host of minor Indian in-

dustries operating on an uneconomic scale, and to the Swadeshi movement.

Turn of the Tide

Happily, the year 1932 witnessed the first workings of certain forces making for slow but gradual and sound improvement in our trade with India. These are: Firstly, the subsidence of political agitation and racial feeling. Secondly, the remarkable staying power of the Indian consumer aided by the profits obtained from his hoarded reserves of gold, the shipments of which have enabled the international balance to be maintained, relieved distress among the cultivators, and released a certain amount of purchasing power which has been expended in low-priced imported goods. Thirdly, the conclusion of the Ottawa Trade Agreement. This inauguration of tariff preferences has not only conferred substantial advantages on the export trades of the two signatories, but has created a definite and growing realization in India of the interdependence of the two economic partners and the value of membership of the British Commonwealth.

1. The improvement in political relations which followed the collapse of the boycott agitation was partly due to the natural reaction of the traders of the country following a prolonged period of disturbance to their livelihood, which brought so many of them to the verge of ruin and accentuated the effects of the world-wide economic crisis. It was also, I think, largely attributable to the growing realization of the determination of His Majesty's Government to press on with such a measure of political reform as would entirely transform the Indian polity. It was appreciated that the Reforms had to be taken seriously and that there must be a general manœuvring for position. The relations between United Kingdom exporters and their business connections in India have always been most friendly. The political agitation, however, brought social persecution and general embarrassment and dislocated every link in the chain of distribution from the importer at the port down to the village shopkeeper. As a result, many Indian distributors were forced out of business, while others found it more profitable to turn their energies to the sale of Continental

and Japanese goods. The general effect was a most serious weakening of our distribution organization, which had attained a high level of efficiency following decades of profitable trading.

The relations between our exporters and their clients in India are today as cordial as ever they were. Moreover, the recent visits of the delegations from the United Kingdom Textile and Iron and Steel Industries and the conclusion of the Clare Lees-Mody Pact have, it is hoped, permanently established the policy of industrial co-operation between the two countries. Such a policy is calculated to have most far-reaching effects not only in the economic sphere, but also in the political arena by removing the sources of economic rivalry and ill-feeling and by promoting a spirit of community of interest between the two peoples.

2. The export from India of roundly £200 million of gold bullion since the gold standard was abandoned in September, 1931, has saved the country from the worst effects of the economic crisis by enabling her to make good the great fall in the favourable balance of trade in merchandise and to meet her heavy external commitments without too severe a reduction of imports. As Sir George Schuster once stated: "India could not, with exports at their present level, support the present volume of imports simultaneously with meeting her external obligations unless they were supplemented by gold exports." The substitution of barren gold and ornaments for tenderable currency has enabled the consumer, in spite of diminished purchasing power, to maintain the consumption of certain standard necessities to a marked degree. There is no doubt that the maintenance of many United Kingdom export items in the Indian bazaars has been due to this factor. The effect on our trade would have been greater still but for the fact that this reinforcement of purchasing power synchronized with a heavy influx of Japanese goods sold at prices with which we were unable to compete, but which were within the reach of the bazaars.

Ottawa

3. The Ottawa Trade Agreement of 1932 undoubtedly inaugurated a new era of closer and more profitable trading relationships between the United Kingdom and India. Its first effect was

to put heart into thousands of loyal bazaar dealers, who had begun to lose faith in the competitive power of British goods. For three years these traders had to face not only heavy material losses but also calumny, abuse, and social persecution. They are now able to carry on their lawful avocations on a profitable basis and with a fiscal advantage *vis-à-vis* their competitors who deal in foreign goods. Apart, however, from the benefits accruing from the revival of confidence, a close analysis of the schedules shows that the preferences are of considerable practical value. Although it was not possible at Ottawa to secure any concessions on machinery and railway material, and although the cotton and steel trades are covered by differential rather than preferential duties, to which I will refer at a later stage, the Ottawa preferences apply in precisely those trades where foreign competition is most keen and where a stimulus is required. Thus, the 10 per cent. preference covers, among others, such important items as chemicals, hardware, instruments, apparatus, and appliances; non-ferrous metals and alloys, cycles, paints, drugs, rubber manufactures, certain paper products, woollen goods, lubricating oils, and beer. Motor-cars and commercial motor vehicles enjoy a preference of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

In attempting to arrive at even the most approximate estimate of the benefits conferred by the preferences, one is faced with the practical impossibility of isolating the effects of the preferences from the effects of other factors such as the course of the trade cycle, the depreciation of the Japanese exchange, vital changes in demand and supply of specific commodities, and so on. I would refer those who are interested in the subject to the most detailed and exhaustive reports on the working of the Ottawa Agreements, which have been specially compiled each year by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, India, for the information of the Indian Legislature. These reports show that the value of the imports into India from the United Kingdom of those articles which are subject to preferential duties (excluding those items such as cotton and steel goods which are subject to differential duties) rose from Rs. 13·27 crores in 1932-33 to Rs. 14·91 crores in 1933-34 and to Rs. 16·90 crores in 1934-35—a total increase of Rs. 3·63 crores. It is significant that this improvement has been

in the miscellaneous trades and not in the staple items of cotton textiles, iron and steel and machinery, with which I shall deal separately.

The beneficial results of the preferential duties would have been still more marked but for the remarkable increase in arrivals from Japan at prices which made competition impossible. During the corresponding period, imports of the same items from other countries, not subject to preferential treatment, also rose from Rs. 23·5 to Rs. 25 crores—an advance of Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores. There is no doubt that the preferences have enabled us to displace a considerable volume of Continental and American trade and will become even more valuable when the general economic situation improves and purchasing power recovers.

Viewed from the standpoint of India's export trade, the Ottawa Agreement was concluded at a most opportune moment when the important Continental markets for her produce presented formidable barriers in the form of exchange controls, import quotas, import licences, and enhanced customs duties. By its terms she secured free entry into the greatest consuming market in the world—in fact, the only large open market which, at the present time, not only does not place obstacles or levy duties on India's exports, but encourages the development of her trade and co-operates wholeheartedly with Indian exporters in the extension of it. The value of the exports from India which receive preferences in the United Kingdom rose from Rs. 29·73 crores in 1932-33 to Rs. 36·48 crores in 1933-34 and Rs. 36·71 crores in 1934-35—an advance of approximately Rs. 7 crores or almost double the value of the increased trade accruing to the United Kingdom in India by a similar computation. The percentage share of the United Kingdom in India's export trade rose from 28 in 1931-32 to 30·2 in 1933-34 and 31·6 in 1934-35. According to the exceedingly cautious estimate of the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence in 1934:

> Although after the Ottawa Trade Agreement the United Kingdom has improved her position in the Indian market, there is still a good deal of leeway for her to make up. On the other hand, she proved to be an increasingly important market for Indian goods.

I may here quote the general conclusions of the special committee, which was appointed in 1934 by the Indian Legislative Assembly to report to that body on the working of the Ottawa preferences. These conclusions were subject to three minutes of dissent and were reached after a very critical examination of the available data by Indian politicians, who were certainly free from any bias in favour of the agreement. They may therefore be considered to be an exceedingly conservative estimate of the position. They are as follows:

(*a*) The export trade in articles which enjoy preferences on importation into the United Kingdom forms, at the same time, the most important and the most stable part of our total export trade.

(*b*) The United Kingdom has proved a steadier market for both preferential and non-preferential commodities than have foreign countries in general.

(*c*) Since the initiation of the preferential scheme the general downward trend of the United Kingdom's import into India has been checked and an upward trend is now shown.

(*d*) The general tendency of the mutual trade between India and the United Kingdom has been, of recent years, towards an equality of exchanges which has practically been established in the first year of the preferences.

(*e*) The majority of the preferences enjoyed by India in respect of her more important exports have been of definite value to her export trade.

(*f*) The preferences given by India have similarly been of definite assistance to the United Kingdom, and, where they have not led to an increased trade, they have at least tended to counteract factors operating in the opposite direction.

(*g*) The mutual preferences between India and the non-self-governing Colonies have had little effect on trade exchanges.

(*h*) The preferences given by India have not adversely affected the Indian consumer or the Indian revenues.

(*i*) The import preferences have not proved detrimental to any Indian industry.

(*j*) On the whole the Trade Agreement has been for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties.

There we will leave the Agreement. It seems to me that no useful purpose is served by any attempt to balance the exact advantages derived by either party to it. The Lancashire Indian Cotton Committee showed the true spirit when they stated that:

It would be a mistake for any part of the Empire to press the arguments about reciprocity to an extreme or to apply the policy from day to day with too rigid a measure. If each partner is to insist upon measuring the advantages exchanged with another partner at the moment of exchange, and to refuse even to allow what one may appear to be giving to exceed on a narrow statistical basis what the other is giving, the consequence will be that the minimum instead of the maximum benefit will be derived. The policy will only operate to the real benefit of the countries concerned if there is both trust and tolerance as between the partners.

Cotton Textiles

I will now deal briefly with the three major groups of our exports to India—namely, cotton textiles, iron, and steel and machinery. In pre-war years these three great trades accounted for fully 65 per cent. of our total shipments. In 1933-34 the percentage figure had fallen to 43, due to the inroads of Indian mill and Japanese competition in the case of textiles, and the increasing output of Indian steel. The losses under these two heads have more than counterbalanced an encouraging advance in the percentage of machinery from 5·4 to 14·5.

The stark facts in the case of the great Lancashire cotton trade with India are well known. Lancashire shipments have fallen from a total of over 3,000 million yards in 1913-14 to 1,250 million yards in 1928-29 and 562 million yards in 1934-35. This remarkable fall has coincided with an advance in the case of the Indian mills from 1,164 million yards in 1913-14 to 1,893 million yards in 1928-29 and 3,397 million yards in 1934-35. Meanwhile, arrivals from Japan, which were negligible in 1913-14, had reached 357 million yards in 1928-29, attained their peak at 579 million yards in 1932-33, and were 411 million yards in 1934-35, being limited by the maximum quota of 400 million yards allowed by the protocol to the Indo-Japanese Treaty of 1934.

The natural advantages enjoyed by the Indian mills when coupled with the use of modern plant and improved technique and management rendered a material displacement of large sections of Lancashire's trade almost inevitable. The process proceeded gradually until the advent of the world economic crisis in 1929. Since then, however, the contracted purchasing power of the people has caused a wholesale substitution of the cheaper indigenous cloths for the finer Lancashire product, the price of

which was enhanced by the emergency increases of import duty, which now stands at 25 per cent. and affords a degree of protection which, Lancashire contends, is excessive and bears heavily on the consumer. Lancashire faced the position with statesmanlike courage and foresight and, in 1933, despatched a special delegation under the leadership of Sir William Clare Lees which resulted in the signature of the so-called Clare Lees-Mody Pact with the Indian millowners. The delegation, by their tact, friendliness, and *savoir-faire*, created a most favourable impression, not only on the Indian millowners, but on everyone with whom they came in contact. For the first time the Lancashire case was presented, with studied moderation and fairness, to the interested parties in the Indian industry and to the Government of India, and there is no doubt that it made a deep and lasting impression.

The Indian Tariff (Textile Protection) Amendment Act, 1934, provided that the duties on United Kingdom cotton piecegoods should remain in force during the continuance of the Lees-Mody Pact, but the Government of India promised to remit them to the consideration of a special Tariff Board before the expiry of the pact on December 31, 1935. This special Tariff Board is now sitting under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Murray. A representative delegation from Lancashire is co-operating with it as fully as possible with the object of assisting the Board to arrive at the true measure of protection required by the Indian mills based on an equation of their fair selling prices with the prices of corresponding imported goods. Meanwhile, the duties on piecegoods from sources other than the United Kingdom were, with few exceptions, fixed at 50 per cent. *ad valorem*. Imports from Japan were further limited, by the protocol attached to the Indo-Japanese Treaty of 1934, to a sliding-scale quota based on Japan's purchases of Indian raw cotton with a maximum of 400 million yards.

Assuming that some relief is obtained from the present crushing burden of import duties, the future of Lancashire trade with India depends almost entirely upon the purchasing power of the Indian consumer. Although Indian mill competition is cutting

into the market in an ever-widening range of fabrics, the Indian mills cannot as yet provide the variety of qualities, designs, colours, and styles which consumers like to have if only they can afford to pay for them. During times of intense depression such as the past five years, the Indian consumer, through sheer lack of cash and frequently in spite of his own tastes, has been obliged to substitute the cheaper, coarser and often less attractive fabric made in India for the finer imported article which he had been accustomed to purchase.

It is not too much to expect that, as the prices of primary commodities rise, thereby releasing purchasing power, we shall see a broadening of the demand for Lancashire staples of the finer qualities and for fancy styles. It is doubtful whether the trade will ever attain the volume of the pre-slump years (roundly 1,500 million yards of United Kingdom cloth), but there is no doubt that the present volume of less than 600 million yards is abnormally low. Given a spell of economic prosperity in India, with settled political conditions and no attempt to penalize United Kingdom goods by prohibitive import duties, we may easily see a material advance in Lancashire's trade without affecting the Indian mill output in the slightest. In normal times there should be room for both suppliers to the great advantage of the consumer.

Iron and Steel

We will now turn to iron and steel. During the last pre-depression year of 1928-29 India imported 1,170,000 tons of iron and steel, of which the United Kingdom supplied 650,000 tons, or 55½ per cent. In 1933-34 imports had contracted to 329,000 tons, of which the United Kingdom supplied 166,000 tons, or 50½ per cent. Apart from the severe contraction in demand due to the curtailment of capital works and to the fall in the consumption of galvanized sheets attributable to the depression in the jute districts, the principal reason for the decline in imports is the rapidly mounting production of the Tata Iron and Steel Company. In 1934-35 this company produced 604,000 tons of saleable steel, including 263,000 tons of bars and structural material and

94,000 tons of sheets—in other words, fully 75 per cent. of the available market for steel.

The prospects for United Kingdom steel exporters in 1933 seemed hopeless, but in steel, as in cotton, an enlightened policy of co-operation on the part of the United Kingdom industry has already borne fruit. Early in 1934 a small but representative delegation of the United Kingdom industry, led by Mr. I. F. L. Elliott, gave evidence before the Indian Tariff Board and established cordial relations with the Indian steel producers, the principal local engineering firms and the Government of India. After fully recognizing that the Indian industry should first be assured of its full output under reasonable conditions, the delegation sought to secure three main objectives. These were:

(1) The free entry, wherever possible, of British steel, failing which low revenue duties only;

(2) Adequate differential margins between the duties imposed on British and non-British steel; and

(3) Provision for the prompt imposition of offsetting duties should prices of foreign steel fall below anticipated levels.

All three objectives were attained in the Iron and Steel Duties Act of 1934. The Act provided for duties on United Kingdom steel which—except in the case of bar and rod, black sheets and tinplates—do not exceed the moderate level of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. Moreover, considerably increased differential duties were imposed on imports of non-British steel in order to equate foreign prices to the fair selling prices of the Indian industry. A clause providing for the prompt imposition of offsetting duties was also added. It is estimated that, when demand revives, a considerable portion of the trade formerly supplied by the Continent will be diverted to works in the United Kingdom. This movement has, in fact, already begun. In return, His Majesty's Government promised that, so long as these favourable rates of duty obtained, Indian pig-iron should retain the right of free entry into the United Kingdom market. The value of this concession will be appreciated when it is realized that in 1934-35 the United Kingdom purchased 110,000 tons from India or nearly 88 per cent. of her total imports of pig-iron during the year.

The future for British steel in India will largely depend upon a general revival of consumption. When trade is brisk the market has shown itself to be capable of absorbing from 500,000 to 750,000 tons over and above the capacity of the Indian steel industry as at present organized. The reduction of duties should prove to be a valuable stimulus to consumption. It is to be hoped that, on the firm foundations which have now been laid, the leaders of the British and Indian industries may be able to guide the development of the Indian market in their mutual interests in a spirit of co-operation rather than of competition. They will thus secure to the Indian consumer the most efficient service at the minimum economic price, thereby increasing the iron and steel consumption of India, expediting the construction of her essential capital projects, and contributing substantially to the economic welfare of the two countries.

Machinery and Millwork

I come to the great and growing trade in machinery and millwork which now ranks second only to cotton textiles among India's imports and fortunately presents much greater scope for expansion. In 1929-30 total imports were valued at over Rs. 18 crores, of which the United Kingdom accounted for 75 per cent. Owing partly to the financial stringency and consequent curtailment of Government expenditure on capital account and partly to the depressed state of many Indian industries, imports fell to Rs. 10½ crores in 1932-33, of which we supplied 74 per cent. This was the low-water mark. Since then, the Central and Provincial Governments and also Public Utility undertakings have shown a disposition to take advantage of low interest rates and favourable machinery prices, in order to press on with the more urgent capital schemes which had been held up. Similarly, Indian industries, under the cover of protective and high revenue duties, are showing confidence in the future and are laying down new plant, while the gold and base metal mining industries are enjoying a period of great activity. In 1934-35 imports totalled Rs. 12½ crores, of which the United Kingdom supplied 72 per cent., and the figures for the current year are better still.

The first stimulus was provided by the rapid expansion of Indian sugar factories, which, during the past 3½ years have provided orders for sugar machinery alone of over £5,000,000 sterling. It is encouraging to note that United Kingdom makers have obtained 60 per cent. of this trade and the plant supplied has, in most cases, given much greater efficiency than was guaranteed and has earned good profits for the Indian mills. Recent material increases in the imports of prime movers such as steam and oil engines are a sure index of reviving industrial activity. Similarly, improved shipments of electrical machinery of all kinds reflect important extensions of Power Undertakings and the development of new projects. Competition from Germany during the past few years has become increasingly acute on account of the abnormally low prices offered under Government stimulus, with the object of securing foreign exchange. The position in India of the United Kingdom manufacturing engineer is an inherently sound one, as it is based upon the suitability to Indian conditions of his design and the general excellence, finish, and workmanship of the product. To these factors should be added the excellent service which is given, year in year out, by his branches and technical agents in the country. It is precisely in times of stress such as the present that the firm with an efficient organization on the spot secures such reduced trade as may be offering. It is to be hoped that those few remaining firms of importance, who are not yet adequately represented in India, will take prompt steps to remedy this defect in their organization.

Other Trades

It is not possible to deal in detail with the countless other items which make up the balance of our exports to India. The rapid extension of transport and road facilities has given a fillip to the demand for motor-cars, buses and lorries, which is being met to an increasing extent by United Kingdom vehicles. The local distributing organizations of the leading British suppliers have recently been further consolidated, and there is now an encouraging desire on the part of local firms of motor agents to hold a good United Kingdom agency, which proves that the business is a

lucrative one to the distributor. The 7½ per cent. preference is a valuable help. I would here like to stress the fact that the Indian market is potentially one of the most important in the Empire and will amply repay all the attention and care that can be given to it. United Kingdom shipments last year were valued at over £1,000,000 and, if the rubber tyre trade is added, reached a total of £2,000,000. The total imports of pedal cycles last year were valued at £750,000, of which this country secured no less than 71 per cent.; and our relative share is further improving during the present year at the expense of Japan. The fact that a sound, durable machine can be manufactured in the Midlands and sold c.i.f. Indian ports at less than £3 is a striking demonstration of the competitive power of British industry. The reputation of the United Kingdom product for long life, durability and value for money is sufficient to enable it to meet even Japanese competition. This factor should operate even more powerfully in our favour when purchasing power recovers.

A striking example of the resilience of Indian industries is the maintenance of the imports of chemicals, which constitute the raw materials of so many basic industries. The average imports during the three pre-slump years 1926-27 to 1929-30 were valued at Rs. 264 lakhs, the British share being 57 per cent. In 1934-35 imports had actually risen to Rs. 292 lakhs and the British proportion was practically the same at 56 per cent., notwithstanding severe competition from Japan at phenomenally low prices. The success of the great British chemical organization in maintaining its position has been mainly due to the efficiency of its far-flung distributing network throughout the country and the bold and far-sighted policy which infuses this organization and enables it to deal promptly with each development as it arises. The Ottawa preference of 10 per cent. has also been a contributive factor.

It is precisely in the miscellaneous trades that the 10 per cent. preferential duty has been most valuable in enabling us to maintain and even improve our position in such difficult years. Thus in the omnibus item of provisions the United Kingdom percentage has arisen from 43 in 1932-33 to 52 in 1934-35. In hardware the British share rose in the same period from 29 to 32; in instruments

and apparatus of all kinds from 50 to 52; in paints and colours from 63 to 68; in wrought copper from 25 to 44; brass from 31 to 37; aluminium from 43 to 45; while in the case of beer we maintained our percentage of 63 in spite of a reduction in the total trade. As I have already stated, the beneficial results of the Ottawa preferences would have been even more arresting but for the influx of Japanese goods which, although not always comparable in quality, were sold at prices within the compass of the restricted purchasing power of the people.

Future Possibilities

And now what of the future, and how can we make good the inevitable reduction in exports such as cotton textiles and steel, which have hitherto been the mainstays of our Indian trade? The answer, I think, is to be found in the rapid development of India herself, which is already resulting in a remarkable diversification of her economic requirements. I have already referred to the resilience shown in such items as machinery, chemicals, and transport vehicles. To these one might add the astonishing growth of recent demand for electrical appliances of all kinds, cinematograph films, wireless and broadcasting equipment, telephone installations, refrigerating and air-conditioning plants, and specialized equipment required for a rapidly growing industrial community. Many members present, who have not been in India during the past ten years, would be astounded at the response shown by the Indian people to the provision of improved modern facilities. The recent extensions of the telephone network throughout the country have been remarkable and, moreover, have been found to provide an almost immediate return on the capital invested.

The senior Indian business man in the towns today travels by car as well as by rail, has his correspondence typed, uses the telephone, not only for long-distance calls to Indian centres but also to the United Kingdom and other foreign countries. He does not hesitate to travel by air, he probably owns a wireless set, and almost invariably makes full use of electrical appliances such as modern lights, fans, and domestic refrigerators. His family regularly

attend the cinema and, in many cases, also drive their own cars. The demand for imported foodstuffs and beverages, which, until recently, were regarded as luxuries, is increasing rapidly. On all sides one sees, as in this country, a changed outlook towards commodities formerly regarded as luxuries, but which are now considered to be necessities for the enjoyment of a full life.

Even the conservative cultivator is being shaken out of his "pathetic contentment" by the extensions of motor transport, the ministrations of paternal agricultural departments and the availability of chemical fertilizers. Recent developments of village broadcasting in the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Madras and elsewhere are calculated to widen his outlook and bring him in closer touch with the world. In the industrial field, Indian manufacturers demand the latest and most efficient processes and types of plant and equipment that the world can offer and insist upon expert advice, erection facilities, and continuous service after erection. In brief, India is rapidly being drawn into the world economic system and our exporters must recognize that fact.

Happily, most of the classes of imports affected by these developments are those in which British manufacturers already hold a large share and are keeping abreast of market requirements. It is most encouraging to note that in the newer highly technical industries, United Kingdom manufacturers are successfully meeting foreign competition and are reinforcing their efforts by adequate sales, technical and service organizations on the spot. Fortunately, too, these classes of imports, which are capable of such great expansion, can be developed without competing with India's own natural industrial development. The friendly co-operation of British manufacturing organizations, with their technical experience and knowledge of world-wide conditions, and Indian industrialists, with their knowledge of local conditions, should be most valuable in research work with the object of stimulating the consumption of their products by creating fresh outlets and uses for them and by joint effort to develop backward sections of the market and by promoting entirely new consumptive demand. *I am convinced that we must rely more and more in future on the*

supply of capital products and technical equipment to India, thus aiding her own development with our experience and technique.

As regards the simpler forms of consumers' goods, it would appear that our industrialists must look to the combined effects of preferential duties and industrial co-operation to enable them to secure, at the expense of other overseas competitors, a greater share of a limited market. The benefits of the preferential duties may be expected to increase as purchasing power revives. The advantages to be derived from complementary agreements between industries in India and the United Kingdom, operating within the framework of the Indian tariff, should be equally marked. Such industrial co-operation would not only regulate and improve Indian market conditions for both parties, without detriment to the consumer, but would ensure that the United Kingdom industry concerned would enjoy an increased share of the market's requirements surplus to Indian production.

Such fiscal advantages as have been secured by the joint efforts of the two Governments at Ottawa and subsequently must, however, be followed up by energetic action on the part of United Kingdom and Indian manufacturers and merchants. During the past eighteen years I have consistently urged upon our exporters here the imperative need for the establishment in India of as efficient and widespread technical, publicity, sales, and service organizations as they would employ in any other developed market. It is gratifying to note that great progress has been made in this direction, the tempo having been largely expedited by the necessity of complying with the Government of India's rupee tender system. The need for Indian registered companies and the value of increasingly associating Indians with our distributing organizations are now widely recognized and acted upon. These organizations, specially designed to meet the peculiar needs of the market and the susceptibilities of the Indian temperament, have resulted in a considerable drain on the resources of many firms during the past years of depression. They should, however, be an invaluable asset in the future in enabling us to take prompt and full advantage of that general improvement in the market which cannot be much longer delayed.

Politics and Trade

In conclusion, I touch very briefly on the political outlook and its probable reactions on our trade. For years our economic relations with India have been handicapped by political and racial feeling, which invaded even purely business relations and prevented issues fraught with great material advantage to both sides from being considered on their purely economic merits. The imminence of the Reforms scheme and the foundations of Imperial economic co-operation laid at Ottawa have brought about a most marked improvement in the last two years. It seems practically certain that all Indian political parties will endeavour to take full advantage of the new Government of India Act, and that their activities in future will be so largely occupied with their own political problems that their relations with this country will gradually tend towards a basis of co-operation towards the common goal—namely, the progress and welfare of India as a whole.

I am one of those who look forward with confidence to a rapprochement between the traders of the two countries as self-government becomes an established fact and all sources of political conflict are removed. Moreover, there is throughout India a growing consciousness of the solid economic advantages which are accruing from the Ottawa policy of Empire agreements on the basis of mutual advantage. Indians of all shades of political thought are realizing the benefits—particularly in a world which is erecting every possible barrier to the free exchange of trade—to be derived from free access to the one large unrestricted consumers' market in the United Kingdom. I have little doubt that the reformed Indian Governments, both in the provinces and at the centre, will be only too ready to take their place in the British Commonwealth of Nations and thereby strengthen the bonds of mutual interest between the two peoples.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Thursday, January 16, 1936, when a paper entitled "Our Export Trade with India: Recent Developments and Opportunities" was read by Sir Thomas Ainscough, C.B.E. (H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon). Captain Euan Wallace, M.P. (Parliamentary Secretary, Department of Overseas Trade), was in the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Hubert Carr, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Barton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Harry Lindsay, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. G. B. D. Head, Mr. Edgecumbe, Mr. W. Stenhouse Lamb, Mr. J. G. Nicholson, Mr. I. F. L. Elliot, Mr. C. B. Chartres, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. A. E. Rushworth, Mr. E. Batchelor, Mr. Keelen, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mrs. and Miss Berry, Mr. P. Mehta, Dr. Sambidananda Das, Mr. R. C. Lai, Mr. Y. N. Sukthankar, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mrs. Dewar, Miss Gunter, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Dr. B. K. Wadia, Mr. Leonard Matters, Miss F. M. Green, Mr. J. W. Golsby, Mr. M. K. Ganguli, Mr. Lionel Morris, Mr. G. J. Ellis, Mr. G. F. Braddock, Mr. Syed M. Sayedulla, Miss Edmonstone, Miss Emily Coleman, Mr. Harris, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I am very pleased to have been invited to take the Chair at a meeting of the East India Association; and I am deeply sensible that in a gathering like this I am a layman amongst a lot of experts. I do not suppose that in the ordinary way one would be inclined to take on a job of this kind if it were not that, like all politicians of thirteen years standing, I have become fairly hardy and thick-skinned and am quite used to finding myself in this sort of situation. But feeling my position as I do, I am here merely as Chairman to learn rather than to lay down the law, and certainly not to inflict my opinions on you.

It would be almost an impertinence for anybody to try and introduce Sir Thomas Ainscough to a gathering of this kind. He has been our Senior Trade Commissioner in India for a greater number of years perhaps than he would like to remember. In listening to his paper this afternoon, we can all be quite confident that we are listening to an expert, and, if I may put it in more colloquial terms, we are getting the dope straight from the horse's mouth.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a profoundly interesting address, and, if I may venture to say so, one which will well repay a great deal more careful and detailed study than it is possible for us, even those who know the subject well, to give as it is delivered.

I am very much impressed by the tone of reasoned optimism which Sir Thomas has adopted. I am perfectly certain that he is not the kind of man, nor does he occupy the kind of position which would encourage him to make any statements or to advocate any views of which he was not profoundly convinced.

If I may pick out just one thing from his very interesting paper, I think I would choose the bit where he said that we must realize that India is being drawn more and more into the world economic system, and that our exporters have probably got to turn their eyes away to a certain extent from supplying the simpler consumers' goods and to concentrate on supplying capital goods which will enable India herself in an ever-increasing degree to increase and improve her standard of living.

We are fortunate in having here several distinguished people who can speak from first-hand knowledge, and I propose in the first instance to ask Mr. I. F. L. Elliot if he will be good enough to address us. He has been referred to already by Sir Thomas in his address as the leader of the steel delegation which visited India in 1934.

Mr. I. F. L. Elliot (British Iron and Steel Federation): Sir Thomas Ainscough's address follows the course to which we in industry have been accustomed in his annual reports. He covers a very wide field in an extremely interesting, extremely lucid and most encouraging way.

I have had the pleasure of being associated with Sir Thomas, so far as the iron and steel industry is concerned, for a good many years in our relations with India, and there have been times, I admit, when one has felt a little bit pessimistic. Sir Thomas has never descended to pessimism, and he has been right, because today, as he has told you in his address, the picture has changed, and changed in a very interesting way. This country naturally, before a steel industry was developed in India, relied upon the Indian market for a very large export of iron and steel goods of all sorts, and naturally iron and steel manufacturers here viewed with some dismay the establishment of an industry which, starting from difficult beginnings, has grown into a magnificent and a thoroughly economic unit.

Today we can look at that picture from a very different point of view, and we draw further encouragement from a point which Sir Thomas has emphasized in his address, that we must look to the development of the standard of living in India and the development of demand for an increasing variety of goods in which, we hope, iron and steel will play a prominent part for the future to make good what we have lost in the past, and that in our own interest—and we are very largely governed by self-interest, all of us, naturally—we can hope to achieve something very much better by co-operating with our friends in India.

We have tried to carry that policy out, and I think both from the point of view of India and from our own point of view it has been very successful, and we hope it will bring us further success. There is very little I have to say because Sir Thomas has dealt with the picture so very clearly. But there is one thing which has been causing us some anxiety for a good many months back.

There have been all sorts of changes in world economic systems of latter years, but we have found in various parts of the world a new form of activity from one of our Continental competitors which it has been extraordinarily difficult to fathom, and that is a development of what is known as the barter trade on the part of Germany. I am not sufficiently well informed to know to what extent that has been developed in India, but I know that it has been developed to some extent. I should just like to narrate what has been my personal experience in another part of the world, where Germany has developed a system of barter trade probably in advance of any other country, and that is Brazil.

I had occasion to visit Brazil this autumn. It was a curious position. Germany, by means of an artificial mark, which is known as a compensation mark, was able to sell her manufactures to Brazil at an attractive price, a lower price than any other country. At the same time, by the artificial valuation of the compensation mark, Germany was able to buy Brazilian produce at higher prices than any other country was able to offer. This was a very curious phenomenon. It appeared that the German manufacturer was being subsidized in some indirect way in regard to his exports to Brazil, and the German importer of raw materials was equally being subsidized to buy Brazilian produce. It did not look a very sound business proposition. The German Government presumably were losing both ways, and one wondered where it was going to end.

I discovered the answer to this in Brazil, and the answer was a very interesting one. By manipulation of the exchange machinery, a position was created, and Brazil suddenly woke up to this position: that Germany had bought Brazilian produce in excess of the value of what she had sold to Brazil to the tune of something like seven million pounds sterling. Brazil found that by manipulation of the machinery the credit balance in Germany was blocked, and she could only take it out by buying more and more German manufactures, coal, and so on. That balance is being slowly liquidated today, but naturally the German exporter is getting good prices for the products he sells against that balance. So in the later stages Germany is coming out very nicely. By the time the whole thing is liquidated, I suppose our German friends hope that memories will be short and Brazil will have forgotten her resentment when she woke up to the real facts of the position.

I hope nothing like that is going to be allowed to go on in India. Sir Thomas probably knows more about this subject than he told you already, and will be watching that point in all our interests.

Mr. J. G. Nicholson (Imperial Chemical Industries): I have listened with great interest to the very able discourse, and thank Sir Thomas for his clear statement on the Indian position. The part of his address to which I will confine my remarks is that referring to distributing organizations, and in particular their value in maintaining chemical and fertilizer sales. No doubt you will have noticed that Sir Thomas's remarks on these subjects followed after his discussion on the major groups of exports—viz., cotton textiles, iron and steel and machinery.

I fully endorse all he has said regarding the importance of comprehensive and detailed selling. Experience has shown time and again that a system of sales offices and depôts in close touch with wholesale, retail and consuming interests is of the utmost importance. Unless the goods are immediately available to the small user after they have been instructed and are satisfied that results can be obtained from their use, the opportunity of proving their value is delayed. A network of supply depôts, to which are attached technical experts to carry out local propaganda, forms a basis for improving the standard of living throughout India. It enables the British manufacturer to assess accurately the needs of the community both as regards type of goods and price; it establishes a personal goodwill with buyers, and it affords an instrument by which the manufacturer is enabled to anticipate and to foster future trends of demand.

During the past ten years the consumption of chemical fertilizers in India has shown a large and steady increase, all the more remarkable because of the unprecedented level to which commodity prices fell during that period. There can be no doubt that this progress would not have been achieved but for the intensive educational and propaganda work which has been carried out, partly by Government officers, but also by fertilizer distributing organizations working in the closest and most cordial co-operation with these Government agricultural departments.

The fertilizer business has now been firmly established to the mutual benefit both of the Indian cultivator and of the commercial interests which have fostered it, and shows every prospect of expansion. There is, however, a great danger that this position may be upset by the indiscriminate dumping of fertilizers of poor or unsuitable qualities from sources which have played no part in establishing their use in India. Such action is liable to foster the uneconomic and inappropriate use of fertilizers with resultant dissatisfaction and discouragement on the part of cultivators. It is also liable to weaken and undermine the distributing organizations which have played so large a part in educating Indian agriculture to the proper use of fertilizers, and the question of importing cheap and sometimes poor quality substitutes is one which should not be overlooked by the authorities.

Another possible and perhaps more remote danger is the erection in India, behind some form of protection, of local factories established without due regard to efficiency or to the economic requirements of the territory. The British manufacturing and commercial interests have already indicated their willingness, and indeed their desire, to manufacture locally as soon as they believe that this would serve the best interests of the Indian market, but it is of the utmost importance for the future that such undertakings shall be properly planned; otherwise they constitute a permanent and unnecessary burden on the Indians themselves.

Not only have the interests concerned stated their intention of taking action in local production, but they have also made it known that they will welcome a very large share of participation by Indian capital in such enterprises. Coupling this with the importance to the Indian cultivator of economic sources of supply of suitable fertilizers, there should be no grounds for local prejudice, and I would ask the Government authorities to examine

the position and to decide what steps they can take to safeguard the present position of those who have developed the demand in India through distributing agencies, and to assist them when the time is ripe not only to co-operate with Indian interests in the establishment of a sound local industry, but also to prevent the dumping of non-Empire products.

Mr. C. B. CHARTRES: The two speakers who have already dealt with this extremely interesting and valuable paper which we have had read to us this afternoon addressed us from the angle of British exporters.

I spent all my business activities in India for a period of twenty years looking at the subject from the opposite point of view, from the point of view of the manufacturer in India. I was a partner in a firm of managing agents, whose duty it was to look after the interests of the shareholders of several companies, the vast majority of the shareholders being Indians. The companies were all registered in India with rupee capital, so that our business outlook was entirely Indian.

I well remember Sir Thomas first arriving in Calcutta as the Trade Commissioner for Great Britain. We struggling manufacturers in India, trying to develop engineering works without the assistance then of any tariff, looked on him somewhat askance, thinking he was coming out to put another spoke in our wheel. However, it was not very long before I discovered that he had the breadth of view and the vision to see that India must increase her factories, but that the more we manufactured in India, so we developed new lines and gave outlets for other branches of manufacture which Britain could export to us out there.

We found that every new line we took up required new machinery. That machinery we could not make in India, and Sir Thomas was very helpful indeed in putting the right people in touch with us, or us in touch with the right people about an exchange of business. I think the British exporter and the Indian merchants owe a debt of gratitude to Sir Thomas Ainscough for the extremely hard work he has put in over a long series of years, coping with very great difficulties which he has rather glossed over in the paper.

He has now seen the crowning result of his work in the first reciprocal working arrangement between British and Indian manufacturers in the Clare Lees agreement, which I am certain will form the forerunner of other agreements of a similar nature among other branches of industry of the two countries to their great mutual benefit. From my limited knowledge of the subject I am no less optimistic than Sir Thomas in thinking that the trade between England and India, and between India and England, will continue to develop under the new Constitution. I am certain that as long as Sir Thomas holds his present position we shall see improvement from year to year.

Mr. J. J. NOLAN: I have only one or two remarks to make upon an issue which Sir Thomas raised, and that is with regard to the development in India of service, technical and publicity organizations. I speak from the standpoint of one connected with the Press. The duty of the British importers who are connected with Indian trade is to advertise in the papers

in India. I know cases have occurred where exporters here have been approached by certain papers and periodicals published here who have told them, "We are the only papers to advertise in. Don't trouble about the local papers. Our papers go to the best people in India." That is entirely a wrong attitude to take up. Papers and periodicals which go in small numbers to clubs in India are not going to bring goods before the consumers. That can only be done by the papers they read every day. I endorse everything Sir Thomas has said with regard to advertising, so that people should have the goods brought before them in the best and most direct way possible, and I make no difference between the British-owned and Indian-owned papers in this matter.

Sir THOMAS AINSCOUGH: I would like to thank all the speakers for the very generous way they have commented upon my paper. It has been a particularly great personal pleasure to me to have such old friends here tonight as Mr. Elliot, with whom I worked so closely and so pleasantly in the negotiations preceding the Steel Bill last year; and Mr. Nicholson, who has always been a great help and encouragement in the efforts I have made for years, in face of great criticism from certain interested parties, with the object of securing adequate distributing organizations for British goods in the Indian market. I am afraid that I was regarded as almost a fanatic on this question, which I have always regarded as being of such paramount importance. It has always been a great source of encouragement and help to realize that I had the sympathy and support of one like Mr. Nicholson, who, I will say this, practises what he preaches. The organization of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., not only in India, but in other parts of the world, is a model to many manufacturers of the way goods should be distributed.

It has also been a very great pleasure to have Mr. Chartres with us tonight, and to have a point of view from the angle of the managing agency firm in India. He made a very generous reference to what slight efforts I have been able to make in India during the past few years. I would like to take this opportunity of thanking him personally for the help and encouragement he gave me in those first five or ten years of my life in the country, when, as he indicated to you, things were not always easy, and I was on many occasions made to feel that I was looked upon as being the devil's advocate. However, thanks to the support of many leaders of business in India, that difficult period was lived down, and one of the pleasantest recollections I shall always retain of my sojourn in the country is that of the countless business friendships I have made and the support I have received from the business community in India, whether European or Indian.

Mr. Elliot raised a most interesting point on the subject of barter trade between Germany and Brazil, and he enquired whether there had been any signs of such developments in India. I may say that there have been one or two attempts in the last year or so to introduce such a system. We have had one or two most influential delegations from Germany of financiers holding very high positions in the German banking world, who have endeavoured to impress not only upon produce firms in India, but also upon the Govern-

ment of India the desirability of increasing the exports of Indian produce—an aim which everyone has in mind—by special arrangements for return contracts for German machinery and other products.

They have been met with every courtesy by the Government of India, who have lost no opportunity of impressing on them that, according to the stores rules now in force, any country in the world can compete on equal terms for India's great requirements of railway material and other stores; that there is no preference for any overseas supplies of Government stores; and that, other things being equal, the lowest tenderer secures the contract.

Further than this, so far as I am aware, the Government of India were not prepared to go, and I should doubt—although I am not in their confidence with regard to this subject—whether there would be any opportunity in India of developments such as have taken place in South America.

I would only add one word more, and that is with regard to Mr. Nolan's point on the advantages to be gained by advertising in the Indian Press. I am in entire agreement with him on the subject, but the only point I question is whether there is really any need to stress it. I think he has been connected with the Indian Press for very many years, and he will be one of the first to admit that the principal advertisers in the daily, weekly and the technical Press of India are British and other overseas firms. Anyone who takes up any of the morning dailies in Calcutta, Bombay or elsewhere in India, or the technical papers, will find the advertisement pages full of British advertisements. And as our distributing organization develops, as it is rapidly doing in India, in the form of local companies and so on, each of which has its advertising campaign, I think he will find that this snowball will be a rapidly growing one, and that there is no need for any special effort to induce people to take such a course in their own advantage.

It is very late, and I would conclude by expressing my most grateful thanks to you for the patient way in which you have listened to my paper. (Applause.)

Sir Atul Chatterjee: The Chairman has said that I was going to move a vote of thanks to the lecturer. But my duty, and I am sure you will all agree with me, is to propose a vote of thanks to our Chairman as well as to the lecturer of the evening. The Chairman is a Minister of the Crown, and we all know how very hard-worked Ministers are in these very difficult days. We are extremely glad and very grateful indeed that Captain Wallace has been able to spare time to come and guide the deliberations of the Association on this important occasion.

As regards the lecture, I think we are all agreed that it was a most valuable and thought-stimulating contribution to a subject which is of vital importance both to this country and to India. Sir Thomas Ainscough, who has been a friend of mine for many years, more years than I wish to think of, has clearly shown us that the prosperity not only in India, but also of this country to a very large extent depends on raising and improving the standard of life of the Indian people. So long as that object is achieved, I am quite sure that the trade relations between those two countries will redound to the profit both of India and of Europe.

That the situation is precarious has also been brought out by Sir Thomas, who said that at present a great deal of the imports which India obtains from this country, as well as from other countries, have to be paid for by the export of gold. I hope that the facts which he has brought forward will enable us all to think over the various problems, and each of us in our own way should try and do what we can to develop good relations between the two countries, both in economic and in other matters.

I am sure you will all agree with me that we owe a deep debt of gratitude both to Captain Wallace and to Sir Thomas Ainscough. (Applause.)

The Chairman: Sir Atul Chatterjee, I should like to thank you very much indeed for the kind things you have said about Sir Thomas and myself. I can assure you that the one and a half hours which I have been privileged to spend in this chair have, from my point of view, been very well spent indeed.

I have just come to a Department which exists for the express purpose of promoting our overseas trade and nothing else; and I suppose the situation of our overseas trade in India is more or less analogous to its situation in any other part of the world. It is beset by two difficulties, one economic and the other political. Any person who came here this afternoon with an impartial mind must inevitably go out of this room considerably strengthened in the confidence that with goodwill and intelligent co-operation on both sides, both the political and the economic difficulties which stand in the way of an increase of our trade with India are in a fair way to be solved. We have not heard from any of those gentlemen who have addressed us since Sir Thomas spoke any disagreement with the general views outlined in Sir Thomas's paper.

I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that speaking for the Department of Overseas Trade—and I am sure Mr. Edgecumbe, who is one of my experts and heads present here today, would agree with me—we shall take home with us a considerable amount of cheer and encouragement from this meeting. For that reason alone I am very grateful to you for having invited me to take the chair.

Sir Alfred Chatterton writes: Sir Thomas Ainscough's paper is in keeping with his reputation as Indian Trade Commissioner. It is a sane and well-balanced exposition of the present situation and of the future prospects so far as one can see. But it is a very unstable world in which we live, and there are no signs yet that we have reached a permanent solution of the many problems which confront those who have to deal with international trade and commerce. The measure of imperial preference reached at the Ottawa Conference can only be regarded as a temporary expedient which, as Sir Thomas clearly indicates, has succeeded in bringing together clashing interests, and from the ensuing discussions evoked a spirit of mutual goodwill and enterprise which has already yielded useful results. The partial closing of the open door has, however, produced repercussions throughout the world which sooner or later may not only greatly modify the commercial relations between the component states of the British Dominions, but also lead to important changes in our relations to the rest of the world. The political situation is such that anything may happen.

Less than six years ago, in a paper* read before this Association on the same subject, attention was drawn to the harmful effects of the absorption of gold by India, to the very large imports of wheat and rice, due to a partial failure of the rains in 1928-29 and to the heavy drain on the resources of the country by the importation of nearly a million tons of sugar annually. Within the last three or four years we have seen a complete revival of the position. Instead of importing and hoarding gold India has exported a vast amount which has gone to swell the useless accumulations in the United States and France; for her surplus produce India has been unable to find a remunerative market, and the whole country has suffered from the fall in prices, whilst the imposition of the high tariff on imported sugar, combined with the adoption of improved breeds of cane, has reduced the imports to a comparatively insignificant figure. To compensate for the loss of Customs revenue it has been necessary to impose an excise duty on sugar, a fiscal measure open to grave objections, but apparently the only way of maintaining a balanced budget. It seems therefore fairly obvious that to keep abreast with Indian movements it is desirable that at fairly frequent intervals this Association should have before it papers of the type which Sir Thomas Ainscough has presented for discussion.

The fall in the value of agricultural produce, to whatever cause it may be attributed, is undoubtedly the dominating feature of the economic depression that has prevailed during the last five years. To most people the result has been disastrous, but less so to countries like Great Britain and Japan that are to a greater extent dependent on foreign sources of food supply. Here it has enabled us to maintain and possibly to improve our standard of living, but it has not greatly helped us as competitors in the world's markets for manufactured goods. In Japan it has been otherwise, as with no rise and possibly a fall in the real wages of the working classes it has enabled her highly skilled and resourceful technicians to reduce costs in existing industries and to start on new ventures with results in international trading that startled the world. Any material rise in the cost of primary commodities will tend to reduce the severity of this competition and provide India, which to a much greater extent than Japan is self-supporting, with the surplus beyond actual necessities which is required for the purchase of foreign goods.

The changes which will shortly be made in Provincial Administration in India and at a somewhat later date in the Central Government will undoubtedly stimulate efforts to accelerate the pace at which modern industries are being introduced, but it is by no means certain that at this outset the new conditions will be more favourable. Nevertheless we can all cordially endorse the opinion of Sir Thomas, upon the importance of which our chairman laid great emphasis, when he said: "I am convinced that we must rely more and more in the future on the supply of capital products and technical equipment to India, thus aiding her own development with our experience and technique." If we do not, is is quite certain that other nations will be quite willing to do so, and it will be well to bear in mind the

* See ASIATIC REVIEW, July, 1930: "India's Progress and India's Poverty." By Sir Alfred Chatterton.

valuable connections which were established with America in the early years of this century when British capitalists and technicians declined to assist in the establishment of the iron and steel industry in India, and were unable for lack of experience at the time to embark upon the development of water power and the introduction of long-distance transmission lines. What was then accomplished under adverse criticism and against great difficulties offers some indication of the energy and ability with which the problems of the future will be tackled. A wealthy and friendly India will be a great source of strength to the Commonwealth, and we should undoubtedly render every assistance in our power to bring this about.

The danger in India lies in the pressure of the population on the soil and the impossibility of bringing about a much higher standard of living, unless we can increase the fertility of the land under cultivation at a much greater rate than that at which the number dependent upon it increases. This is fully recognized, and the problems which it presents have been fully discussed, but as yet the measures taken are scarcely adequate to the urgency and magnitude of the interests involved. Companies interested in the sale of fertilizers have displayed great enterprise, and may well be left to carry on their great work with such official encouragement and assistance as can be accorded to them without any kind of control or supervision.

On the other hand, the Agricultural Departments might do a great deal of useful work by way of propaganda and demonstration of the valuable method of utilizing agricultural waste by its conversion into humus as worked out by Sir Albert Howard at Indore. In a country of small-holdings some kind of joint working is essential, and it would seem that in this direction there is a great field for co-operative societies either independently or as a development of the functions of the existing credit societies. It will not be easy at the outset to arrange matters so that such village factories will work harmoniously, but the advantages to be derived from them are so great that it will be well worth while to make many experiments with a view to evolving a workable plan. Three acres in India are required to do the work of one in Japan, and comparisons of the average yield of the crops obtained in India with those of other countries, whose more extensive methods of cultivation are employed, bear this out.

Probably on account of his official position, Sir Thomas neither criticizes the past nor indicates except in the broadest possible outline what should be done in the future in respect to the development of industries in India. No reference is made to the recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission which have never been carried out; nor to the Provincial Departments of Industries which are functioning as very minor branches of the Administrations and for lack of suitable direction quite unable to play the part originally assigned to them. This close co-operation suggested will probably require some kind of official assistance which might be rendered by the directors of industries, and at any rate no harm would be done by appointing to such posts men capable of initiation and qualified by experience to work on equal terms with the industrial leaders of both Britain and India.

As pointed out in the paper, India is now a big market for miscellaneous machinery and plant, and that market is likely to expand enormously in the

future if a special study is made of the requirements of the country and an effective organization created for the distribution of the goods. Reference has been made to the work done since the war by Imperial Chemical Industries, and I might cite also as an equally successful example of organization the complete network of agencies and service stations established by the Singer's Sewing Machine Co. The Indian buyer suffers from the competition of too many sellers, few of whom are properly equipped to deal with his needs. It is impossible for individual firms, competing one against the other, to provide adequate staff to cover the whole country, but if manufacturers could combine to establish central depôts at the capital of each province and well-stocked agencies at the headquarters of each district, the cost of marketing would be greatly reduced.

This, however, is perhaps a counsel of perfection. It is certain that India will supply her own requirements to an ever-increasing extent, using protective tariffs if necessary to ward off foreign imports, but there is no indication that any great change is likely to come about in the character of the export trade. It is one mainly in primary products, and it is to the increased output of these that we must look to maintain the volume of business reached a few years ago. Just at present the world is trying to get over the effects of a surfeit of them, and it is therefore not advisable to take too roseate a view of the future.

INDIAN OCCULTISM: THE ROPE-TRICK AND OTHER PHENOMENA

By Major G. H. Rooke

It may allay any too sanguine anticipations which have possibly been excited by the title given to my paper if I say that it is not my intention personally to demonstrate any of the tricks which will be discussed. On the other hand, I trust you will acquit me of having imitated the contributor to the *Eatanswill Gazette* when compiling his famous article on "Chinese Metaphysics."

We may begin by enumerating the various tricks themselves, and after dealing with these, which can be regarded as its bye-products, go on to examine our main subject in its dual aspect—*i.e.*, as a Philosophy, and a System.

Now as regards the tricks, they are: (1) fire-walking; (2) the mango-trick; (3) the basket-trick; (4) the rope-trick; (5) levitation. The last, like fire-walking, is not so much a trick as an objective reality.

Fire-Walking

Fire-walking has attracted particular attention owing to a recent demonstration of it, which, so far as I am aware, is the first ever given in this country. It was further remarkable from the fact that although the Indian performer walked barefoot, and with deliberation, over the burning embers without receiving any injury, the Europeans who attempted to imitate him got rather badly burned. Whereas, in most accounts which I have come across, it was stated that not only the actual performers, but those among the crowd who followed them, all seemed to have acquired the same immunity, which suggests that a different procedure may be employed to obtain similar results.

It is always advisable to seek for a purely physical explanation of an unusual happening before considering any others; and in

this case it seems as though the feet might have previously been steeped in some chemical solution which sufficed to protect the skin for a given time. Failing this, we might fall back on the theory that there was a temporary extrusion of what the Spiritualists call "ectoplasm" and the Theosophists "etheric matter"; which is supposed to have a similarly neutralizing effect. In support of this latter theory may be quoted an experience which a friend of mine (the late Mrs. Champion de Crespigny) once had with the well-known medium, Home, who on one occasion picked some red-hot coals out of the fire (in front of which they were both sitting) with his bare hands, and also placed others in Mrs. de Crespigny's hand without causing her any injury whatever.

A similar incident is told of the early Jesuits when engaged in a theological controversy with members of another religious order. Failing to get the better of their opponents in argument, one of the Jesuits filled his hands (as above described) with red-hot coals, and challenged his opponent to do the same. It is recorded that this feat so impressed the audience that the Jesuits gained their point without further difficulty. This story receives additional support from the existence of a wide-spread tradition that fire cannot harm very saintly persons—illustrated in the account of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, who was sentenced to be burned. But though the fire was lighted all round him, the flames did not consume his body, merely enclosing him in a sort of incandescent globe, within which he could be seen quite unharmed. So that, finally, the executioner was ordered to kill him with a sword. One also calls to mind the practice of ordeal by fire, where the innocence of the accused person was established by walking barefoot over red-hot ploughshares without incurring serious injury. This test, moreover, appears to be of very great antiquity, for we find it mentioned in one of the hymns of the Rigveda, in which someone is accused of theft, where the passage occurs, "Heat the axe for him."

Finally, Rosita Forbes, in her latest book, instances a fire-dance in Dutch Guiana, where over the fire ceremony, held in a thick forest, there presided a girl whom the flames licked and enveloped

but did not injure in any way. However this result is brought about, psychological factors may be excluded, as in such cases there can hardly be any doubt about the actuality of the occurrence.

The Mango-Trick

The mango-trick appears to vary a good deal. I have seen it done in India on my own verandah; when, in my opinion, it was obviously mere sleight of hand. But the descriptions given by others, who have told me they witnessed it, can hardly be accounted for in this way. For, in their case, the trick was performed out in the compound, where facilities for accurate observation are much greater. Also, the performers wore practically no clothing, merely a *dhoti*, and their only apparatus was a bowl of earth and a cloth. After planting the seed and covering with the cloth, followed by a kind of ceremonial, and after some delay, the cloth was removed, revealing a shoot several inches in length. On again being uncovered after repeating the process, it had grown to a considerable height. Finally, it actually bore fruit.

In a particular case related to me by a barrister friend (subsequently a judge in the I.C.S.), he said the magician refused to allow him to touch the mango plant when at its fullest development. On asking the juggler how it was done, he replied, "It is *maya*." Now *maya* is Sanskrit for "illusion," and is a definite technical term of the Vedanta philosophy; which suggests that, in this instance, the trick had a psychological basis, and consequently no genuine actuality at all.

The Basket-Trick

Here the basket is usually of an oval shape, covered in all round the edge, but open in the middle. A small boy is put into it, and the magician then proceeds to drive a sword through and through the basket to the accompaniment of shrieks, with blood flowing from the portions so pierced. On the only occasion when I witnessed it, no blood was visible. The magician refused to allow me to drive my own sword through the basket, and was obviously embarrassed by the suggestion. On the other hand, the accounts generally given of this trick specially dwell on the fact of blood

flowing abundantly from the basket. Though it would seem that a genuine flow of blood might be managed without much difficulty, or injury to anyone, as a large basket of this construction gives ample opportunity for concealment even when not on a prepared stage.

However, when discussing this part of the trick with two friends of mine recently, they told me that an old friend of theirs, Dr. Gordon Dill, had described to them a similar happening, where he witnessed the magician drive a knife through the arm of one of his confederates. Blood spurted out, and Dr. Dill, putting his hand with a handkerchief underneath the man's arm, caught some of the blood on it, staining the handkerchief, which he returned to his pocket. Shortly afterwards, when the magician had departed, on taking out the handkerchief, he found no trace whatever of the bloodstains, which had completely disappeared. Such a circumstance certainly seems to confirm the psychological explanation.

The Rope-Trick

This brings us to the rope-trick, most famous of all. I borrow its description from Mr. Maskelyne's article in the *Sunday Pictorial* of January 5, where he writes as follows:

"The fakir must choose an open space, away from trees and obstructions. His rope must be passed as genuine by impartial onlookers. He must throw it 15 feet or so into the air, where it remains vertical and motionless. A boy then climbs to the top and vanishes. The magician follows, and slashes about in the air at the top with a knife, whereupon pieces of the boy's body fall to the ground. The fakir descends, puts the bits into a bag, throws the bag into a basket, makes a magical pass, and—the boy steps out alive and well."

Subsequently, he relates, an old Indian, who asked him for a job, explained the *modus operandi* thus: He said:

"The fakir hypnotizes the onlookers, and they see what he directs them to see. Meanwhile, he sits upon the ground—boy, rope, bag, and knife are all products of the imagination."

Mr. Maskelyne also states that when a maharaja asked him to do the rope-trick (as above) he had to admit it was beyond his powers. He remarks, "I can throw a rope into the air, make it

stay there—even in an open field—and enable a boy to climb it. On the stage, I can also make him disappear. But the real Indian rope-trick is more than this."

Now hear an account given by one who states he personally witnessed it. The following letter appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of May 5, 1934:

"Sir,—In 1903 the rope-trick was performed before an audience of 200 boys on the playing-field at Victoria School, Kurseong, near Darjiling. The headmaster and several of his staff were also present. We saw the performer throw up the rope, and it remained vertical in the air, apparently reaching into infinity. A native boy then climbed the rope and disappeared into space. We heard the boy's voice refusing to come down when commanded to do so by his master. In fact, he became quite impudent in his replies. The trickster pretended to lose his temper, and cut the rope near the ground with a knife. The boy fell, apparently, from the skies, at the feet of the juggler. After the performance the headmaster described it as a wonderful exhibition of mass-hypnotism and ventriloquism. I was an eye-witness." (Signed) B. R. Fairfax, Southampton, May 3.

The editor appended the following note:

[The Occult Committee has reported that the rope-trick is a myth, and that no one has actually seen it performed.]

This letter, however, is quite definite, though the remarks of the headmaster merely express his own opinion. Here is a second letter published two days later.

"Sir,—I attended a meeting of the Magic Circle many years ago, at which two Indian staff-officers spoke about the rope-trick. The first, like many others, had sought in vain, during a long residence in India, to see the trick performed, or to find anyone who had actually seen it. The other speaker (whose speech and appearance seemed to warrant reliability) described a performance, which had taken place before a small audience on the lawn in front of his own residence. He himself, in order to make sure there was no deception, watched it from a window overlooking the lawn with a good camera. The films when developed (prints from which he was able to show us) revealed no signs of the rope, or of the boy climbing it. What they did show was an audience in a semicircle (facing the fakir and his boy squatting side by side in front of them), all gazing intently upwards, as if watching a miraculous performance. The last picture showed the boy stealing quietly away, to reappear presumably from another direction. . . ." (Signed) B. H. Springett, Seaford, May 5.

So much then for the proverb, "Seeing is believing!" Now, if this is an accurate account of the incident, it seems to furnish

conclusive evidence as to the essentially psychological character of the trick. However, apparently even the camera can sometimes be defeated. For a friend of mine, in the Indian Political, told me, when last in India, of an instance considerably more difficult to explain. He said that (for some reason which I have forgotten) he wanted to take a photograph of a group of Indians, one of whom was obviously disinclined to be photographed, or did not wish to be included in the group. He ultimately consented, but remarked, "You cannot photograph me, sahib!" The photograph was taken, and when developed came out perfectly, with the solitary exception of the individual concerned; for where he had stood with the others, there was nothing to be seen in the photograph but a blank space! I mention this instance because an explanation of how it is alleged to be done is given in a letter from one of the Indian adepts published in *The Mahatma Letters to A. P. Sinnett.*

Levitation

We have now to consider the phenomenon of "levitation"—*i.e.*, defying the law of gravity to the extent of floating in the air, an "illegal operation," in this highly civilized land, for "being without visible means of support" renders one liable to be charged as a "rogue and vagabond"! I have never seen an instance of levitation myself, but have read accounts of isolated cases alleged to have been witnessed by Europeans in India on special occasions. The late Professor Max Müller is said to have believed in its possibility, and he was usually very circumspect in his admissions on such subjects.

When once discussing the question with another officer attached to my battalion in India, he told me he had himself witnessed it, not in India, but in this country, and performed by a European, who said he had learnt the secret from Red Indians in Canada. My informant described him as a heavily built man, who started the levitation process lying at full length on the floor, gradually raising himself a few inches only, but quite clear of the ground. Levitation, moreover, is said to have occurred in numerous instances in the lives of Christian saints—*e.g.*, St. Teresa, who was

frequently levitated, usually when listening to St. John of the Cross preaching on the Eucharist. Occasional levitations are also reported of many other saints; but the champion in this respect is St. Joseph of Cupertino, who is alleged to have taken quite long flights through the air, while at other times his unseasonable levitations greatly incommoded his brother monks, who seem to have found them rather a bore.

A point to be noted is, that these cases of levitation appear always to have been involuntary. St. Teresa, for example, used to try to prevent them by holding on to a rail, or other support within reach; whereas it is claimed that the Indian ascetic can levitate himself at will. Many instances of this are given in Pali literature, in accounts of the Buddha and his Arhats; in one case the latter resorted to levitation to escape the attentions of an infuriated elephant! This, and other abnormal or psychic powers commonly supposed to accompany a certain stage of spiritual development, are known as *siddhis—i.e.*, perfections; *siddhah* corresponding to our Western term "adept."

The Occult System

We now reach the important part of our subject—*viz.*, the occult system and its philosophy. Either of these can hardly be understood or even explained apart from the other. It will therefore probably be best, first, to give in rough outline some of the main theses of the philosophy which govern the practices composing the system. One is, that our ordinary mental form of consciousness is by no means the highest possible to man; being by its very nature inevitably relative, and consequently incapable of solving ultimate philosophical problems. In fact, it is asserted that the mind must be put out of action before real knowledge can be attained.

Hence the mystical maxim, "The mind is the slayer of the Real, let the disciple slay the slayer!" Which echoes the conclusions of our Western philosopher Kant, in the chapter on the "Antinomies" in his epoch-making work, *The Critique of Pure Reason.*

The occult philosophy may, for our purpose, be regarded as identical with the Hindu Gupta Vidya, or Esoteric Science, which

in this aspect, as their seventh, synthesizes the other six (exoteric) philosophies. Altogether, as many as seven possible states of consciousness are classified—viz.: (1) *Jagrat*, waking consciousness; (2) *svapna*, dreaming; (3) *sushupti*, deep sleep; (4) *turiya*, the fourth state; (5) *nirvana*, the fifth; (6) *paranirvana*; (7) *mahaparanirvana*. *Nirvana*, however, is said to be the highest state of consciousness which can be enjoyed on earth. Its old-fashioned interpretation by Western Orientalists, as connoting annihilation or absorption, is now quite discredited. It usually denotes that stage of human evolution when rebirth under physical conditions is no longer obligatory. Hence the occult system has for its main object the attainment of these transcendent states of consciousness by means of a definite technique of thought-control, meditation, and contemplation, culminating in a condition of trance known as *samadhi*, the equivalent of the "ecstasy" of our Christian saints.

This technique is a secret, only imparted gradually by the *guru*, or spiritual director, to his *chela*, or pupil. It seems that these "supramental" states can be attained in two somewhat different ways. First, by regular meditation and contemplation as practised in certain religious orders of the Greek and Roman Churches. Secondly, by the use of breathing exercises called comprehensively *pranayama*, which induce the necessary thought-concentration. Then, by directing the thought thus concentrated successively to various nerve-centres in the body, called in Sanskrit *chakrams*, or lotuses, in a particular order; thereby bringing into dynamic activity the vital electric current which (so to speak) "runs" the physical organism by its main cable—the spinal cord, and is called in Sanskrit the *kundalini sakti*.

These two latter practices, unfortunately, are attended by very serious dangers, both moral and physical, in the case of those who have not gone through a prolonged course of previous training, and also usually involve leading a life of absolute celibacy, for otherwise the current, when thus aroused, may turn downwards instead of upwards, and then "*Demon est, Deus inversus.*" For, as stated in the Hebrew Kabbalah, "When the 'waters of Jordan' flow downwards, then is the generation of men; when they flow upwards, then is the generation of the gods." Which seems to

justify Freud's opinion, though he puts it the wrong way round. One who achieves the control of this force can leave the physical body at will, in full consciousness, while it remains in a state of *samadhi*, and can continue without food of any kind for considerable periods. An example of this was recently reported by the Delhi correspondent of *The Times* as follows:

> "A remarkable instance of an Indian yogi carrying into practice the Hindu philosophical doctrine of Samadhi is reported to have occurred at Rishikesh, a sacred place of pilgrimage in the United Provinces. On October 10 the ascetic had himself immured in a stone structure 16 feet square and 4 feet high. The entrance was closed with a stone that had been cemented, and a guard was posted. Before entering his tomb the Mahatma (as he was called) had fasted for several days, and he left instructions with a priest, that on the 45th day, between 7 a.m. and 10 a.m., when they should hear him sound the sacred word 'Om,' they were to take him out, give him fruit juice, and massage his body with oil. On the 45th day his disciples heard him say 'Om' in a low voice, and his pale, thin body was taken out with life still in it, amid the prayers of thousands of worshippers. The last time he undertook this penance it is stated that one of his hands was partly eaten by white ants while he was in his trance."

The Svastika Emblem

Evidently, therefore, the control of this force (the *kundalini*) would appear to be the main secret. Moreover, there are good reasons for supposing that the knowledge of its functions and method of control was not originally confined to India, but was practically world-wide. This is evidenced by the universality of the svastika emblem, which is its symbol, depicting as it does a revolving flaming cross, of which the bent back arms simulate flames, blown back in the opposite direction to that in which it is turning. This is a graphic representation of the *kundalini*, as it shows itself to clairvoyant vision when focussed upon the lowest (*muladharam*) chakram, where it is beheld as a cross of flame, beginning to revolve in the manner I have indicated. It also looks as though this secret was at one time possessed by the Christian Church, as a border of svastikas decorates the chasuble of Bishop Edington's effigy on his tomb in Winchester Cathedral. And in Crondall Church, Hampshire, there is a brass of a late fourteenth-century rector in full mass vestments—chasuble, stole, and apparels on the amice and alb, all being decorated with a carefully executed

svastika. Again, in Greek mythology, it is the *kundalini* which was the fire Prometheus brought from Heaven in a fennel stalk, the latter symbolizing the spinal cord. Its twin currents, Ida and Pingala, are the two serpents twined round the caduceus of Hermes, who represents the potency of thought. Moreover, he is sometimes depicted holding a lotus, as well as the caduceus. For as the " messenger of the gods " he symbolized the power to carry intelligence by leaving the body at will. Also, in the famous statue by John of Bologna, he stands significantly on the *breath* blown from the mouth of a face beneath his feet.

Again, in the Greek Church, the pastoral staff of a metropolitan is an exact copy of the caduceus. The *kundalini* is, besides, the basic secret of the " elixir of life " sought for by the alchemists, one drop of which can prolong life for 50 to 60 years, and by its continued use up to 500 years. In this aspect it is symbolized by the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden. These are " wise saws," but here is a " modern instance "—*e.g.*:

Some six months ago one Alfred Munez Arnold, of Rothwell Street, Primrose Hill (as reported in the *Daily Telegraph*), giving evidence in Wood Green police-court, stated he was 106, and, when interviewed afterwards, said he had lived for many years in India, and had kept young by practising yoga. The *kundalini* also seems to be a factor in the production of the Philosopher's Stone, the magnetic influence of which in certain ways resembles that of radium. It must be spherical, and carved from a certain species of jade. Held against the forehead and nape of the neck, it awakens the psychic faculties. Possibly this is the real reason why certain rare species of jade are so highly prized in China. However, there are said to be only ten of these stones in existence. The *kundalini* is also the force referred to as " vril " in Bulwer Lytton's novel, *The Coming Race*, in its potency as a defensive weapon, and similarly in India as the " third eye " of Siva.

" The Path "

The foregoing illustrates what might be termed the practical side of the occult philosophy. But its theoretical side, which (logically, at any rate) is of equal importance, is designed to provide in the " occult system " a kind of " short circuit " to normal human evolution, technically called " The Path." This was also the object of the Greater Mysteries in Egypt, Greece, and elsewhere. Hence we find it alluded to in punning phrases or *doubles entendres*—*e.g.*, the inscription over the temple at Delphi, γνῶθι σέαυτον (literally, " know thyself," but having the deeper meaning " know thy atman "—*i.e.*, the eternal Self of the universe). Similarly, Herodotus mentions an inscription on the statue of Isis at Sais; " I am Isis, and my veil no *mortal* has ever lifted "—which sounds discouraging until the right emphasis is placed on " mortal," when the real meaning is disclosed—viz., that the initiate, *i.e.* one who (symbolically) had lifted the veil, *ipso facto* gained immortality, *i.e.* freedom from rebirth under physical conditions. We find a similar type of symbolic utterances in the Gospels, exemplified in Our Lord's charge to Peter, " Thou art Peter, and upon this rock," etc. Whereby Bernard Shaw once involved himself in acrimonious controversy with a bishop by a characteristic *obiter dictum*, that the Christian Church was founded on a pun! The occult system might also be comprehensively defined as a corollary to the proposition enunciated in the twin doctrines of reincarnation and *karma*, as expounded by the Himalayan Brotherhood of adepts, who are held to be its principal administrators and guardians.

Public attention was first drawn to the existence of such a Brotherhood by the publication of a work by the late A. P. Sinnett (the then editor of the *Pioneer*), which he called *Esoteric Buddhism*. It marked the starting point of what has come to be known as the " Theosophical movement," though as such it must not be identified altogether with the Society of that name; which, there is reason to think, was also founded at the instance of certain members of this Brotherhood, being meant to serve as a counterblast to the wave of Victorian materialism, which about the year 1875 threatened all beliefs.

It is needless to give a history of this Society, in which there have been numerous schisms. In fact, one might truly say Theosophy would have prospered better had there been no " theosophists "! This specially applies to the (so-called) " propaganda," a sort of

"Chapter on Snakes in Iceland" humorously defined as "the art of teaching others what you don't know yourself." In consequence, the badge of the Society, embodying the well-known symbol of the *mahayuga* (a serpent biting its own tail), is by some regarded as an emblem of the Silly Season, depicting the Sea-serpent attempting to swallow his hated rival the Giant Gooseberry! This sort of thing has made these teachings "untouchable" to scholars, who call them the "Theosophical fairy tale." In spite, however, of all the ridicule and abuse heaped upon it during the past 60 years (much of which was merited), this Society has succeeded in achieving its primary object; and if only for that reason, its present decline, mainly due to the Krishnamurti fiasco, as shown by the published figures of membership, is much to be regretted. Mrs. Besant's demise has bequeathed to her successors a veritable *damnosa hæreditas* of difficulties; for by refusing to acknowledge her mistakes they find themselves, in their efforts to recover the former position, impaled on the horns of a dilemma. Happily, the Society still possesses a great asset in its new and excellent headquarters in Gloucester Place (formerly the Portuguese Legation), which shelters one of the finest libraries of its kind.

The Himalayan Brotherhood

Now as regards the Himalayan Brotherhood. Naturally, there is little published information about them of a reliable character. For, has it not been said, "Of its greatest men, the world knows nothing"? Still, so far as can be ascertained their organization appears to be on similar lines to that of Freemasonry; and might even be compared to a sort of celestial Oxford, where, however, there are only seven Heads of Houses. A comparison with Freemasonry may, indeed, imply more than mere resemblance. For it is evident that the "Master-mason's word" (as it is called), though given in a garbled form with the comment "substituted," is in reality pure Sanskrit; and even more significant, is the title borne by one of the three chief officials of this Brotherhood.

Moreover, it was often alleged during the eighteenth century that the Freemasons had lost the "Word"—*i.e.*, apparently, certain secret knowledge they once possessed as residuary legatees

of the ancient Egyptian Mysteries. And, curiously enough, Swedenborg is said to have advised them to search for it in India and Tibet. It might go far to justify this recommendation, that, in Madame Blavatsky's chief work (published in 1888), though entangled in a mass of unreliable statements and misleading argument; in addition to the Relativity Theory, there are enunciated four main theses of the most far-reaching importance—viz.: (1) The curvature of space; (2) the electrical constitution of matter; (3) denial of man's descent from the ape; (4) the origin of civilization traced to the lost continent of Atlantis.

Of these, the first three have now been accepted by science, though (in 1888) it disdained even to notice them; while the fourth is regarded as highly probable. The amazing change which has occurred in the scientific point of view is also illustrated by Sir James Jeans' dictum that we are the inhabitants of a "mental" universe, and that science must now sit at the feet of philosophy! Whereas (in 1888) science defined philosophy as "two men in a dark room searching for a black cat that isn't there!"

Still, one often hears it objected that it is necessary to become a Buddhist, or at any rate a non-Christian, before one can hope to get in touch with this Brotherhood. Such a notion is entirely misleading, as the question of religious belief does not enter into the matter at all, the occult philosophy being to religion what an "honours school" is to a "pass degree"; or, it might be regarded as an "extra subject."

It is only necessary to postulate the truth of the doctrine of reincarnation, since that is the basis of the whole occult system, which without it would resemble *Hamlet,* omitting the Prince of Denmark. Moreover, this doctrine, so I have been assured by Professor Lutoslawski (himself a devout Roman Catholic and author of a work on the subject), has never been "condemned." He stated he had a letter to that effect from the late Cardinal Mercier. I have myself been told of several other Cardinals who accepted it as true, but when asked why nothing was ever heard on the subject, replied that it was not taught to the *laity*!

Instances of Clairaudience

Before concluding this far too lengthy dissertation, I may perhaps be allowed to quote certain experiences of my own, as illustrating the possibility of coming in contact with members of this Brotherhood. Twelve years ago an Anglo-Catholic parson, whose acquaintance I had made only a few weeks before, brought me a message received telepathically by means of clairaudience, a faculty he had suddenly acquired. The message stated that I was to help him carry out a particular work he was to initiate; and it gave personal details about myself which he could not possibly have known. To cut matters short, it led to our collaborating in the work referred to, which included the publication of a small magazine, and we continued to receive messages, mostly from the same three adepts, but occasionally from others, over a period of more than eight years, by which time the work they wanted done had been completed to their satisfaction. Incidentally, they told us many things not generally known, and very enlightening; occasionally gratifying our curiosity as to the former lives of famous persons then living; and in several instances outlining what was to happen in the immediate future, though not in precise detail, which they said it was not possible to give, for human free-will could not be interfered with.

The general impression derived from these forecasts was that we are at the beginning of an important new epoch in human history, expected to reveal itself towards the close of the present year. Among former lives of eminent persons we were told something about each of the following: Three members of the Royal Family, Mussolini, Stalin, Lloyd George, Stresemann, Rabindranath Tagore, Sir S. Radhakrsnan, Mrs. Annie Besant, Dr. Inge, Baron von Hügel, Clemenceau, and Sir William Crookes. On the whole, the function fulfilled by this Brotherhood seems to have as its closest resemblance Plato's account of the Guardians of his ideal Republic.

It is also apparently possible for anyone possessing the requisite qualifications to get in touch with them merely by *persistently wishing* to do so. But wishing to do so, without possessing these

qualifications, is of no more avail than possessing them but without wishing to get in touch. The qualifications are very similar to those required for "profession" in one of the stricter religious orders, which amounts to leading the "religious" life while remaining and working in the world; a far more arduous task than in the calm surroundings of the cloister.

True Forecasts of 1931

In conclusion, let me read you portions of two messages which seem specially remarkable, as some of their predictions have proved to be what the S.P.R. calls "veridical," though at the time they were received, the prospect of their fulfilment seemed almost minimal. The following was received on September 16, 1931—the *day after* the mutiny in the Atlantic Fleet at Invergordon, and six days *before* the Bank of England was forced to suspend the gold standard. It runs:

"Brother, peace be with you! I have good news to give you. The battle has been won, and the power of the forces of evil over the British Empire has been broken.

"A new era is about to dawn, and the setting sun of the English people will arise again with new strength and shine forth upon this nation and its dependencies; and the old British spirit of fairplay, hard work, and thrift will again become predominant. England has reached the bottom of her trade and financial depression, and from now onward there will be a slow but steady progress towards prosperity and national well-being. The cold and unusual weather was but the atmospheric reflection of the national depression and world-unrest. You are witnessing the dissolution of the Labour programme of class-consciousness, and you will see a gradual welding of class with class taking place; with the result that the whole nation and Empire will show a united front to the world. England had to be saved at all costs, for she is destined to be the channel through which . . . will chiefly work in this new age."

A second message received from the same source on October 28, 1931 (second day of the General Election, before results were known), is as follows:

"Current events have proved to you the trustworthiness of our prognostication. The battle has been finally won, so far as England is concerned. The power of the forces of evil in your midst has been broken. The Government has before it the great and responsible task of laying a firm foundation upon which the new race (now coming into incarnation) will

eventually build up a national life strong enough to rule the world. The Coming One has now, or will have, a centre, from which His rule shall radiate to the four quarters of the world. . . .

"The new Government will rule as a national and joint dictatorship. There will be difficulties, many and great; but they will be surmounted one by one, and the whole Empire will be gradually drawn into closer union with the central Government and controlling body in London. In time, each and every part of the British Empire will have their representatives in the British Parliament.

"Ramsay MacDonald is a man of destiny, and will be looked back to in time to come as the man who saved not only England, but the Empire.

"From now onwards the prosperity of the nation will increase, and with its increase unemployment will gradually disappear, while, with the closer knitting up of the Empire, much work will be available in the Colonies to men at home. Socialism will, of course, remain, but will be greatly modified in many ways. Home Rule will be granted to India, but not on the lines now laid down by Mahatma Gandhi.

"Many internal troubles now brewing in the European countries will fail to materialize, owing to the united front shown by the British people to the world at large. . . ."

It may seem to you that some of this sounds rather like an echo of Kipling's "Recessional," or that (truly prophetic) verse of "Rule, Britannia."

> "The nations not so blest as thee
> Must in their turn to tyrants fall;
> Whilst thou shalt flourish, great and free,
> The dread and envy of them all!"

At any rate, here is a quotation from a German's letter published on January 29: "Lucky, lucky, England! God lives in England, I believe."

You will also have noticed a reference to "the Coming One," which seems to indicate the approach of what is called in India the "Kalki Avatara," and is there supposed to be near at hand. In closing, allow me to thank you for listening patiently to many disputable statements, that, while not intended to be taken as apodeictic, are nevertheless unfurnished with proof. In spite of which, I venture to hope you will not ascribe solely to ignorance, so flagrant a disregard of the scholastic rule "*affirmanti, incumbit probatio.*"

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY ON INDIAN OCCULTISM

(*Prepared by* MAJOR ROOKE *after the reading of his paper.*)

WOMEN CALLED WILD, by Rosita Forbes. The latest story of travel and adventure by this well-known writer and explorer.

THE SERPENT FIRE, by Arthur Avalon [Sir John Woodroffe.] Second enlarged edition. The only monograph on the *Kundalini*, and one of a series of treatises dealing with *Tantra*, which as a system has incurred some disrepute owing to its supposed association with the degrading practices of certain sects by whom it is (nominally) professed; this, however, only serves to justify the tag, *corruptio optimi pessima.*

EARLY DAYS OF THEOSOPHY IN EUROPE, by A. P. Sinnett. For those who adopt the "historical" method (which besides being usual is in the present case by far the most instructive) this small book should first be read, as it acquaints the reader with most of the circumstances affecting the writers of the other more important and better known works. Mr. Sinnett, having been for a number of years the Editor of the Allahabad *Pioneer*, presents his subject from the common-sense standpoint of a man of the world, rather than from that of the occult student or mystic, which is of the greatest help to the general reader approaching it for the first time. One passage in particular (p. 28) throws considerable light on the way *The Mahatma Letters* received by him were written down, and is of assistance in discriminating between the original communications themselves and modifications occasionally interpolated during the process of transmission, owing to Madame Blavatsky's too violent prejudices on certain subjects!

THE OCCULT WORLD, by A. P. Sinnett. Gives a detailed account of the various happenings of a mysterious nature which occurred while Madame Blavatsky was staying with the Sinnetts at Simla.

ESOTERIC BUDDHISM, by A. P. Sinnett. The first methodical attempt to set forth the occult philosophy and its implications. The latter have had to be greatly extended in various ways, as further information on certain points became available. It is, however, valuable as the earliest introduction to the subject treated as a whole.

THE BLAVATSKY LETTERS TO A. P. SINNETT. Of considerable interest, as affording a key to Madame Blavatsky's mentality, and the many difficulties under which she laboured. On p. 201 is a letter from her to Mr. Lane-Fox (now Lane-Fox-Pitt), who is responsible for the account of the Theosophical Society in the latest edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. These letters should be read as an introduction to *The Mahatma Letters*, for they help in no small measure to elucidate some of their complications.

HE MAHATMA LETTERS TO A. P. SINNETT. These famous letters, which had remained in Mr. Sinnett's possession unpublished for forty years, were printed and given to the world by his executrix, and ran through five or more impressions in thirteen months. They formed the original foundation of *Esoteric Buddhism*. Most unfortunately they seem to have been very carelessly transcribed and edited, as they swarm with mistakes and errors of punctuation, besides being originally published without any index. This last deficiency has since been made good by the Blavatsky Association; and though not complete, and failing to correct errors in the text, it is nevertheless most useful. Trevor Barker's Introduction is of small value, being largely an expression of his own views, which should be accepted with reserve. The letters themselves, however, will well repay the most careful study on the part of anyone anxious to get in touch with the Himalayan Brotherhood.

THE SECRET DOCTRINE, by H. P. Blavatsky. Third (revised) edition. Her (monumental) work, which it will be extremely difficult for the reader correctly to evaluate, unless he acquaints himself with the various narratives recounted in the memoirs of those who assisted her in its production. To employ a rather irreverent simile, it might not unfairly be bracketed with the "curate's egg" as "excellent in parts," the said parts being those communicated by the adepts who instigated this attempt to "release," in somewhat meagre outline, as much of the *Gupta Vidya* as was (at the time) deemed safe. Madame Blavatsky, being allowed to fill up the gaps as best she could, frequently failed to use the right materials, almost invariably quoting the wrong authorities, and indulging in violent diatribes against ecclesiasticism and religion in general; while, possibly because she had served with Garibaldi and been wounded at the battle of Mentana, her anti-Roman Catholic bias is particularly noticeable. The third (revised) edition is the best for study, as it has a good index volume. In editing it, however, Mr. Mead and those assisting him omitted a considerable number of passages which were needlessly controversial or inaccurate. It would have been wiser to have adhered to the customary practice and printed them within brackets.

Estimates as to the value of this work differ enormously. To the Blavatsky Association Madame Blavatsky appears as a Prophet, and *The Secret Doctrine* as a final revelation on all the subjects with which it deals, so that to add to, or correct any of it, is looked upon almost as a sacrilege. At the opposite extreme are those who regard it as, if not a meaningless jumble of Oriental mystifications, yet as likely to leave the average reader very much more bewildered than enlightened. Thus, as one writer has expressed it, "*Isis Unveiled*, unveiled nothing for me, and *The Secret Doctrine* remained secret." It is to be feared that many readers who have not made a careful previous study of the subject will come to the same conclusion. But to the intuitive mystic, or those who have imbibed adequate instruction from other sources, it abounds in hints which may prove of the utmost value for further research. The following are the pages dealing with the five theses

referred to in my paper. It is scarcely astonishing that Science should have ignored them, since they are presented (for the most part) as mere statements, for which no adequate proof is offered. E.g., Relativity Theory I., 315, "Everything is relative in this universe." (1) I., 63, "It is the Ring called 'Pas-Not.'" I., 154-156, "This Ring is beyond . . . the Nebulæ." (2) I., 136-137, "That Electricity is matter, etc." (3) II., 199 *et passim*. (4) II., 275, 277 *et passim*.

INITIATION HUMAN AND SOLAR, by A. Bailey. (Second edition.) Contains the only comprehensive account of the Occult Brotherhood, for which, however, it was obviously impossible to offer any verifiable proofs.

The account given (so far as my experience goes) tallies with that generally accepted by students of the subject. It is, moreover, self-consistent, and survives a cross-examination by numerous concrete facts independently ascertained. The reader must seek further corroborations for himself, but if accepted merely as a "working hypothesis," it appears to solve many puzzles.

A TREATISE ON COSMIC FIRE, by Alice Bailey. A much more important work, comparable in scope with *The Secret Doctrine*, and of somewhat similar nature; in fact, apparently intended as its sequel. Needless to say, it is often intentionally obscure. An explanation to that effect was given in the following message received by me from the "Tibetan" himself: d/25/11/27 "the book you mention [*Treatise on Cosmic Fire*] is valuable to those connected with the Master concerned [giving his own name] so far as he chooses, or thinks it wise, to interpret the teaching contained therein to his disciples. But it is not intended for public consumption." [Signed by him.]

In view of its having been my endeavour throughout to give both sides of the case, it should be stated that, since I read my paper, a pamphlet has been sent me by a member of the Blavatsky Association offering criticisms on Mrs. Bailey's writings in general and on these two books in particular. The tone of this pamphlet is rather scurrilous and wholly controversial in character. In my opinion, it fails completely to establish any of its contentions, while the argument (if so it can be called) is supported only by such phrases as "my impression is," "but —I think that," "which is evidently intended," "conclusions may be drawn for the moment," etc., etc. It also betrays a more or less complete ignorance of Sanskrit terms. In addition, the fact of its having been printed in the Phillipine Is. (Manila, 1929), with no name either of publisher or printer, is hardly reassuring. So far as can be gathered, the *animus* displayed is a consequence of Mrs. Bailey's books expounding the Occult Doctrine in a way more in harmony with Christian ideas. Whereas it would appear that the author or authors are (as was Madame Blavatsky herself) enthusiastic adherents of Buddhism.

DEVOTIONAL TREATISES

THE BHAGAVAD GITA, which may be described as the "Bible" of India. Best English version by Charles Johnston, the well-known Sanskritist

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, February 11, 1936, when a paper entitled "Indian Occultism: the Rope Trick and Other Phenomena" was read by Major G. H. Rooke. The Right Hon. the Earl of Mansfield was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Viscount Goschen, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Spence, Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir John P. Hewett, G.C.S.I., K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir Reginald Mant, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Ross Barker, C.B., K.C.I.E., Sir Miles Irving, C.I.E., O.B.E., and Lady Irving, Sir Matthew and Lady Thompson, Lady Ottoline Morrell, Lady Dawson, Lady (James) Walker, Lady (Hugh) Barnes, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Lady (Herbert) Pearson, the Hon. Emily Kinnaird, Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. Schofield, Mr. and Mrs. John de La Valette, Mrs. Weir, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mrs. E. L. Starr, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Foster Bailey, Mr. Kennedy North, Mrs. Nicholson, Mr. G. B. D. Head, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Colonel W. G. Neale, C.I.E., and Mrs. Neale, Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. Damry, Mrs. and Miss Berry, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Professor G. H. Langley, Major H. Blake Taylor, Mr. P. Davies, Mr. Phirozshah Mehta, Miss Gunter, Mrs. Clifton Allen, Mr. J. L. McCallum, Mrs. Dorothea Chaplin, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Miss Weekes, Mrs. Lempriere, Mr. D. Pratt, Mrs. Agate, Colonel Roberts, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. Syed M. Sayedulla, Mrs. Harry de Windt, Mrs. de Berigny, Mr. A. T. Penman, Mr. B. K. Wadia, Miss Morton, Miss McEwen, Mrs. Slatter, Mr. J. P. Collins, Mr. Leonard Matters, Dr. and Mrs. Orme, Mr. D. W. Watkins, Mrs. Alexander, Mr. D. B. C. Henderson, Major Beaver, Mr. A. Goldney, Mr. A. H. Chowryappah, Miss Stewart, Capt. E. V. Raikes, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, Miss Hopley, Mrs. Blair, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

After reference had been made by Lord LAMINGTON (President) to the death of King George V. (as reported on another page),

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Mansfield) said: Any personal remarks that I have to make will be reserved for later, except for my wishing to express my most sincere thanks to your Association for their kindness in asking me to preside here to-day. I will now call upon my old friend Major Rooke to give you what I have no doubt will be an exceedingly interesting and instructive paper.

Major G. H. Rooke then read his paper on "Indian Occultism: the Rope Trick and other Phenomena."

The CHAIRMAN: When I had the great honour of being asked to preside here this afternoon, I accepted with a great deal of pleasure, because, although something like a full generation separates myself and Major Rooke in age, we were, strange though it may appear, undergraduates at Oxford together, and I learnt what little I know of Indian and indeed other philosophy from him, although it is a subject in which I had always been interested before.

I must confess that I had a little apprehension on one point until I heard that there were not going to be any actual manifestations of occult performances, because I thought it possible that the lecturer might regard himself as the *guru* and myself as the *chela*, and insist on my taking up my position in a small and uncomfortable basket while he thrust his sword through it. (Laughter.)

The subjects which he has covered this afternoon are so enormous—in fact, they amount really to the whole of human philosphy and endeavour—that is is quite impossible for me to do more than comment upon the most minute portion of them, and I propose to make my remarks brief on the subject of these tricks, illusions or supernatural happenings, whatever you may like to call them. When one allows for mere conjuring tricks and lying, there remains, of course, undoubtedly a very great deal which cannot be explained away by any of the laws of nature as our scientists and medical men usually accept them. I think we can divide the phenomena into two classes. The first is that which is purely illusion—that is to say, in which the magician by the exercise of will power in some form of mass hypnotism persuades his audience that he and his assistant are very busy doing something, climbing up a rope, disappearing, or the like, whereas in point of fact they are really sitting quietly on the ground. I may say that such an ability is manifested by a great many politicians when they appeal to the electorate.

To investigate this, I think there is no doubt that we want a great extension of photography, and now that small moving-picture cameras are so common, I hope that anyone who does expect to have the chance of seeing anything of that sort will take the opportunity of making a film of it, which as far as I know has not yet been done, because then we shall certainly discover whether any of the events supposed to have taken place did take place.

Then, of course, we come to the second and much more important part, and that is those instances in which hypnotism alone cannot account for them, like that very peculiar one, where a group was photographed and one member of the group was not there. If one accepts that as being absolutely genuine, and no trickery having been attempted with the film or plate, it is quite obvious that some forces have been at work which are entirely unknown to science at the present time. I use the word science, of course, in the conventional Western sense.

It has always seemed to me very curious why people would be so sceptical about the possibility of this sort of thing happening, because to the ordinary person a great many things which we have learnt to take as matters of fact are really apparently just as magical. Take, for example, photography. I

am not a scientist, and it is a source of constant wonder to me that by treating a bit of celluloid with silver nitrate or something of that sort, and pointing it in the direction of a person, you get a recognizable reproduction of that person upon your film. A gramophone leaves me wondering, and what a very few years ago would most people, even educated people, have thought of wireless? If these things are not to be taken as magic, why should not other and apparently inexplicable phenomena be taken as a manifestation of scientific knowledge of which we do not have the secret at the present time? To be too credulous is a very grave fault, but I submit to you that to be too sceptical is an even graver one.

Mr. FOSTER BAILEY: It seems to me that the most important and striking sentence in the paper that we listened to this afternoon was that "our ordinary consciousness is by no means the highest of which man is capable." The Spanish philosopher Gasset has said that "our conquest of the kingdom of nature has too far outrun our conquest of the kingdom of man," and it is this conquest of man himself to which I feel we should pay the greatest attention. If these powers which have been spoken of this afternoon are real, there is the point to which we should apply ourselves.

I am impelled to say a word because of the importance of two facts. First, that there are powers latent in man, which because unknown and unused are considered supernormal; and, secondly, that there are people in the world to-day who have achieved these powers and do use them.

It was the Hindu sage Patanjali who reduced the Raja Yoga system to writing, in the form of *sutras* or aphorisms, and there are at least eight or nine commentaries in English on those aphorisms. He enumerates these siddhis or powers and calls them the powers of the soul. The Raja Yoga system is based upon the fact of the existence of the soul and the use by the soul of the mind and of the emotional nature and of the physical body as the means whereby the soul can achieve its expression in life here on the physical plane. The Raja Yoga system is a system which is occult, and which, by the use of the mind, seeks to achieve soul-consciousness. So that I would rather change the last phrase of the mystical aphorism, "The mind is the slayer of the Real, let the disciple slay the slayer," to "Let the disciple use the mind in the opposite direction." Between the realm of the highest powers of the intellect and these supernatural powers there is a field that it is possible to explore, and in that field there is the power, which has been mentioned here, of telepathic communication. If telepathic communication can be achieved *at will* and *with exactitude,* then one may definitely enter the field of these superhuman powers.

In the *Morning Post* of December 19, 1924, there was a comment on the experiments in telepathy conducted by Professor Gilbert Murray and the Earl of Balfour, calling attention to the successful communications between a Mrs. Bailey in the United States and a man in Tibet. Mrs. Bailey has been in constant telepathic communication with a teacher who is a Tibetan, living in Tibet, since 1919. Together they have produced certain literature which has been published. Mrs. Bailey and myself have never met this man, who is called "The Tibetan," but we have communicated with him not only telepathically but by ordinary physical means. On one occasion he sent us some incense by a friend of ours, who journeyed to Tibet and received it from him. A statement has been made about his personality in one of the issues of *The Beacon*. So much for the possibility of communicating with an Eastern guru without going to the East.

For the last four years Mrs. Bailey and myself have taken part in experiments in telepathy with a group of nine people here in the West, living as far apart as Rome, England, and the United States. These experiments have been conducted with great care and with adequate records, and for certain of the experiments we have achieved 75 per cent. success. As the work increases in difficulty that percentage has become less, but there has been a steady progress made in the understanding of the laws of telepathy.

Mr. C. A. KINCAID: I have listened, and you have all listened with the greatest interest, I am sure, to the extremely learned and convincing paper which the lecturer has read to you, and I will only add to it by one or two experiences of my own when I was in India.

Of the various tricks, if you like to call them so, of which the lecturer spoke, I have seen the mango trick and the boy in the basket with a man prodding at him with a sword. I am afraid I never regarded them as anything more than conjuring tricks. As regards the rope trick, I have not only never seen it done, but I have asked heaps of Indians and they had not only never seen it done, but had never heard of it. They said: "We would like to see it. It must be an awfully good trick." In an old Sanskrit book written about the seventh century, the *Sinhasan battishi,* I came across an account of it, but the writer did not regard it as anything but mere juggling.

I once had an experience of occultism myself, when a conjurer came to my court room in Poona and asked if I would lend the court. I said, "Yes, certainly." He gave us an ordinary exhibition of passing cards and so on, but finally he took a small boy, whom he had with him, and put him into a hypnotic trance. The man then came to the other end of the room and asked us to write on a piece of paper numbers which we then showed him, and the boy at the other end of the room immediately said what those numbers were. There was really nothing occult about it. It was simply that the boy was in a hypnotic trance and the two were in direct mental connection. Then the strange thing happened that the boy would not come out of the trance. Somebody said to the man, "You are in for it now. You are in the Judge's court and you will certainly be hanged." The wretched conjuror got so upset that he went into a corner and made no attempt. I had to go up to him, take him by the wrist, and use all my will power to try to get him to come back and put the boy right. Eventually I got him to do it and he woke up the boy. Some years afterwards I met the same conjurer, and I asked, "What happened about that boy?" "He died," the man replied. I said, "You did not feed him properly." He said, "I fed him like a pet parrot on milk and bread. What could I do, Sahib? If I had fed him properly he would not have worked. And if he

had not worked I could not have afforded to support him. And if I had abandoned him, he would have died of starvation, for he was a famine child." "You might have given him to the missionaries," I suggested. He replied, "Sahib, that was a good Hindu boy. If I had given him to the missionaries they would have made a Christian of him." His face registered such horror that I said no more, especially as the horror was reflected on the faces of the orthodox Brahmans standing round.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak: I should like to congratulate both the Society and the lecturer upon an address which is very unusual, I think, in the annals of this Society. I hope that it will be the precursor of a number of studies of a somewhat similar kind, because it does appear to me that there are other important things in India and Eastern countries generally than either the political or the economic conditions of those countries. The really important things of life are those that we usually read about quietly, or think about quietly, or talk of within a very limited private circle. It seems to me that it is very much better if those really important things can be discussed in public, temperately and with knowledge, and with a good deal of personal investigation and inter-communication of thought.

I would like to offer only one small criticism of the lecturer's paper. It refers to his comments in relation to the Theosophical Society. As an official of that Society I could not naturally accept his statements of fact. I could not accept the rather distorted historical survey that he has given of it. But I am quite sure he did not mean any harm or offence, and I hope that when he has had an opportunity of reconsidering the facts he will put them in a somewhat different perspective and give on some future occasion perhaps a different survey of the relations of the Society to those practices, and of the services that the Society has rendered in giving publicity to some of those principles and doctrines, that he himself holds very dearly at heart.

Major G. H. Rooke, replying to the discussion, said: With regard to Mr. Foster Bailey's very interesting statement, there is one point which seems to me of special importance, as tending to confirm what he has just told us. At least it convinces me that Mrs. Bailey has actually remained in close touch with the "Tibetan" (as she prefers to call him), because I have in my possession not only messages from him, in which he mentions having dictated certain books to her, but also that originally introducing him to us, by one of the three adepts alluded to in my paper, who, besides relating various facts concerning him, also gave his name, calling him "our honoured Brother," and adding that, although Abbot of a Tibetan monastery, he was really a Chinaman by birth. Furthermore, though these messages were received several years previously to my becoming acquainted with Mrs. Bailey, yet on showing them to her she at once recognized their authenticity, while her own comments upon them threw additional light on other information we had already received, but had not shown her.

Considerations of this nature seem to me highly evidential, especially in the matter of the name, which (at his own request) she has always refrained from disclosing. And all the more so, since independent corroboration in such matters is extremely rare. While it is just this absence of corroboration which renders most people so sceptical as to the validity of any statements dealing with these subjects: an attitude of mind perfectly justifiable under the circumstances.

Then as regards Mr. Kincaid's very interesting observations on these tricks, and the attitude of the jugglers themselves towards the subject. I suppose that, as a matter of fact, the wonderful tricks one hears about happen only very rarely. Still, on great occasions like the Durbar, I believe some of these ascetics do come forward, and only on such occasions. But they never do them for money, whereas, of course, the ordinary juggler only does them for money. He is after the rupee. Whether there are two ways of doing these things, by simple hypnotism, or by employing certain superphysical agencies that we do not know much about, which enable the hypnotism to be performed quite easily by an uneducated person; I think that that may also be feasible on occasion. For, of course, tricks of this kind were well known in Europe in the Middle Ages. And since the original meaning of the word "conjure" always implied some kind of ceremonial, ceremonial magic, that was taken for granted.

The famous Dr. Dee, for instance, when at the University of Cambridge, was accused of being a "conjurer." He afterwards became a great occultist, and was no doubt of considerable help behind the scenes to Queen Elizabeth in various ways. The crystal he used to "scry" with is now in the British Museum. But besides being an astrologer of note, he was also reputed to be a magician; and his house at Mortlake was once sacked by a mob on that excuse. Moreover, in one of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" you will find an account of a similar exhibition of mass-hypnotism (The Franklyn's Tale, lines 475-495). At least it seems taken for granted that it was done in that way, and was accordingly regarded merely as a wonderful spectacle. Which is all time permits me to say about that.

With regard to Mr. Polak's protest against several of the comments I have felt obliged to make on (so-called) Theosophical "propaganda," let me say to begin with that I have been a member of that Society continuously for forty-two years, and am still a member. I doubt whether he himself has been a member of it for so long as that. All that time I have watched it, and in fact for some five years prior to joining, which takes us back forty-seven years; and all that time I have noticed these same tendencies at work. They serve only to exemplify our old rugged English proverb, "God sends meat, but the devil sends the cook!" In other words, the subject, though excellent in itself, has been presented so badly that scholars decline to look at it. It is like a badly cooked meal: the food itself may be of the best, but being badly cooked nobody can eat it. No amount of argument will shake those facts. But my object in alluding to them was only in order to offer a strictly impartial account rather than a highly coloured and *ex parte* one. Besides, did I not warn you of these shortcomings, other people most certainly would.

Notwithstanding, in spite of it all, there is something to build upon. In fact, there really is a diamond in the dustbin, or (to use a more becoming

and conventional simile) in Pandora's box! Still, it is the greatest of pities that, in order to find it, you have to turn over such a quantity of waste paper and other discarded rubbish which ought never to have been associated with it at all. That is what I deplore. However, if only Mr. Polak will use his great influence to have this mass of uninviting litter removed, so that the educated public can but get a glimpse of the diamond, I am confident they will rush to pick it up.

LORD GOSCHEN: I have a very pleasant task, which is to ask you to thank the lecturer for his extremely interesting lecture this afternoon, and Lord Mansfield for having taken the Chair.

It must have been very pleasant for the lecturer to think that he has had a personal friend in the Chair, and to all of us who have been gathered here to know that they have been in a relationship of *guru* and *chela* in their earlier days. I am sure all of us have been delighted with the lecture and with the speech which Lord Mansfield made.

I was extremely interested in the lecture myself. May I say that it was almost perhaps a minor part of occultism which very nearly prevented my taking up a post in India, because when I was first travelling in India—before I went out officially—I was one day in Bombay and a thought-reader came to Government House. I was asked if I would like to see him. I had gone out to India for a very special piece of business. Nobody knew anything about that business except my wife. My daughters were travelling with me and they did not know. The Indian asked me to think of something and give him a piece of paper and a pencil. I thought of the mission I had come out for and wondered if it would be successful. He wrote something on a piece of paper and tossed it to me. He had written: "You are wondering about"—and he named this business. "That is the business for which you have come out, and you are wondering whether it will be successful."

When I was asked later on if I would go out as Governor to Madras, I naturally thought, Was one going out to a people who were always going to read one's thoughts? Because in that event it was to be expected that one's work would be hampered. I took the risk, and, having taken the risk, came to the conclusion that that power was not given to all Indians.

I should like to bear out one remark the lecturer made. I remember on one occasion seeing tricks done by a conjurer. We were seated on the seashore. One of the ordinary wandering conjurors came by and did the mango trick, but I always remember his embarrassment as we all sat on the sand round him and began to encroach nearer and nearer. He was greatly embarrassed, and at the end he would not let me touch the mango tree. But, sitting very near him, I came to the conclusion it was more of a conjuring trick than anything pertaining to the occult.

May I express your thanks both to the Chairman and the lecturer this afternoon for their speeches and for having given us so much enjoyment.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

THE INDIAN SCENE IN 1935*

BY MISS ROSIE NEWMAN

THE film "Glimpses of India, 1935," was taken to keep alive the memory of a wonderful two months' tour which my mother and I had in India during January and February. We were lucky enough to see something of India from a completely non-tourist point of view, and I seized the opportunity of filming some rare scenes and incidents, selected almost at random from a great variety of most interesting experiences.

We had to refuse an invitation, received at sea by wireless from Lord Brabourne, to stay at Government House, as I had contracted that most painful illness, dermatitis of the face, and special treatment was needed. Approached at sunrise, the Gateway of India leaves an unforgettable impression. We were met on board by an A.D.C. from Government House, and amidst all the hustle and bustle of leaving the boat, it was delightful to receive such a welcome to Hindustan. I had to consult a skin specialist, and was fortunate to find one of the cleverest in the world. He put me right in a few days, to the relief of our ayah and Madrassi bearer, Ganganath. Every morning he used to bring me flowers, and he proved to be a most capable and trustworthy servant. I remember looking round the room on the first day in search of the bell that was not there, but I soon discovered that Ganganath was always within call, squatting outside the door. In fact, he often took me unawares, moving silently about the room, having removed his slippers. When after a few days I was allowed out, the faithful Ganganath accompanied me in the streets. At first I had to wear a red veil to counteract the sun's rays, and I often heard remarks such as, "Look at the lady in purdah!"

In response to a charming invitation from the Aga Khan we lunched at the Bombay Racecourse. There one certainly sees

* Paper based on a coloured film shown by Miss Newman at a reception given by the Lady Headley to the Association on February 18, 1936, at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, with the Duke of Portland in the Chair.

racing under the most ideal and picturesque conditions, enhanced by the lovely *saris* of the Indian ladies. I played golf with the Aga Khan at the charming Willingdon Club. We then went on to tea with his mother, the Begum Alishah, a wonderful personality, but our conversation was rather limited, as every word had to be translated.

I shall never forget our first experience in Indian trains on the journey to Madras. After travelling two days and two nights, it was an intense joy to arrive at Government House, after the hot, dusty journey and to appreciate the lovely marble bath. We changed in time for dinner, and we afterwards sat on the terrace listening to the band playing in the charm of the tropical Indian night, which is indescribable, *The Call of the East.*

Early next day my mother and I simply could not resist walking out in those lovely gardens, in the fresh morning air; and as the sky was overcast we did not put on hats. By chance we met the Medical Officer of the Governor. He sent us in, and warned us that in the tropics the sun's rays are most dangerous when there is no sun. We enjoyed a real English breakfast on the terrace, which is covered with that lovely creeper, purple bougainvillea. We went surf bathing, and spent the rest of the day riding in the park at Guindy. The famous canna borders were a perfect blaze of colour, reflecting in the lake. We then had an excellent picnic tea, and motored back in time to watch the glories of the multi-coloured Indian sun setting in the palm trees, a sight to live in the memory. The following days we spent sight-seeing and cinematographing the wonderful temples, the bazaars, the flower market, and the well-known river laundry. The ordinary folk showed great interest in my cine-camera, and I was sometimes followed round by a big but respectful crowd. On Sunday we enjoyed watching a cricket match, which was played all day, and, except for the great heat, we might have been at Lord's. Lord Erskine played, and next day the Madras papers wrote about "Our cricketing Governor."

At Calcutta, our next halt, we were met at the station by a most efficient A.D.C., who, on our arrival at Government House, as guests of Sir John Anderson, enquired whether we wished to

make an appointment with the hairdresser, and was greatly astonished when we replied in the negative. He then told us that a banquet was being given that evening with one hundred guests. The table looked magnificent, and with the playing of the band, it seemed like a scene from the *Arabian Nights.* I shall always remember the conversation I had with one of the guests, a man who had lived in India many years. He showed how even visitors leave their mark in India, sowing the seeds of either hate or respect, and how important it is for the individual to be human and tolerant. He added, "We should all remember we are India's guests." The next day we motored out to Barrackpore, the riverside retreat of the Governor, and spent a delightful morning in its wonderful garden. Later we were shown over the Victoria Memorial on the Calcutta Maidan, and saw something of the university life. It was a sorrowful reflection that some of the students use the knowledge they acquire to spread unrest and discontent. We were impressed by the enormous responsibilities of the Governor of Bengal, and the need of his firm hand to keep terrorism in check side by side with strenuous efforts to overcome the economic ills of the Presidency.

After a very pleasant stay of several days we went to Darjeeling, as kindly arranged by the Governor. We arrived on a bitterly cold February morning at the little hill station, which is the starting point of the quaint miniature train, known as the "Himalayan Railway." A motor was waiting to take us up to Darjeeling; it seemed a perilous drive, for at every hairpin bend of the road we had to pass over a level crossing, and we seemed to miss the train by inches. About twenty minutes from Darjeeling we had our first glimpse of the great snow mountains, so often called "The Roof of the World." The giant white peaks of unconquered Mount Everest and beautiful Kinchinjunga, outlined against the clear blue sky, left us a memory than can never fade. We were met by Government House rickshaws, and the coolies conveyed us past the picturesque open-air market. Arrangements had been made for us to stay at the Planters' Club. That evening we watched one of the gorgeous Himalayan sunsets. It was bitterly cold and we were thankful afterwards to go in, sit round

the fire and listen to the wireless news from England. The group included men and women who had spent their lives working in the outlying, isolated districts, and we could but admire their undaunted courage and unfailing energy. They reminded me of Rudyard Kipling's lines:

> " Let us now praise famous men,
> Men of little showing—
> For their work continueth,
> Greater than their knowing."

The next day we left in a thick fog, which blotted out all view of the mountains. We motored down the Teesta valley, and saw the quaint, industrious hill peasants working in the tea plantations, the pronounced Mongolian type being a great contrast to the southern Indians. We took the train to Benares, where the Maharaja's fine guest house was placed at our disposal, and we greatly appreciated his wonderful hospitality. We noticed on arrival that our ayah looked worried; when she was asked why, she replied that as a Catholic she could not sleep with the Hindu women. The problem was solved by her sleeping on my covered balcony. Here we were unlucky with the weather, which was cold and wet. The mud and slush made Benares look more sinister than it otherwise might have done.

Every hour was planned out for us, and under the guidance of His Highness's capable A.D.C. we were privileged to see the innermost life of the Holy City. In the Maharaja's lovely barge they rowed us down the Ganges. We saw the burning ghat, and the way in which the Hindus dispose of their dead. In the streets there were *sadhus* at prayer, and my first impression of horror at seeing their agonized expressions is impressed on my memory. We saw the holy bull, the Durga temple, with its sacred monkeys capering about, and outside on the steps garlands were being prepared for the temple. As a token of friendliness they hung them round our necks. We were shown over His Highness's great Palace, which contrasted with the poverty outside the gates —for India is a land of contrasts.

Next we were to travel to Delhi, but at the last moment it was discovered that our sleepers had not been ordered. His High

ness's A.D.C. very kindly came to our rescue and wired for a carriage to be put on to the night train. On arriving at the station, we found that a four-wheeler had been attached to the back of the train, and we were therefore in the last carriage. The guard promised that we should be changed at the next station, but by midnight nothing had been done. So at the next stop I went to the guard, who then said it would be dangerous to put a four-wheeler in the middle of the train; so we had to rattle along like that all night. The noise and vibration were indescribable. Next morning we reached Delhi feeling very tired and shaken, but we quickly recovered and forgot the troubles of the night.

Here we seemed to reach the climax of our travels. We were deeply impressed by the magnificence of the Viceroy's House and the wonderful welcome we received. We found in our sitting-room a printed programme planning the whole visit. On meeting the other guests, we were astonished to hear how many of them had only left England five days before; they had travelled out by air. It made the world seem so small! During our stay here, the Aga Khan arrived from Bombay. He was met at the station by thousands of Muhammadans, who gave him a rousing welcome. His influence is deeply felt throughout the length and breadth of India.

We spent a most interesting afternoon at the Legislative Assembly, where heated debates made a miniature House of Commons. We were introduced to a most interesting man, who had worked many years in the Indian Civil Service, and he explained how necessary the Reform policy was, and how in his opinion India under the new régime would be a much happier country if not as efficient. It was late afternoon when we returned to the Viceroy's House. We all played tennis under the most ideal conditions, each court being supplied with two *chokras* to pick up the balls. Later we wandered round that glorious garden planned on Moghul lines. That evening we had a most enjoyable dinner with Sir Philip Chetwode. Next day saw the opening of the Delhi Horse Show, and in the brilliant sunshine the State arrival of their Excellencies was a scene of splendour and magnificence beyond description. I was fortunate in taking a good

coloured film; several Maharajas were also very busy taking cine-pictures.

During our stay, a large banquet was held before the State ball, and to everyone's astonishment two unexpected guests arrived, but thanks to the most efficient staff work of the A.D.C.'s, two more seats were speedily prepared and they did not realize their mistake. Wandering round the floodlit garden, in the subtle charm of the Indian night, one might have been in fairyland. The following day we saw the review of the Viceroy's Bodyguard, which comprises the finest type of men. We also had the honour of being present at the investiture. The glory of the scene was striking. Lady Willingdon looked regal wearing the Order of the Crown of India, and the Viceroy wore a beautiful cloak bordered with white ermine and the Order of the Star of India. Their Excellencies were escorted by four little pages, young Indian princes, dressed in pale blue satin; they were heralded in the beautiful Durbar Hall by a giant Indian soldier, the band played as they took their seats on the throne, and the impressive ceremony of the investiture began. We gazed upon the lovely jewels worn by the Indian princes; their magnificent tiaras, from which hung priceless uncut emeralds and other precious stones, ropes of lovely pearls slung carelessly from their shoulders, and their gorgeous robes of rich brocade, added much colour to the scene. We afterwards talked to some of the Maharajas, and I remember this remark one of them addressed to me: "We think England has sent us amongst the present young Governors of Bombay and Madras some of the best India has ever had."

Next day being Friday, we were taken to see the famous Jami Masjid Mosque, and we were deeply impressed by the sight of thousands of Muhammadans praying on the entrance steps. The rest of the morning we spent in old Delhi, and at the Ivory Palace we bought presents to take home. That afternoon we were invited to tea with an Indian princess. As we sat down at the table Her Highness sent for her false teeth, which were duly handed to her on a salver.

From here we motored to Agra. There had been heavy rains and the roads were very skiddy, but happily our Indian chauffeur

was a skilful driver. We had one rather amusing incident. The chauffeur stopped the car and left us on the roadside. After a few minutes he returned and explained that he had been to fetch holy drinking water out of the sacred Jumna river. We first saw the exquisite Taj Mahal in the evening, reflected by all the glories of the Indian sunset. These well-known words seemed to express our thoughts:

> "The kiss of the sun for pardon,
> The song of the birds for mirth,
> One is nearer God's heart in a garden
> Than anywhere else on earth."

Next afternoon, at dusk, we visited Fatepur Sikri and wandered round the beautiful ruins, all that remains of an ancient civilization of the deserted Moghul capital.

Next day we motored back to Delhi and left in the evening for Rajputana. This time we travelled in great luxury, having our own private saloon attached to the train. I found endless interest in filming the ever-changing scenes at the railway stations. At beautiful Udaipur, rightly called the "Venice of India," the Maharaja's lovely barge was put at our disposal. Rowed up the glorious chain of lakes, we were entranced by the beauty of the water palaces, designed in such perfect architecture. Udaipur is set off by nature in all her glory. That evening, sitting on our terrace, we watched the setting sun; so gorgeous, it seemed it could be but a lovely dream. From the village below we heard voices singing Indian lyrics. After two more glorious days we left Udaipur, carrying away imperishable memories.

We then went on to lovely Jaipur, which is such a contrast, having a modern aspect, with its wide, clean thoroughfares. We stayed in His Highness's palace, so different from a lonely guest house. The magnificence of the palace and the Maharaja's unbounded hospitality are happy memories. The King of Greece and their Highnesses of Indore were guests at the same time. The first afternoon we spent watching polo. The Jaipur team is known to be one of the best in India. At a banquet in the evening, the smart uniforms of the A.D.C.'s added brilliance to the scene. Although excellent European dishes were served at

dinner, we all preferred the delicious Indian curries. We were afterwards entertained by Indian dancers. Next morning we found arrayed on our terrace Indian vendors of bracelets of emeralds, sapphires and rubies, and the priceless uncut stones of Jaipur.

We were taken to the zenana to visit the Maharani, a most charming princess, who is in purdah. We were much interested in her children. The little girl, although only five, explained to me that she was greatly looking forward to going into purdah. I was told it was the custom for them to do this at the early age of nine. They had two English nurses, and while at play were always watched by three Indian men-servants. Next day a duck shoot was arranged. We started out on a glorious fresh morning, and as we walked to the butts the lake looked a picture. We were much amused at our retrievers; they waded through the water, quite unabashed, to pick up the duck, as if it were part of their daily work. During our stay we were lucky enough to be present at a special Lowazna procession, arranged in honour of the King of Greece. The brilliance of the colouring and the beauty of the scene were beyond all imagination, and once more I was lucky enough to be able to film it in colour. We ended a wonderful day with a picnic at Amber, and we enjoyed the novel experience of riding on State elephants.

From here we left for the North-West Frontier by the night mail. Seeing Peshawar surrounded by barbed wire entanglements made one realize that life on the frontier is full of adventure. By some mistake we arrived at Government House a day too soon, much to our consternation, but thanks to Lady Griffiths' kindness the mistake was quickly rectified. We were greatly impressed by the fine, manly type of Muslims living on the Frontier, and much amused by their red moustaches, which we were told they dyed in order to disguise old age.

Arrangements were made for us to motor over to Kohat, escorted by armed guards. On our way through the pass we stopped to see the famous Afridi rifle factory. We were very much interested to watch the crude but speedy way in which the rifles were manufactured. Outside tribesmen were sitting cooking

their meal. Arriving at Kohat military cantonment, we lunched with Captain and Mrs. Birdwood in their charming house. The following day Sir Ralph Griffiths very kindly arranged for us to motor down the famous Khyber Pass, which had been closed for a month owing to the recent fighting. We were accompanied by a most interesting Indian guide, who showed us a *jirga*, and described how the Afridis live and govern themselves in tribal territory. Arriving at the last Frontier fort, we looked across into Afghanistan, and could well imagine how in the old days the invaders came down through this "key to India," now the great trade route to Central Asia and Afghanistan. We were amazed to see how our small Army keeps peace amongst these turbulent tribes, and indeed throughout the whole of India.

Next day, on the way to Kapurthala State, we had a very unpleasant experience. As the train steamed out of Peshawar station a wild-looking red-bearded man jumped on to the steps of our carriage and attempted to force his way into our compartment. While we were struggling to lock the door, the guard, seeing the man, immediately stopped the train. The commotion attracted the attention of the passengers, who by that time were all looking out of their windows. The Indian guard tried to explain to us in broken English that the man's excuse was that he was on his way to Meerut to draw his old age pension, was afraid of missing the train, and had meant to do us no harm. At Kapurthala we were royally received by the Maharaja, who personally showed us over the city palace. We were fascinated by the magnificent crown jewels. His Highness explained to us how he was hesitating between taking his diamond tiara or his emerald one over to England to wear for the King's Jubilee!

Our next objective was Bhopal, where a thrilling tiger shoot had been organized for the King of Greece, and the Nawab very kindly asked us to stay. We started off in several cars, of which only two were up-to-date. The others broke down, causing some of the party to be an hour late for the shoot. When everyone had arrived, we started walking through the great wild jungle to the *machans*, where we sat waiting in silence for several hours, the sun beating mercilessly down on us. Suddenly the jungle

seemed astir, the eerie stillness was broken, and for a second we were held spellbound, as we saw a tiger creep out. I quickly filmed him, before he was shot by the King of Greece. It was a thrilling moment. Later we all thoroughly enjoyed those excellent cool lime drinks peculiar to India.

We felt sad on leaving that evening by the P. and O. express for Bombay, where we arrived in a heat wave, which is most unusual in March. It made us appreciate our first hours on board ship, where we sat in the cool breeze, and I reflected over some of the impressions I had gained during our trip. India is a country of treasure, romance and glory, and also of greater contrasts in climate, caste and religion than any other land. Travelling from end to end of the Peninsula as we have done, we realized the gigantic achievement of Great Britain in bringing unity and modern civilization into this vast and variegated territory. We had seen many evidences of the attachment of the people to the overlord of India. The name of the King-Emperor George will live for ever in his Indian Empire.

The Duke of Portland presided at the Reception, and with the Duchess assisted Lady Headley, the hostess, and Lord Lamington in receiving the guests. Before the film was shown the Duke of Portland said: Lord Lamington, my lords, ladies, and gentlemen,—It was with the very greatest pleasure that I accepted the extremely kind invitation of the East India Association to take the Chair on this occasion, for I assure you with the greatest confidence that we are about to witness a most interesting exhibition. I speak from experience because I had the privilege of being present at what as a racing man I may perhaps be allowed to call the preliminary canter of the film when Miss Newman displayed it in her own home last summer. I am sure I am only doing what you would wish when I tell her how welcome she is here this afternoon. (Cheers.)

She displayed the film then to only a few personal friends, and in common with everyone there, I was much struck by the beauty and charm of the pictures.

My pleasure in being here this afternoon is much enhanced by my having been fortunate enough to pay visits to India twice in my life. The first time was so long ago as in 1883, when Lord Ripon was the Viceroy. With his son, Lord de Grey, the famous sportsman and shot, I and other friends had a most interesting tour, both from a spectacular and from a sporting point of view, in Northern India; and also we were six weeks in Nepal. My second visit nineteen years later was a much more enjoyable one than the first, because I was no longer a bachelor, and went with my wife. We were the guests of the then Viceroy, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, with a great many other friends, for the wonderful Durbar which was held in Delhi in honour of the accession to the throne of King Edward VII.

Perhaps I may be allowed to say that India has always had a very great personal charm for me, because my great-uncle, Lord William Bentinck, held the important post of Governor-General, and I believe he is generally supposed to have held it with exceptional distinction. (Applause.) He held it a hundred years ago. As probably most of you are better aware than I am, Lord William instituted during his time very great reforms, including the abolition of suttee and also of thuggism. His statue stands on the Maidan of Calcutta, and on its base is a striking inscription written by Lord Macaulay, who was a member of Lord William's Council. With your permission I will quote the following passage: "To William Cavendish-Bentinck, who during seven years ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity and benevolence; who never forgot that the end of government is the happiness of the governed; who abolished cruel rites; who gave liberty to the expression of public opinion. This monument was erected by men who cherish with equal veneration and gratitude the memory of his wise, upright and paternal administration."

Those were Lord Macaulay's eloquent words, and I can only say that I am very proud indeed, and so is my sister here to-day, Ottoline Morrell, that she and I have the blood of that great man running through our veins. (Applause.)

It is often said, and it is said most probably rightly, that India is changing very rapidly in many respects under the stimulus of modern developments and improvements. This, I imagine, is only what was bound to happen. But, from what I have seen of Miss Newman's film, I think it may be said that the broad and general aspects of the Indian scene remain very much the same as they were when I visited India fifty years ago. Whatever changes may have taken place, they are, I believe, least apparent in the villages, where the vast majority of the people lead quiet lives and gain their living for the most part by agricultural labour. The very vivid pictures taken by Miss Newman brought back to my mind, when I saw them last year, many of the scenes which I so keenly enjoyed in my younger days.

The East India Association is certainly to be congratulated on making, I believe, a new departure in its programme by showing a film instead of a series of lantern slides; and perhaps the good attendance which I see this afternoon may be taken as an appreciation by the members of the Association of this new departure. May I say, in conclusion, that to a great extent this meeting this afternoon is due to the kindness of Lady Headley (applause), and on your behalf and on my own I thank her very sincerely for all she has done. I will now ask Miss Newman if she will kindly show the film. (Applause.)

Lord Lamington, on behalf of the Association, expressed his thanks to

Lady Headley for her gracious hospitality; to Miss Newman, for the enjoyment she had given the guests by her wonderful film; and to the Duke of Portland for presiding. In expressing gratification at the presence of the Duchess, he spoke of the warm place Her Grace has in the hearts of the people of Nottinghamshire, where Welbeck Abbey is situated.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHINESE ART: SOME REFLECTIONS*

By Sir Percival David, Bart.

Your support of the official series of lectures given in connection with the International Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House has been so generous and encouraging that it has stimulated the Lecture Committee to organize an additional series. Every Monday, therefore, until the close of the Exhibition, a lecture will be delivered here on some aspect of Chinese art, with particular reference to the treasures in the Exhibition. There will be eight lectures in all. Of these, five will be given by lecturers new to the original list. The rest will treat of their subjects from a standpoint different from that of their previous lecture. I say this in order to explain why I am speaking to you this afternoon on a subject on which most of you have already heard me not so long ago.

On November 29, when I had the pleasure of addressing you, I referred to the nature, the scope and the organization of the Exhibition. Today I am going to begin by briefly reviewing its progress and by telling you how far it has fulfilled the hopes of its promoters.

The Exhibition has now been open to the public for forty days. During that period it has attracted 154,816 visitors, making an average attendance of 3,870 visitors per day. Forty-six days remain, and if the measure of public support is maintained, the total attendance should reach the considerable figure of 332,000. To those who had confidently predicted that the Exhibition would be a flop—and I myself know of one or two—it will come as a surprise that this figure surpasses the attendance figures of the Exhibitions of Flemish, Dutch, Persian, French and British art held at Burlington House.

* Lecture delivered in the rooms of the Royal Society on January 13, 1936.

The public response has indeed been most gratifying, and last week His Excellency the Chinese Ambassador said that much to the delight of the Chinese people, it had even surpassed their fondest hopes and expectations. No one is better entitled to the lion's share of the credit of this enterprise than His Excellency himself, who for the past two years has worked untiringly in the cause of the Exhibition and to whom we are all deeply indebted.

The Press, too, the eyes and ears of the public, has rallied nobly to the cause of Chinese art. I have been amazed at the warmth, the sincerity and the understanding with which the Exhibition has been received by the newspapers not only of this country but of practically every country in the world. Appreciative comments have been made on the subject of almost every section of the display, and there appears to be general agreement that the ceramics, the bronzes, the sculpture and the textiles in the Exhibition are all that could be desired.

But it is the function of a critic to criticize. An object for criticism had to be found, and so the whipping boy of the Exhibition has been the paintings. I confess I am not altogether surprised. I shall tell you why.

I believe I am right in saying that there is no subject of Chinese art so little understood in the West as that of painting; there is certainly none more difficult to understand. To begin with, it is impossible to appreciate Chinese paintings in the true spirit of the native connoisseur without a fairly intimate knowledge of Chinese literature. Few, very few, of us in England possess such a knowledge. Consequently, in the absence of that special equipment, we are prone to apply Western canons of art criticism to a subject which is not purely one of æsthetics. The result is disastrous. The pictorial arts of the East and the West are different, so different that comparisons between them become not odious but simply irrelevant. To compare Chinese paintings with the sketches of Rembrandt, for instance, is to compare Piccadilly with Thursday. Such comparisons, however skilfully drawn, lead us nowhere; they are futile and unproductive. I beg you, therefore, to disabuse your minds of all your preconceptions and prejudices before you make a serious approach to Chinese paint-

ing. You must try, to adopt the words of Mr. Binyon, "to enter into the mind of the artist, to discover what his aim was, and to consider how far he has achieved his aim." You will discover that his aim is fundamentally different to that of the Western painter, and his methods and material so far removed from those of the West as to make the *apparatus criticus* of the European connoisseur useless and unworkable. What those aims are, and what methods the Chinese artist has employed to achieve them, it is not my purpose this afternoon to discuss. There are several excellent works on the subject. For my part, I beg you only not to look for the non-existent in the repertory of the Chinese artist and not to be disappointed because you cannot find it. The French have an apt and telling phrase: *Ne cherchez pas midi à quatorze heures.*

There is, however, another reason why the paintings in the Exhibition are open to criticism. It is because the foundations of the whole structure of Chinese paintings are still insecure. We have today the walls, the pillars, the beams, the roofs, the flying gables, even the finial ornaments of the structure; but its foundations are unstable. We have been building on the shifting sands of historical records, of dubious attributions, of uncertain seals, signatures and inscriptions; and as long as this precarious method of construction is employed, critics will have both the desire and the ability to undermine the edifice. "How do you know that this painting is Sung?" is the sort of question that is often put to me. I admit that in nine cases out of ten it is impossible to give a satisfactory reply.

Our difficulties are enhanced by the peculiar pictorial traditions of the Chinese. Last week Professor Pelliot told us in a particularly illuminating lecture of how prevalent in China has been the practice of copying paintings. "China," he said, "is a land of ancient collectors, and you know," he added "that the first forger was born an hour after the first collector!" That is, of course, desperately true. Professor Pelliot was discussing Chinese paintings when he said that: I, for my part, would extend the application of his *dictum* to all works of art whether in the East or in the West. I would maintain that "forgeries," in the widest

perished, it would be sheer pedantry on our part to despise early versions of them on the ground that they are mere copies.

Moreover, the Chinese themselves have often regarded these early versions as originals. Professor Pelliot has reminded us in his lecture of the phrase so frequently found in ancient catalogues of paintings that this or that painting "still circulates in the world." Obviously such an expression cannot refer to a single version. Professor Pelliot's interpretation is that "just as a written text is still extant as long as it exists in a copy, so long as the subject of a painting is reproduced by a contemporary copyist, that version passes as the work of the original artist." It is an interpretation with which I entirely agree.

I do not wish to convey, however, that a copy of whatever date has been accepted by the Chinese as the work of the original artist. Nothing could be further from the truth. When the style of a certain period of art has died out and it is artificially revived in later times, there must of necessity be something unreal, affected, unsatisfying about the work. Inevitably the hand of the copyist must reveal itself in an archaistic production. And so the Ming and Ch'ing versions of earlier paintings are recognized as copies by Chinese connoisseurs.

But a more serious charge has been brought against the selection of paintings in the Exhibition. It has been objected that this or that famous painting known to be in a certain collection is not in the Exhibition. Let me assure you that if it is not, it is because it could not be brought over. The Selection Committee are well aware of the masterpieces of Chinese pictorial art which exist in China, in Japan and in America, and they have spared no pains, no effort, no expense to bring them over. I maintain that in a large measure we have succeeded; but where we have failed, it is because it was not in our power to command success. The result, though it falls short of the ideal, the unattainable ideal, is far, very far, I insist, from what one reviewer has thought fit to describe as "almost a fiasco."

The other day a visitor at Burlington House enquired of me whether there was a single painting in the Exhibition which could be proved to be by a Sung artist. There are, in my

opinion, several such paintings; but one at least, I venture to think, should withstand the criticism of the most confirmed sceptic. It is the superb painting of a *Monk with a Tiger* (Fig. 1), lent by the Musée du Louvre and now, for the first time, shown in any exhibition. It was recovered by Professor Pelliot from the walled-up library of the cave-temple at Tun-huang in Kansu, and was brought by him to Paris many years ago. The library of this cave-temple was walled up, as you know, in or about the year 1030, so that there can be no doubt that this painting is prior to that date—the probabilities are, I think, that it is a good deal earlier. Here, then, is a painting which depends for its antiquity not on the dubious evidence of historical records, of seals or of inscriptions, but on the testimony of Professor Pelliot himself. We can hope for nothing better.

The subject of the painting has given rise to a certain amount of controversy. By some it is believed to represent one of the Lohan; but surely no Lohan was at that period represented as accompanied by a tiger. Others maintain—and, I think, with more reason—that it represents Hsüan Tsang, the famous early Chinese traveller. Hsüan Tsang was born in the year 602 and died in 664. At the age of twenty he became a Buddhist priest, and seven years later, fired with religious enthusiasm, he set out for India in order to visit its holy places and to bring over to China copies of the texts of the newer Buddhist philosophies. He was away for sixteen years, and when in 645 he returned to China, he was received with public honours. From India the famous pilgrim is said to have brought back 657 Buddhist texts, a number of images and paintings and 150 sacred relics. The painting in the Exhibition may perhaps be a representation of him on his long and perilous journey back from the Holy Land of Buddhism, for the clerical figure is shown striding along bearing a heavy load of rolls on his back, a Buddhist rosary in his right hand and accompanied by a typical denizen of the Indian jungle.

The painting is executed in black, yellow, green, red and gold on loosely woven silk, which has browned with age. Unlike so many of the paintings recovered from Tun-huang, it is clearly not the work of a local priest. In conception and execution it



FIG. 1.—UNKNOWN ARTIST: *MONK WITH A TIGER*. (10TH CENTURY A.D.)
Painting in colour on silk. From Tun-huang. H. 80 cm., w. 52·5 cm.
Lent by Musée du Louvre (Pelliot Collection), Paris.

face p. 302.

By courtesy of Royal Academy of Arts.



FIG. 2.—UNKNOWN ARTIST: A GARDEN SCENE. (SUNG DYNASTY.)
Painting in colour on silk. H. 27·6 cm., l. 30·4 cm. Lent by A. Sackler, Esq.
By courtesy of Royal Academy of Arts.



FIG. 4.—THE EMPEROR HUI TSUNG (B. 1082, D. 1135 A.D.): *AN AUTUMN EVENING BY A LAKE.*
"Gold outlining" on silk, "flower pressed" paper. H. 35·1 cm., l. 235·7 cm. Lent by the Chinese Government.
By courtesy of Royal Academy of Arts.



FIG. 3.—CHAO CH'ANG (ACTIVE *C.* 1000 A.D.): *NEW YEAR'S DAY.*
Painting in colour on silk. H. 104 cm., w. 51·2 cm. Lent by the Chinese Government.
By courtesy of Royal Academy of Arts.

PLATE IV



FIG. 5.—HSIA KUEI (ACTIVE C. 1200 A.D.): *A MYRIAD MILES OF THE YANGTZE.*
Scroll painting: ink on silk. H. 29·9 cm., l. 111·3 cm. Lent by the Chinese Government.
By courtesy of Royal Academy of Arts.

To face p. 303

shows the hand of a great metropolitan artist. One cannot help being struck by the vigour of its composition, by the harmony of movement in the human figure and in the beast and, above all, by its great portraiture. The features of the priest-traveller are human enough to suggest an actual portrait. It lives in every line: the inspired look of mental concentration in his eyes, his half-open lips breathing a Buddhist prayer, his long striding gait instinct with purpose and determination, his shoulders scarcely bowed under the heavy but sacred load—all bespeak the art of a great master.

The well-known painting lent to the Exhibition by M. Stoclet is one of quite a different order (Fig. 2). It illustrates, *par excellence*, all the difficulties with which modern connoisseurship has to contend in the critical estimation of Chinese paintings. The picture has been discussed at length by a number of authorities, and I refer to it again only because, thanks to the Exhibition, an interesting discovery has now been made in regard to it.

The painting, as it has survived, is in black enlivened with a variety of delicate opaque colours, on a rectangular panel of closely woven silk, 31 inches long and 13 inches high. I am not sure if it is complete; it may be a portion, and perhaps the concluding portion of a long horizontal scroll. The silk is much worn, and the colours have faded. The picture represents, as its central theme, a man with a beard in a state of drunken coma, seated on a dais-bed and assisted by a male and a female companion. A number of followers, musicians and servants are depicted round and about him, including a woman carrying a child, attendants bearing wine in large vessels, playing musical instruments, lying unconscious on the ground or recumbent in an attitude of deep reverence. It was Mr. Waley who was the first to give the painting the happy title of *A Clerical Orgy*; for an orgy it is, and clerical it must be. Beyond that, however, critics are not agreed about the nature of its subject. Mr. Waley has put forward, with much plausibility, the suggestion that it is a copy by Li Lung-mien of *The Orgy of the Buddhist Monks*, the original of which is said to have been painted by the sixth-

ntury master, Chang Sêng-yu. But the priests are tonsured and :ar beards, whereas Buddhist priests had their heads shaved and d not wear beards. Dr. Sirèn, on the other hand, is inclined to ink that it represents the scene of *The Drunken Taoist Monk*, subject which is known to have been painted by the T'ang ıster, Yen Li-pên. There are equally valid objections against :h a designation; the figures depicted are types of a people reign to China, and the Taoists were Chinese. Last week ofessor Pelliot propounded yet another theory, and it is one ıich appeals to me most. He has hazarded the conjecture—he ɔuld not do more—that the scene represents an *Orgy of :storian Priests*. He has reminded us of the early text in which :ntion is made of a painting by the sixth-century artist, Ts'ao ıung-ta, of the *Drunken Monk of Fu-lin*,* and Professor lliot considers that this may be a later version of some paint-g based on that tradition. There is much to commend this inion. The central figure, with his light-brown hair and beard, s Christian tonsure and his peculiar head-dress, perhaps a estorian mitre, held up by one of the women who may be the fe of the drunken priest—Nestorian high priests were permitted marry—the half-nude figures in the background and the out-ndish *béret* of the man on the extreme right—all, it seems to me, ıd colour to Professor Pelliot's interesting hypothesis.

But whatever the subject of this composition, that it is a great inting is unquestionable. The fine dramatic sense which the tist displays, the delicate and harmonious colouring, the skilful ouping of the figures and their bold characterization and, above l, the unusual perspective with its receding space in which "one ın walk to and fro," could only be the work of an accomplished tist.

Difficult as it is to understand the significance of the picture, it is even more difficult to date. I have heard it dated as early as the ninth century and as late as the fifteenth. The originality of its composition is particularly baffling, and it is fortunate that the Exhibition has provided the opportunity for the interesting discovery

* *Fu-lin* is the Chinese transliteration of an Asiatic form of the term for the See of Rome

that has now been made. We have found that in addition to four collector's seals, the picture bears an artist's signature and seal. The signature, written in ink in two small characters, appears on the tree-trunk on the left, and immediately below it is a small square seal in red. But here comes the tantalizing part of the affair. The two characters have been carefully erased, and enough of the silk has been scraped away to render them illegible. The seal, too, has been treated in the same way. Now, the problem which the erasure creates for us is this: why was it done? Was it because the name of the artist it bore was a name not great enough for the high quality of the painting, and was it therefore obliterated? Or was it because it was a subsequent addition, and some later owner decided to erase it on that account? One cannot say. In this connection, however, I should like to remind you that the Southern Sung artist, Liu Sung-nien, is generally credited with the practice of inscribing the last two characters of his name minutely and inconspicuously on the trunks of the trees he depicted. There is, in fact, a painting exhibited at Burlington House entitled *Women Weaving* (Catalogue No. 1092) which is attributed to him, and which bears his signature inscribed in a similarly inconspicuous manner.

Those of us who have had the pleasure of receiving a Christmas card from H.E. the Chinese Ambassador will recognize the painting I wish now to discuss. It is a painting on silk in full colour and is entitled *New Year's Day* (Fig. 3). As a charge of formalism has been brought against Chinese paintings, I take particular pleasure in commending this work to your notice. It is attributed to the eleventh-century master, Chao Ch'ang, though admittedly on flimsy evidence. Chao Ch'ang was a native of Ch'êng-tu, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Shu (modern Szechuan) and the home of many well-known artists and craftsmen. In his youth, he is said to have travelled extensively in the mountainous districts of his province, painting as he went along and leaving behind him many of his works. Late in life he went to the Sung capital Pien-liang (as K'ai-fêng Fu was then called), where he was received with honours. But in his old age he returned to Szechuan and proceeded to buy back as many of his

early paintings as he could. So successful must he have been that within a century his works had become, we are told, very difficult to find in the open market.*

Chao Ch'ang took his first lessons in painting from the tenth-century artist, T'êng Ch'ang-yu, but he is said to have soon surpassed his master, and achieved considerable fame in his own time. He excelled in the representation of flowers, fruit and insects and was particularly skilful as a colourist. He gave himself the nickname "Paint from Life." Early every morning, while the dew lay fresh on the flowers, he would wander through his favourite gardens, examining this or that flower and turning it over and over in his hand. He would then prepare his colours and proceed to paint. His paintings appeared to have been dyed, not overlaid with colours, so smooth and even their surface was, and connoisseurs, it is said, would examine them by passing a finger over the silk and if the slightest obstruction was encountered would pronounce the work to be a forgery. The *Hsüan Ho Hua P'u* observes: "Other artists can produce a verisimilitude of the flowers they paint, but the art of Chao Ch'ang not only achieves this but interprets and transmits the very soul and spirit of the flowers."

The name of Chao Ch'ang has become familiar to us from the well-known picture of *Two Geese* in the British Museum, though the fact that it appears on it is, I am afraid, no more significant than that it appears not once but twice on *New Year's Day*. In the lower right-hand corner of this picture are inscribed in ink the two characters *Ch'ên Ch'ang* ("Your subject Ch'ang")—implying that it was painted for the Emperor, and below it, and more faintly, the same inscription appears again. But neither of these signatures can be as old as the painting. It bears, however, five seals of the famous Ming collector and critic, Hsiang Yuan-pien, the seal *T'ien Mu Shan Fang T'u Shu Chih Chi* and eight seals of the Emperor Chi'en-lung. Above the painting is appended an imperial appreciation which is dated New Year's Day, 1776, in the course of which Ch'ien-lung observes: "The exquisite quality

* Nevertheless, according to the *Hsüan Ho Hua P'u*, there were 154 of his paintings in the collection of the Emperor Hui Tsung.

of this painting from life could only have been achieved by Chao Ch'ang. Though the composition in the lower part of the picture is well balanced, the space above the rock is only about five inches and this is insufficient for the extension of the branches of the evergreen tree. Such a disposition could not have been the work of a great artist. Perhaps portions of the picture were damaged, and these have been trimmed off by dealers and Chao Ch'ang's signature added subsequently. In its present state, therefore, the painting is incomplete. But few works of Chao Ch'ang have survived, and those that have are rare and should be cherished and treasured."

The painting is certainly an early one, but it would be rash to accept the imperial attribution without supporting evidence. Apart from literary records, we know nothing of the work of Chao Ch'ang, and the paintings, widely differing in style, which have been attributed to his brush in China and Japan, make our task all the more difficult. But there is a reassuring freshness and originality about the picture in the Exhibition. To me, its conception and technique are reminiscent of what we are told of the work of Hui Tsung's Academy, the members of which were ordered to paint from nature and true to colour and form.

It is, however, almost certain that the painting, as it has survived, is a fragment of a larger composition. Yet even as a fragment it remains a charming and sensitive study of a garden in spring. Pines, plum blossoms, camellias and narcissi, amidst a profusion of green leaves, enframe a standing rock of fantastic form, such as is frequently seen in China, and beyond there appears a sky of deep blue, of a shade which recalls the background of some of the later Tun-huang paintings. There is no striving after an attempt to transmit an idea or a message; it is the simple and natural effort of an artist imbued with a love of flowers and of their sensuous beauty. Each stalk, each blossom, each twig is drawn and painted with loving care, and a sense of delicate fragrance seems to emanate from the massed blossoms as from a flower-bed in spring. The title which has been given to the picture is significant. The Chinese New Year occurs about the beginning of February, and the painting symbolizes the return

this picture is painted and that it is a further argument in favour of its being an original Sung work. Rare as this type of paper was in the eleventh century, it is, as you can understand, infinitely rarer and more valuable today. I have been fortunate enough to have seen two other examples of it, both in the Chinese National Government Collection.*

But I must no longer defer the showing of the film of the much-discussed painting in the Exhibition, *Ten Thousand Miles of the Yangtze*, which you must be impatient to see; but before this is done, I should like to say a few words about the reputed author of the scroll, the scroll itself and the film.

Hsia Kuei (*T.* Yü-yü), a native of Ch'ien-t'ang in the province of Chekiang, was one of the foremost artists of the Southern Sung period. No exact dates of his birth and death have come down to us, but we are told that he flourished in the reign of the Emperor Ning Tsung (1195-1224). He was a member of the revived Imperial Academy of Painting, and was made a *tai-chao*, or Painter-in-Attendance, and invested by the Emperor with the Order of the Golden Girdle. He was a pupil of Li T'ang, the Director of the Academy, whose style he is said to have copied, though he also studied the works of the earlier Sung masters of landscape, like Fan K'uan, Wang Hsia, Tung Yüan, Chü-jan and Mi Fei.

Hsia Kuei began his artistic career by painting figure subjects, but he soon took to landscape painting, and it is for his landscapes that he has become famous. His name is always associated with that of Ma Yüan, his contemporary and rival in the Academy, with whose work his own has often been compared and contrasted to Hsia Kuei's advantage. So far as is known, Hsia Kuei painted exclusively on silk and in ink, a medium he could employ with great skill, varying its shades to convey a sense of colour. Some of his brush-strokes were thick, "like the heavy drops of starting rain"; others as fine and as delicate as the threads

* One of these is a long roll covered with a beautiful design of scrolling melon vine, on which is inscribed the well-known poem on the *Sung Fêng Ko* by the Sung calligrapher, Huang T'ing-chien. See the *Ku Kung*, xviii. 5.

of a spider's web. His trees have been especially admired, and it was said of them that the shadows which they cast were so realistic that those who viewed his paintings often expressed their desire to shelter under them.

The long scroll painting in the Exhibition which is attributed to Hsia Kuei is entitled *Ch'ang Chiang Wan Li T'u—Picture of Ten Thousand Li of the Long River*. Four paintings with this title are recorded in the *Nan Sung Yüan Hua Lu*, which was compiled by Li Ê in 1721. The first is stated to have once been in the collection of Hu Wei-yung, the treacherous Minister of the founder of the Ming Dynasty. After Hu's exposure and execution in 1380, the painting is said to have passed into the Imperial Collection and to have been honoured with an appreciation in the hand of the Emperor Hung-wu. Nothing further is known of this version. The second, with a colophon by Lu Wan, was 24 feet in length and is stated to have been painted by Hsia Kuei in the Shao-hsing period (1131-1162); but here, apart from the obvious error in date, a confusion has been made, I think, with another work of Hsia Kuei, part of which has been lent to the Exhibition by the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art (Catalogue No. 1074). A third is recorded to have been in the collection of the official Chiang Hsia-shan and to have been inscribed with an appreciation by Lu Shên in 1534; but this version is stated to be 64 feet long. I am not sure if this is not a numerical error for 34, and if this version is not identical with the next. The fourth is almost certainly the painting in the Exhibition.

The "Long River" which the scroll depicts is, of course, the Yangtze, the longest river of the Asiatic Continent and one of the four largest in the world. It rises in the fastnesses of north-western Tibet, and runs a winding course of 3,200 miles (9,960 *li*) through nine provinces before it fans out into a vast delta and empties itself into the Yellow Sea. For the first sixteen hundred miles, from Tibet to Sui-fu, in Southern Szechuan, it rushes like a gigantic torrent. At Sui-fu, it is joined by an important tributary, the River Min, which was for long considered by the Chinese to be the main stream. The scroll in the Exhibition is, in fact, entitled by Ch'ien-lung *A Panoramic View of the Min River*. It

illustrates a part of the course of the Yangtze, beginning with its appearance—a boiling, tempestuous stream—in the mountainous gorges of Szechuan and concluding with a scene of its broad, placid expanse of waters near Wu-ch'ang, in Hupeh Province (Fig. 5).

The earliest seal the scroll bears is a circular double-dragon device, considered by some to be the seal of the Southern Sung Emperor Li Tsung, who reigned from 1224 to 1264. Next, in point of date, are two imperial seals of the T'ien-li period (1328-1330), one at the beginning of the painting, the other at the end. Then comes an important inscription by Ko Chiu-ssŭ, which reads: "Picture of Ten Thousand *Li* of the Long River, by Hsia Yü-yü (*i.e.*, Hsia Kuei) inspected by Ko Chiu-ssŭ in the Fu Ku Studio on the day of the beginning of winter in the sixth year of the period Chih-yüan (*i.e.*, 1335)," followed by three of his seals.

For the next two centuries the history of the painting is not known; but in 1562 it was apparently in the collection of Yen Sung, chief of the "Six Wicked Ministers of the Ming Dynasty," whose property was confiscated by the Emperor Chia-ching in that year. It thus entered the Imperial Collection, but only for a brief period, for shortly afterwards it was given, by way of salary, to a military officer, from whom it passed into the collection first, of Grand Tutor Chu and then into that of the scholar, Han Ching-t'ang. Later the painting was apparently acquired by Sun Ch'êng-tse, the author of the *Kêng-tzŭ Hsiao Hsia Lu* (completed in 1660), for the painting bears several of his seals.

Next, in order of date, follow the seals and colophons of Kao Shih-ch'i (1645-1704), the noted collector and art critic. The painting is recorded and described at length in his *Chiang Ts'un Hsiao Hsia Lu*,* which was compiled in 1693, where he states that it had colophons by Wang Ju-yü (*c.* 1410) and Wang Chih-têng (1535-1612) which were cut off when the scroll was remounted, and that the signature *Ch'ên Hsia Kuei* ("Your subject Hsia Kuei"), in small characters, lies concealed in the drawing of the rocks at the beginning of the picture. We have not been able to

* The painting is also recorded in the *Hsü Hua Ti Po Chi*, by Yü Feng-ch'ing, and in the *Shan Hu Wang*, by Wang K'o-yü.

find this signature. The colophons of Kao Shih-ch'i appear at the end of the painting. The first is dated 1698, and repeats the statement about the loss of the earlier colophons. The second, dated 1700, is preceded by this interesting comment: "I did not take this scroll with me to the Capital."

It was between 1744 and 1762 that the painting passed into the Imperial Collection of the Ch'ing Dynasty; it is not listed in the *Shih Ch'ü Pao Chi*, which was compiled in the former year, but appears in Section 57 of the Supplement to that work. On the painting itself are two appreciations inscribed by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, the first dated 1762, the second 1769. The colophons of Kao Shih-ch'i are followed by another written by Tung Kao (1738-1818) and signed by him and five other Ministers of Ch'ien-lung. Finally, in addition to many seals of Ch'ien-lung, there is a seal of his successor, Chia-ch'ing.

One last word. Over two years ago the authorities of the Peking Palace Museum very kindly sent me a photographic facsimile of the scroll. Looking at it, I felt that the artist must have regretted that the changing scenes of his panoramic landscape could not be made to live and move before the beholder's eyes. I think that the moving picture which I then had made of the facsimile and which will now be shown for the first time in public achieves this end.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHINESE ART IN RETROSPECT

By F. St.G. Spendlove

(The author of this article was the Assistant Secretary of the Exhibition and Editor of the Catalogue.)

" We are multifarious as well as multitudinous. From the exquisite to the uncouth we take a lot of knowing before easy observation ceases to betray the observer. I am glad that the West is having this memorable opportunity to study us at our best."—*H.E. The Chinese Ambassador in London.*

These significant words suggest an aspect of the Exhibition which has, perhaps, been neglected. If it results in the removal of some of the prejudices which have prevented the mutual comprehension of China and the Occident, this will prove to be its most important success. With all respect to the late Mr. Kipling, one of the most destructive of these prejudices is the belief that it is not possible for the Occidental to "know" the Chinese. Responsibility for this widespread misunderstanding must be laid upon both parties: it would also seem that any effort to pull down the wall will find willing workers in both hemispheres. Not only as artists but as human beings must the Chinese be studied, if they are to be enabled to make their fullest contribution to the international civilization which is being forced upon us by the times, but which is full of promise for an evolving society. The poised reserve imposed by the Chinese code of good manners has been misinterpreted by the West as an alarming inscrutibility. That Chinese friendship takes longer than ours to gain is remembered, while the fact that it lasts longer is forgotten. It is time that these misunderstandings were removed. The Chinese are a courteous, proud and well-bred people, with a unique literary tradition and a culture of several thousand years' growth. Certainly you will not find elsewhere a more appreciative or generous people, nor one with a greater sense of humour or pathos. They are a people with long memories; family records sometimes extend for two thousand years.

The Exhibition was successful beyond the hopes of the Committee or the Chinese Government. The total number of admissions was 422,048; the largest figure for one day, 19,764, made a record for Burlington House. The international co-operation shown was remarkable; contributions having been sent by twelve governments and from the collections of seven additional coun-

tries. The foundation was, of course, the splendid exhibit of more than eight hundred pieces, largely from the former Imperial collections, sent by the Chinese Government.

The original idea of the Exhibition was evolved by consultation between Sir Percival David, Mr. George Eumorfopoulos, Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm and Mr. Oscar Raphael, with the assistance of H.E. the Chinese Ambassador and Sir William Llewellyn, P.R.A. The voyage of the Selection Committee members around the world in search of treasures, and the manner in which the Chinese Government exhibit was packed and shipped to this country, have been so well discussed in the press that they do not require further mention.

The conditions—political, social and religious—under which the objects in the Exhibition were produced varied so much from period to period that it is only by forming a clear concept of these differences that one can comprehend the significance of the whole great collection. Otherwise our impressions are apt to be little more than a blur. We find in Chinese history some periods which seem to have witnessed the upspringings of the national genius more than others, and which—to the best of our knowledge—produced a vast majority of the great works of art. These principal periods might well be taken as Ancient China (prior to 221 B.C.), the Han period (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.), the T'ang period (618 to 906 A.D.), the Ming period (1368 to 1644 A.D.), and the Ch'ing period (1644 to 1800 A.D., after which this period ceased to be representative). Other periods are less fundamental.

Ancient China was first represented in the Exhibition by several pieces of neolithic pottery. Nos. 1 and 2 (Östasiatisca Samlingarna) are fine specimens of Yang-shao painted pottery, named after Professor Andersson's researches. This is the second cultural layer found in Chinese excavations (the first having yielded a simple grey ware) and perhaps dates from the third millennium B.C. Nothing is known of the people who produced it beyond the scanty remains found by excavators. The third cultural layer yielded black pottery, a specimen of which from Ch'êng-tzu-yai, Honan, was shown (No. 3028, Chinese Government). This may have been the period of the Hsia, China's traditional first dynasty, but in the absence of basic findings any speculation as to whether the black pottery continued into the Bronze Age is vague. The flower of the Bronze Age culture was reached in the next layer, one of great importance to the archæologist, that of the Shang (or Yin) Dynasty. This dynasty, which ruled over a small kingdom probably centred in the present Honan and Shensi provinces, in the second millennium B.C., has left a large number of specimens of bronze vessels, jades, carved ivory, bone and other objects. The size of the kingdom is not known, but it is interesting to note

that at the beginning of the next (Chou) dynasty, the present Lo-yang in Honan was spoken of as being the "exact" centre of the realm.

Nothing is more ancient than divination, and it is to the divinatory practices of the Shang-Yin sovereigns that we owe anything much greater than a legendary knowledge of them. The discovery of the Honan "oracle bones" on the site of a Yin capital near An-yang, Northern Honan, in the closing years of the last century, furnished most valuable clues to their customs and script. It was the practice at that time and later to address questions to ancestors, and to obtain their answers by the "scorched bone" method. Holes were cut or drilled almost through pieces of bone or tortoise-shell, and the application of a heated metal rod or stick of burning charcoal caused the thin remaining wall of bone or shell to crack. The direction of the cracks indicated the oracular answers of the deified ancestors, who, having passed to a higher sphere, were now possessed of all knowledge, as well as of a formidable power over the lives of their descendants. This method of divination was called (in later times, at least) "consulting the Great Tortoise," and the recorded questions are usually concerned with weather and crop prospects and military expeditions, with a routine enquiry every ten days. A very large number of these scorched bone and shell fragments, many of them inscribed in archaic script (*ku wên*) were found at the Yin capital site at An-yang. This site has been excavated since 1928 by the Academia Sinica, and the National Research Institute of History and Philology now has about 6,000 of the bone fragments and a number of ivory and bone carvings, bronze and jade arrowheads, axes, hairpins and moulds for bronze casting. Three of the "oracle bones" (Nos. 3027, 3032 and 3033) were exhibited by the Chinese Government. A portion of a human figure (No. 268, Chinese Government) owes its importance to the fact that it is the only known specimen of Shang-Yin figure sculpture. A complete buff pottery vase (No. 15, Professor W. Perceval Yetts) and some shards of chalky white pottery with characteristic bronze designs (No. 3029, Chinese Government) were shown. It is unfortunate that the collection included no pottery specimens with traces of glaze, as the opinion is held by some archæologists that glazed pottery was in use at this time. An interesting showing of jade funerary and ritual objects came from various sources, as well as a number of pieces of carved ivory, bone and stone.

The greatest contribution of the Shang-Yin period to civilization—according to present knowledge—lay in its finely modelled and moulded bronze vessels, cast by the *cire perdue* process which is used at the present day. The principal use of these vessels was in making sacrifices to ancestors, as is shown by the inscriptions,

but it is probable that in early times they were used for domestic purposes. Sixty-six bronze vessels in the Exhibition were attributed to the Shang-Yin Dynasty or to the first years of the succeeding Chou period. A massive wine vessel (No. 320, Kaichiro Nedzu) was certainly the most striking object in the bronze display. It is said to have been found recently at An-yang, and to have been one of several similar vessels. Its great size and wealth of ornament made it very impressive. The famous altar set of fifteen pieces shown (Plate I.) (No. 319, Metropolitan Museum, New York) once belonged to the Viceroy Tuan Fang, a noted collector of the end of the Manchu period. Ten of the vessels are inscribed. They were found near Pao-chi, in Shensi province, in 1901.

The nucleus of the bronze exhibit was the Chinese Government's noble contribution of 108 pieces from the Imperial Collection of the Forbidden City (later the National Palace Museum), the National Museum (Collections of Mukden and Jehol Palaces) and the Provincial Libraries of Anhui and Honan. A large number of the bronzes date from what are called by the Chinese "The Period of the Spring and Autumn Annals" (from the famous historical classic of that name attributed to Confucius) and "The Period of the Warring States." These successive periods, also called the Eastern Chou epoch, extended from about 722 B.C. to the break-up of feudal China in 221 B.C. During this time the classics were written, and it witnessed the lives of Lao Tzŭ, Confucius, Mencius, Chuang Tzŭ and lesser leaders of thought.

An interesting section of the Chinese Government exhibit (Nos. 44, 57-62 and 101) represented the large find of bronzes made in 1923 at Hsin-chêng, Honan (once part of the Chêng state). Seventy or eighty complete vessels and a large number of fragments were found in a pit, most of which are now kept in the Honan Provincial Museum, from which the present specimens were lent. They include two caldrons (*ting* and *li*), a *kuei* and a *fu* (food vessels), a *hu* (wine vessel), a bell (*chung*) and two musical bells from a chime of twenty-one, doubtless intended for the ritual music which Confucius considered so important. These bronzes probably date from the early Eastern Chou period. Four bronzes (Nos. 63, 64, 99 and 102), also from the Chinese Government, were part of the Shou Hsien discovery of 1933. Shou Hsien is upon the site of the Ch'u state capital, and these bronzes apparently date from the last twenty years before the destruction of the city by the Duke of Ch'in in 223-222 B.C. These Ch'u bronzes include a large caldron (*ting*), a *fu* (food vessel), a *tzu* (chopping table) and a square tray (*p'an*) with swing handles, possibly intended for basting meat. Several hundred of the Shou Hsien bronzes are kept in the Anhui Provincial Library.

In the Han period (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.) the historical scene

changes to show a great empire, built upon the foundations laid by Shih Huang-ti, the first Ch'in emperor. Shih Huang-ti's many activities included the subjugation of all the former independent states, the building of the Great Wall from a number of existing defences, and the destruction of the Classics together with a large number of the ritual bronze vessels. The Han were the heirs of his short-lived empire (221-206 B.C.), and soon became an international power. In the reign of Han Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.) Chang Ch'ien made his famous journey to Bactria, and brought back news of the countries lying beyond the encircling ring of savage nomads. Three cups made in later periods showed Chang Ch'ien descending the Yellow River in a hollow log (Nos. 1032 and 2948, Chinese Government; 1034, Sir Percival David). Many embassies were sent and trade routes opened up, notably that of the "Kan-su corridor" to Central Asia. Lao Tzŭ and Confucius had lived and taught; Buddhism was becoming deeply entrenched, bringing with it an interest in the Holy Land of India. Ancestor worship persisted, as it did throughout the whole range of Chinese history. During this period Chinese armies invaded Central Asia and an invading army was also sent across the Pāmirs by the Indo-Scythian King Kanishka.

Although the Han period was one of great importance in Chinese art, its representation in the Exhibition was perhaps not as ample as that of some other periods, but contained a number of interesting entries. The two horse heads of green jade (Nos. 530, Oscar Raphael; 553, Victoria and Albert Museum—Eumorfopoulos Collection) were very impressive, and the jade buffalo cow (No. 480, Oscar Raphael) was stroked affectionately by thousands of visitors. A fine array of gold and silver inlaid and plated bronzes in Gallery II. came from various lenders. Certainly the finest single Han bronze was the *hu* with gold and silver plating (No. 412, Buckingham Collection). Its proportions are finely typical of Han art. The exhibits of this period with the greatest historical value were probably the textile fragments found by the Koslóv Expedition at Noin-ula in Mongolia (No. 2525, Soviet Government) and the Lou-lan fragments lent from the Stein Collection in New Delhi (Nos. 2519-2524, 2526-2529). Admirable also were the two hairpin ends (?) and covered box of fine goldsmithing (Nos. 780, 781, 767, Nelson Gallery), somewhat recalling ancient Irish work. Certainly these bronzes, jades, fine silks and objects of gold are the expression of a highly developed art, and the time seems to have come for an upward revision of our estimate of Han craftsmanship. One of the important successes of the Exhibition may be in giving us a more correct idea of what this period produced.

The great renaissance of art in T'ang times (618-906 A.D.) can be

aptly compared to the Italian Renaissance, so brilliant was it and so far-reaching in its effects. Similarly caused by the infiltration of new influences acting upon a petrified religious system, the new leaven was stimulated by the patronage of a dynasty favourable to literature and art. It has endowed the T'ang period with imperishable glory. The spirit of the times expressed itself in great poetry, a classic period of painting, important new attainments in ceramics and the achievement of a mature outlook on art which has been the admiration of succeeding generations. During this period the art treasures of the Shosho-in at Nara were collected by the Emperor Shomu, and this ancient Japanese Imperial museum is now our most valuable guide to T'ang art.

The court held at Ch'ang-an by the Emperor Ming Huang and his concubine Yang Kuei-fei was the centre of T'ang culture, and included the greatest artists and poets China has known. The poetry and art of the country had never had a more favoured theme than the story of Yang Kuei-fei, the Chinese Helen of Troy, which reached a tragic culmination in her execution for high treason at the hands of soldiers. The aged emperor renounced his throne and spent the remainder of his life in seeking to evoke her memory. A Taoist wizard was commanded to search the sombre region beneath the Yellow Springs, the abode of departed spirits, only to find that Yang Kuei-fei had attained to the Isles of the Blest.

Ch'ang-an with its gay company was brought to dust by An Lu-shan's revolt, and the loss to T'ang culture was irreparable. Later a few of the old men returned, saddened, and in time others were found to succeed but not to replace them. The work of the great artists of the time has almost completely disappeared save for a few "free" copies, but we are still in possession of many thousands of T'ang poems.

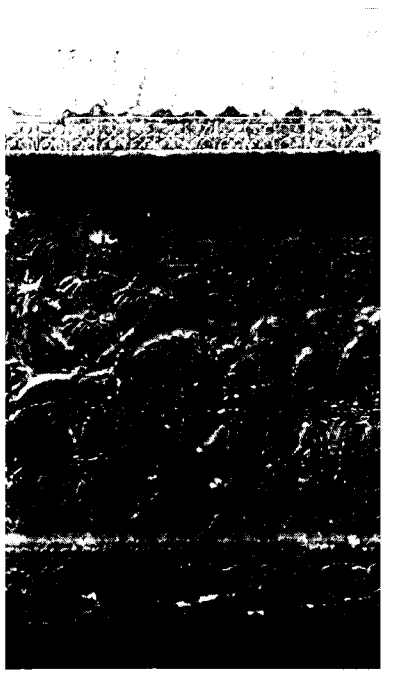
One of the most remarkable of the T'ang objects in the Exhibition was the superb figure of a *Lohan* (disciple of Buddha) lent by the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (No. 2438). Several of these *Lohan* figures exist, probably survivors of a set of sixteen. They are surely the finest known specimens of T'ang pottery, and rank high among sculptures as well. A painting of great beauty and interest, "A Herd of Deer in a Maple Grove" (No. 755, Chinese Government), is one of two similar pictures in the National Palace Museum Collection which are attributed to the Five Dynasties period (907-960 A.D.). It may be the work of a late T'ang artist. The treatment of the deer recalls the finer Persian miniatures, but these latter pictures were so portable that their appearance in China should not be surprising, if they were in existence at that early date. "Lo-yang Mansion" (No. 760, Chinese Government) is attributed to Li Chao-tao, son of the

PLATE I



SET OF SACRIFICIAL WINE VESSELS AND ALTAR TABLE: BRONZE.
Shang-Yin or early Chou Dynasty (Second Millenium B.C.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. In the International Exhibition of Chinese Art.
By courtesy of the Royal Academy.

To face p. 318



RELI

b. T'ang Dynasty (618–906 A.D.). Muse

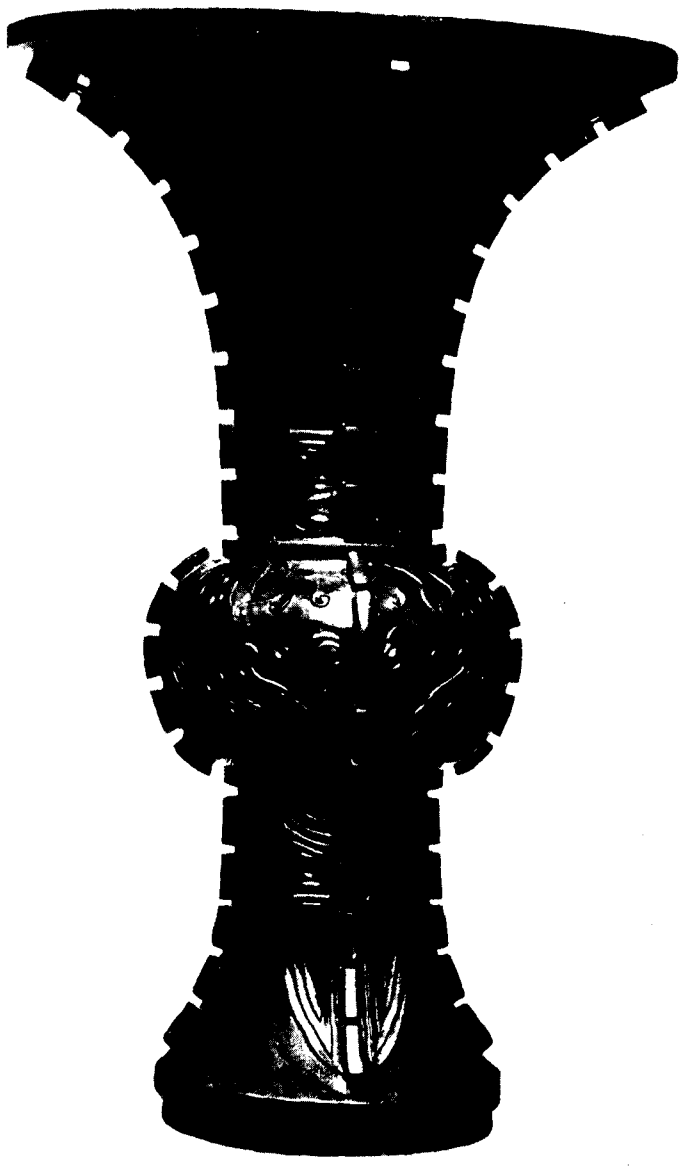


JAR AND COVER: BLACK LACQUER ON COPPER, DECORATED WITH PANELS OF THE EIGHT IMMORTALS, CARVED THROUGH TO SHOW RED GROUND BENEATH.

H. 40·5 cm. Mark and period of Hsüan-tê (1426–1435 A.D.). With an Imperial poem of the Ch'ien-lung period. From the Imperial Collection, Peking; now in the Collection of Sir Percival David, Bt., London. In the International Exhibition of Chinese Art.

By courtesy of the Royal Academy.

PLATE IV



VASE (*KU*) OF ARCHAIC BRONZE FORM; GREEN JADE.
H. 38 cm. Collection of Captain John Paul London. In the International Exhibition of Chinese Art.

To face p. 319

By courtesy of the Royal Academy.

founder of the "Northern" school. The fairy pavilions and gold-outlined mountains of Li Ssŭ-hsün made a deep impression upon Chinese art. A more artificial style could hardly be imagined, but it has undeniable charm. Fragments of a seventh-century painting in colour on silk found at Astāna, near Turfan, by Sir Aurel Stein on one of his numerous and fruitful expeditions (Nos. 788 and 791) show a style which is probably a debased version of one popular at that time. A resemblance can be traced in the scroll painting attributed to Chou Fang (*d.* 965 A.D.), lent by Mrs. William H. Moore (No. 974).

Among the clay funerary figures a splendid pair of horses was notable (No. 2424, British Museum—Eumorfopoulos Collection), also the prancing horse and rider (No. 2414, Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm), a female dancer (No. 2423, A. de Rothschild) and others. These funerary figures are impressive by their extreme naturalness, and offer a contrast to early Buddhist sculpture such as the Northern Ch'i Buddha (No. 478, Oscar Raphael). Figures of this sort were not intended to represent human beings at all; the Buddhas being considered as a race apart. It was, perhaps, to the growing use of the tomb figures that we can attribute the development of "humanism" in religious sculpture, witnessed in such figures as the Bodhisattva torso (No. 2498, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, junior). This sculpture has excited much discussion, but extremes of praise and criticism seem to have been undeserved. It shows a marked Indian influence, probably due to the presence of the monk versed in iconography whom we know to have been in attendance to guide the sculptor of Buddhist images, in order that the *lakṣaṇa* (marks of greatness) and the *mudrā* (hand positions) might be correct. Occasionally the absence of the priestly mentor is noticeable in such pieces as the porcelain Seated Buddha (No. 1906, S. D. Winkworth), in which the figure has been given a beard in defiance of tradition.

T'ang mirrors of unadorned bronze as well as those with silver and gold decoration were plentiful. The most conspicuous was the great "Shield of Hamzeh" (No. 661, Çinili Kösk Museum), lent from Turkey. Examples of T'ang jewellery lent by the British Museum (Eumorfopoulos Collection) and by C. T. Loo were so fine in quality that it is a pity they were not more numerous. The textile fragments from Tun-huang, Chinese Turkestan, lent by the Louvre (Pelliot Collection), showed the use of resist dyeing (*batik*), which is not generally known to have been a Chinese method.

The Sung period (960-1279 A.D.) in its artistic significance is a perpetuation of the T'ang spirit rather than a new growth. The bright flow of original inspiration gave way to a finished competence of execution with some sacrifice of initiative. The age

was one of archaistic scholarship rather than bold thought. Great catalogues were compiled, ancient bronzes were copied, the works of old masters collected and studied with the greatest reverence, but frequently old usages were followed simply because they were sanctioned by precedent. Nevertheless, it was a period very important in art, and since little of the finest T'ang work of any sort is available it is fortunate that the Sung productions contain so many hints of the manner of earlier masters. The Sung representation in the Exhibition was extremely fine.

Probably no other section has made a more lasting effect upon Europe than the Sung porcelain exhibited by the Chinese Government, Sir Percival David and others. The *Kuan*, *Ju*, *Ting* and *Ying ch'ing* wares were of particular beauty, and the *Chün*, *Lung-ch'üan*, celadon (plain, "Northern" and spotted), *K'o*, *Chien* and *Honan* wares were all in fine array. Their greatest function was to increase our knowledge of the subject, and they have now fixed our concept of *Kuan* and *Ju* which was inclined to be hazy. The latter ware in particular, only made for a brief period and always hard to come by, was little more than a graceful shadow in European accounts of Sung porcelain. A ritual disk (No. 967, Sir Percival David) bears an inscription indicating that it is the first piece of *Ju* ware ever made. The famous narcissus pot (No. 955, Chinese Government) is said to have been among the specimens sent to Ching-tê Chên, the porcelain centre of Kiangsi province, by the Emperor Yung-chêng (1723-1735 A.D.) in order that the beautiful glaze might be reproduced. A vase (No. 2564, Chinese Government) has a glaze which was traditionally produced in response to the Imperial order.

Sung jades are difficult to come by, but the ceremonial set of eight pieces (No. 2854, Oscar Raphael) in the purest of white jade, is not only of the period but a very fine specimen. It was one of the unique exhibits. Each piece is inscribed in most minute characters with an ancient poem or a portion of a Buddhist *sūtra*, and they bear dates from 1112 to 1124 A.D. It seems to be unquestionable that they were made for the Emperor Hui Tsung.

This emperor, who put art above politics to his own eventual ruin, is the traditional painter of four pictures that were shown, of which the "White Goose" (No. 997, Chinese Government) was the most impressive. Attributions to this Imperial artist should perhaps not be given too much consideration in the absence of very strong evidence in the work itself.

Sung scrolls included the "Myriad Miles of the Yangtze" of Hsia Kuei, probably the most valuable picture in the Exhibition (No. 1127, Chinese Government), in spite of a somewhat lower opinion held by some European critics. The landscape scroll in four scenes (No. 1074, Nelson Gallery) is also a fine specimen of

this Southern Sung artist's work. The "Hundred Geese" scroll by Ma Fên (No. 1387, Honolulu Academy of Arts) is a painting of such high quality that it was a rare privilege to be able to examine it. The Kao K'o-kung landscape "Mist and Rain in a Grove" (No. 1059, Chinese Government) is beautiful and carries conviction. Impressive also is the dark Tung Yüan painting "Festival in Honour of the Emperor" (No. 1126, Chinese Government).

Several of the *K'o ssŭ* (silk tapestries) were attributed to the Sung Dynasty by Chinese experts. "Sprouting Bamboo Shoots" (No. 1651, Chinese Government) is one of the finest. These charming silk pictures have been taken for paintings by many visitors. The splendid "White Eagle" (No. 1769, Chinese Government) is possibly a specimen of Sung embroidery.

Among the treasures of Chinese museums is a portrait of a man with glittering greenish eyes set in a face heavily marked by smallpox. No one who has seen it is likely to forget the impression of ruthless power. This man, after one of the most adventurous lives in history, succeeded in expelling the Mongols from China and reigned under the name of Hung Wu as the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.). It is not surprising that Ming art should differ greatly from that of the Sung state, for during the intervening Mongol period China had belonged to a great chain of nations under the same government. The famous Mongol posting system was unrivalled as a means of long-distance communication, and the Ming revival of arts and letters can be considered as being partially a result of foreign stimulus; always an important cause of progress in China.

Ming paintings shown do not call for special notice, as the period was far better represented in ceramics. The "Dragon Boat Race," said to be by the fourteenth-century painter, Wu T'ing-hui, is a picture of considerable charm (No. 1164, Chinese Government). The album portraits of Mongol khans and emperors included those of Genghiz Khan, most destructive of world conquerors, Ogotai Khan, Tugh Timur Khan and Kublai Khan (Nos. 3055a, 3015, 3040a and 3003, Chinese Government), the latter best known as the builder of Peking (Cambaluc) and the friend of Marco Polo. It is a pity that the companion album of empresses was not shown. These albums are said by Chinese experts to date from the Yüan (Mongol) period (1280-1368 A.D.), but are catalogued as being probably Ming. Among Ming ceramics, a remarkable vase with an incised decoration of phœnixes and clouds in a turquoise ground (No. 1543, Oscar Raphael) bears an inscription mentioning the Hung Wu period (1368-1398 A.D.). References to this period are very rare in ceramics. A dish with figure decoration in underglaze blue (No.

158, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Clark) has the period mark, and a box over (No. 1969, H. Lauritzen) mentions the "Hung Wu Temple f the Double Dragon." The exquisite Heavenly White (*t'ien-ai*) of the Yung-lo period (1403-1424 A.D.) was well shown by several bowls with *an-hua* (invisible or "secret") decoration Nos. 1638, Chinese government, 1640 and 1645, Sir Percival David). The preceding Yüan Dynasty is not credited with much eramic achievement, but surely this beautiful ware must have been developing for some time before the finished perfection of he Yung-lo period was reached. The origin may have been the ung *pei ting*, to which Ching-tê Chên contributed its own inely translucent porcelain in place of the darker paste of the earlier ware, together with an improved technique. One could hardly find anything more worthy to represent Chinese ceramic art at its finest; most pure and free from affectation. Of the white porcelain of Tê-hua (Fukien), a fine Kuan-yin with a Wan-li mark (No. 2572, R. de la Mare) was particularly worthy of notice among a number of specimens. Gallery VIII. showed an impressive range of fifteenth-century *san-ts'ai* (three-colour ware, with the beautiful Ming turquoise glaze predominating. The famous "chicken cups" of the Ch'êng-hua period (1465-1487 A.D.) were shown (Nos. 1580, 1581 and 1586, Chinese Government), for which Chinese connoisseurs have been willing to pay very high prices. If the specimens of the National Palace Collection from which these came are really typical of the best "chicken cups," we must conclude that their importance has been exaggerated. Certainly they cannot stand comparison with the flawless Imperial ware of the Yung-chên period. Two specimens of yellow-glazed porcelain (Nos. 2073, Sir Percival David, 2075, Chinese Government) were considered to be the work of the famous Wan-li potter, Wu Wei ("The Teapot Taoist"). Both are very creditable specimens and signed; it would seem quite possible that these are genuine examples of the rare *Hu-kung yao*, as Wu Wei's productions are called by the Chinese. Ming blue-and-white was well shown and was largely of the Hsüan-tê period (1426-1436 A.D.). A piece that particularly caught the eye was a large Chia-ching (1522-1566 A.D.) covered jar with a design of children in Muhammadan blue (No. 1910, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Clark). The Chinese Government sent some specimens of the rare *pao-shih hung* (ruby red) and *chi-hung* (sacrificial red) with its subdivision of *hsien-hung* (fresh red). Of a pair of sauce pots (Nos. 1612 and 1614) one has a glaze of *chi-hung*, the other of a rich blue named after the colour of the famous and vanished Ch'ai ware.

A covered jar of two-colour lacquer on copper, with carved panels of the Eight Immortals, and bearing a Hsüan-tê mark

(No. 1401, Sir Percival David) is probably unique (Plate III.). This, like scores of other pieces shown, bore a Ch'ien-lung poem of Imperial appreciation. Another outstanding piece of Ming lacquer was a round box with fine low-relief carving (No. 1415, Dr. A. Breuer).

The revival of culture that followed the establishment of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D) was imposed upon a foundation of Ming culture, but the Manchu rulers were more liberal patrons of art than the later Mings, and the new racial element was stimulating. The officials of the Nine Chief Boards, the Han-lin College and the Imperial Academy were both Manchu and Chinese in fixed proportion. This had the twofold effect of lessening that crystallization of thought which has always been the weakness of the Chinese literary system and of utilizing the energies of a people not so much over-cultured. The Imperial workshops established in Peking by the Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662-1722 A.D) employed skilled metal moulders, armourers, jewellers and clockmakers, enamellers, gilders and craftsmen in ivory, glass, lacquer, wood and other materials. This enterprise continued throughout Ch'ien-lung's reign, but shared the fate of other progressive institutions after that. The porcelain was, of course, produced in Ching-tê Chên, with a few exceptions. Here the Manchu rule brought prosperity under the capable Ts'ang Ying-hsüan, Nien Hsi-yao and T'ang Ying, successive directors who created new wares and glazes during the reigns of K'ang-hsi, Yung-chêng and Ch'ien-lung. In the forty-fourth year of K'ang-hsi (1705 A.D.) Lang T'ing-chi was appointed Governor of Kiangsi province, and established his own porcelain manufactory. Lang ware included the famous *sang de bœuf* and other fine coloured glazes. Fourteen specimens of the ware were shown (Entrance Hall). There was an imposing collection (Gallery IX.) of the scarce K'ang-hsi wares enamelled on the biscuit, many pieces of which came from the collection of Dr. Leonard Gow. Among the black-ground pieces of this sort, a covered jar (No. 1700, A. de Rothschild) was particularly noticeable, and a set of covered jar and beakers (Nos. 1704, 1705, 1706, F. Partridge and Sons). No part of the collection was finer than the display of Yung-cheng and Ch'ien-lung Imperial wares of the kind often called "Ancient Moon Pavilion" (*ku yüeh hsüan*), shown in Gallery XI. and lent by the Chinese Government. Ceramic technique has never reached a higher level.

This was the greatest period for the manufacture of decorative jades and objects in rock crystal and lapis lazuli. A jade seal made for the Emperor Ch'ien-lung's eightieth birthday bears an interesting inscription (No. 2826, R. C. Bruce). The set of three seals with connecting chains, cut from a single piece of fine

yellow jade, is probably unique (No. 2849, Chinese Government). Two boxes of bright green jade were contained in a gold box in the shape of two peaches (No. 2851, Chinese Government). A dark green jade vase in the form of a bronze *ku* with flanges (No. 2791, Captain John Ball), showing bold design and fine workmanship, was attributed to the eighteenth century in spite of its archaic ornament (Plate IV.).

Chief among Ch'ing textiles were the fine gold *k'o ssŭ* with Botticelli flowers (No. 2136, Major A. A. Perceval) and the figure of the fairy Ma Ku (No. 2135, Professor W. Perceval Yetts).

One loses much by not knowing the stories of the designs used by Chinese artists. Their art has no past tense, like the Chinese verb, and as the whole tendency of the Confucian system was to glorify the past, the artist used motives sometimes of immemorial antiquity. Among the inherited forms and figures are the Eight Trigrams, which go back beyond history; the horses of Mu Wang, who reigned almost three thousand years ago; the Precious Objects and the related Buddhist Emblems; the dim figures of the Immortals; Bodhidharma, the Buddhist Patriarch; Shou Lao, God of Longevity; the Guardian Kings; the Phœnix; the Garden of Hsi Wang Mu, in which grow the Peaches of Long Life, stolen by Tung-fang So; these and many others were greatly beloved and often repeated, yet with such individuality of treatment that they never grow wearisome. Indeed they are like old friends, and we welcome their reappearance in porcelain, jade or other chosen material.

Much of the glamour cast by Chinese art, much of its uncanny fascination, comes from the exquisite perception, poise and accuracy of the artist. A traditional cult of beauty has fostered the instinctive Chinese awareness of natural loveliness. A rich and venerable literature, armed with the full support of authority, has also done its great part, and the requirements of calligraphy have contributed to an unrivalled sureness of hand. Behind the symbols of Chinese art lie the great body of the Usages and the Precedents, the Concept of the Superior Man as formed from the Four Books, the obscure wisdom of Lao Tzŭ and the transcendental dreams of his followers, the glittering imagery of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the austerities of the Lesser Vehicle, together with sacred mountains, fabulous animals, and the strange pseudo-science of *fêng-shui* geomancy, transmitted by a system of collective memory and family records unrivalled in the world; all these combine together to form the richly-coloured tapestry of Chinese art. Probably no Chinese is all Confucian, all Buddhist or all Taoist, and it is difficult to believe that any Chinese can be completely free from the influences of these three religions, which an old proverb says are only one. The artist who is seen painting

a picture of a Buddhist *Lohan* may have been brought up in the most rigid Confucian tradition. It is fashionable to say that Chinese art cannot be understood by the West, but this is not exactly true. An intellectual knowledge depends upon a necessarily long study of methods and origins, and the end of the road is never reached. There is another kind of understanding, instinctive understanding, and to this Chinese art owes much of its fascination.

The beauty of the objects in the Exhibition was enhanced by the arrangement, largely due to the energy and experience of Mr. Leigh Ashton. Somewhat is due also to the neutral tones of the Chinese canvas with which the walls were covered; suggested and given by Mr. C. T. Loo, lender of the giant Buddha and a large number of objects in the earlier galleries. Mr. R. L. Hobson examined and catalogued every piece of pottery and porcelain in the Exhibition; a most arduous undertaking. The extensive Swedish participation was a gratifying feature. H.R.H. the Crown Prince attended in person and spent some days in cataloguing bronze implements and early jades, as well as lending thirty-three objects from his collection. The dedication to the Exhibition of *Yin and Chou Researches*, a most important volume, by the Östasiatiska Samlingarna (Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities), Stockholm, was also much appreciated.

The opportunity of comparison has emphasized the high quality of the objects from the Eumorfopoulos Collection, and must have increased the general satisfaction that it has been acquired by the Nation. A similar acquisition of Sir Percival David's porcelain and Mr. Oscar Raphael's jades (should this ever be practicable) would round out the national collections in a very pleasing manner, and perpetuate in this country at least a substantial portion of the beauty of the Exhibition.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP

By Sir Francis Younghusband

(The author is British National Chairman of the World Congress of Faiths, which will be held in London from July 3 to 18.)

The Archbishop of Canterbury in his moving Armistice Sunday address showed that a power deeper than Covenants and Pacts was needed to restrain war and to establish peace. He suggested that this power must be spiritual, and he urged that the Christian spirit would prove to be the spiritual power which the world needs. If the principles and claims of Christianity were acknowledged, the causes of war would be restrained and the foundations of peace would be well and truly laid. If God's rule of righteousness, justice, goodwill, brotherhood among men, were loyally accepted and obeyed, war would cease and peace would come to stay. Christians everywhere should seek first the Kingdom of God, put its rule above the sway of national misunderstandings, jealousies, excitement, ambitions.

The same insistence on the incapacity of political covenants to provide a true and lasting foundation for the peace of the world is made by the two archbishops in their letter on "The Way to Peace," read in all churches on the first Sunday of this year. Only a superior Power, only "the incoming of the Kingdom of God, God's rule of righteousness, truth, justice, brotherhood among men" can ensure peace. All members of the Church are therefore called upon "to seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness."

That the power to establish peace must, in the last resort, be a spiritual power is the great truth which mankind has to learn, and it may be long years yet and it may take successive Archbishops of Canterbury, year after year, to proclaim it before mankind has really grasped this simple truth and acted decisively upon it.

But for the promulgation of this truth mankind is not dependent upon the spokesmen of Christianity alone. Spokesmen of other religions also have for centuries been proclaiming the same truth and may be relied upon to continue proclaiming it in future. All the great religions of the world impress upon men the supreme value of spiritual things and the need of developing among themselves the spirit of peace and goodwill and true fellowship.

Hinduism, for example, draws attention to the spiritual

principle in a man which is no more visible to the eye than is life in a grain of mustard-seed, but which yet permeates, controls and moulds his whole being. This spirit, Hinduism teaches, is one in all, manifesting itself through all and being the one reality in all. We are like rays of light from the divine fire. God is in us as the inner Controller. This spiritual principle Hinduism would awaken into vivid life till it irradiates the entire personality of a man and colours his fundamental disposition, his whole outlook on life, his inmost cravings, and his highest ambitions. To make this spiritual principle the dominating influence in men's lives; to train men's minds to the attitude of universal friendship, universal charity and universal compassion; to recognize the spirituality of all men; to make each man realize all others as one with himself; to feel fellowship with all; these are the cardinal principles of Hinduism. A truly religious Hindu would find himself in love with the whole world: at peace with all mankind.

Buddhism, which sprang from Hinduism but which has none of the caste system of Hinduism, is perhaps even more emphatic in enforcing the principle of common fellowship, charity and compassion. This world is no place for strife. Men are to put their trust in Buddha, Norm and Order. And he who doeth right in deed and word and thought will win praise here and bliss in life to come.

Islam has the reputation of being more warlike. And in the spread of the religion there was from the first much resort to force. Fired with zeal for the cause, ardent adherents would convert even by the sword. But in the religion itself the superior power of the spirit is clearly recognized. The very word Islam signifies peace—submission to the will of God. "Live peaceably with one another," says the Koran: "make peace between your brethren; do good to others as God has done good to you; when a man injures and oppresses you and deals unjustly with you, deal kindly by him and forgive him: thus will you strike at the root of hatred and enmity, and he who was your enemy will become your fast friend."

The present-day movements which have sprung from Hinduism and Islam, such as the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj from Hinduism and the Bahai and Ahmadiya Movements from Islam endorse and enforce this emphasis upon the need for training men to fellowship and peace.

So the spokesmen not only of Christianity but of all the great religions and their offspring advocate in the strongest possible way the development of a spiritual power capable of establishing peace. It would therefore seem to be singularly appropriate, in these anxious times when war is once more abroad in the world

and certain nations are deliberately refusing to pin their faith upon the efficacy of spiritual power and are unabashedly relying upon naked force to achieve their ends, that all who have faith in the spirit, whatever may be their religion, should come together and reinforce one another in achieving the one common end which all have in view—the dominance of the spiritual over the material and the deepening of the spirit of fellowship between man and man and nation and nation.

There are, it is true, among the followers of every religion, whether they be Christians, Hindus or Muslims, a certain number who are so convinced that their religion, and theirs alone, contains the full and final solution of every ill that to them it seems almost disloyal to consort with men of other faiths, even in the pursuit of a spiritual object. These others must first be converted to the true faith—must all become Christians, Hindus or Muslims, as the case may be—before there can be any true fellowship between them. And those earnest souls who thus think are among the most spiritual-minded of men—men of the very kind who would do best service in a great cause.

But may they not be persuaded to take a different attitude in view of the world position as it is today, when religion itself is threatened? In face of the opposition to all religion; in face of the crass materialism abroad in the world; in face of material considerations outweighing spiritual in the guidance of national policies; should the followers of any religion hold back from working with the followers of other religions for the common end of peace founded upon goodwill?

We Christians describe God as Lover of Concord. The adherents of other religions would likewise so describe Him. In their view the Power that governs the world works for concord amid all the necessary differences. And the one God is working in non-Christians as well as in Christians, in non-Hindus as well as in Hindus, in non-Muslims as well as in Muslims. Neither Christians, nor Hindus, nor Muslims have a monopoly of God. Where, then, can be the objection to men of every religion working together to awake into passionate intention that desire all men have in their hearts for decent neighbourliness between them? Nothing could more evidently be the will of God. To do that will is the prime object of every religion. Why then should men hesitate?

Believing therefore that the time is ripe for the meeting together of men of different religions, the World Fellowship of Faiths are organizing a Congress to be held in London next July to which representative spokesmen of the principal religions of the world, and of recent religious movements springing from them, as well as leading men of independent religious thought

and of science and philosophy, are being invited to deliberate on the one great world-problem of how to promote the spirit of world-fellowship in face of such glaringly evident evils as fear, hatred, suspicion, jealousy and other causes of war, racial animosity, class prejudice, nationalism in excess, poverty, ignorance. Several means for overcoming these evils suggest themselves: improved economic conditions, better education, and above all, prayer, concentrated meditation upon the supremely perfect things in life, sharing spiritual experiences, and the common worship of a God common to all mankind. With all such means the deliverers of addresses at the Congress and the debates on them may be expected to deal.

And as a result of the Congress and of the personal contact of leading men of the spirit from different countries, it is anticipated that a lively sense of comradeship in the fight to make spiritual things dominant in the life of the world will be engendered. Members will have gained a vision of real life—of a transformed life of harmony and indestructible peace. Perhaps some may even experience the untellable intensity of joy which comes from intimate communion with the Motive Spirit of that Universe of which we are all integral and inextricable parts. If they do, they will never after rest till they have brought all together in one radiant fellowship of the spirit.

And such a fellowship of mutual sympathy and understanding in which each preserved his own individuality and specific form of religion but all felt animated by the one Divine Spirit would freshen and exalt, refine and sweeten, the entire life of mankind. The kingdom of heaven would be won.

This, then, is the ultimate aim of the organizers of the Congress of Faith, under the Presidency of the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. They hope to provide the spiritual basis and goal for that new world order which His Majesty's Government have announced they wish to play their part in building up at Geneva.

13 of the newest post-Jutland type—while Great Britain stopped the construction of four Hoods and scrapped 20 battleships.

A ratio of battleship strength was agreed to of $5:5:3:1\frac{1}{2}:1\frac{1}{2}$ for Great Britain, the States, Japan, France, and Italy. This was the disarmament basis of the Washington Treaty of February 6, 1922.*

There it stood—a monument of disarmament, so far, at least, as battleships were concerned. It had, however, a serious defect. No conclusion had been reached as to cruisers, and it was not till 1930, in the London Treaty, that an agreement was reached on this point between Great Britain, the States, and Japan, which France and Italy were not prepared to subscribe.

Under the terms of the Treaty, Great Britain and the United States were each allowed 15 8-inch gun cruisers, Japan being allowed 12—a ratio of 5:5:4—while Great Britain restricted herself to 50 cruisers in all.

This Treaty aroused strong criticism at the time, and Earl Jellicoe and Earl Beatty both expressed the opinion that 50 cruisers were not sufficient to protect our trade routes effectively in time of war.

In the course of these negotiations the whole question was subjected to a severe analysis and acquired a vocabulary of its own. Parity was examined in its different aspects, qualitative and quantitative; the merits of tonnage global or tonnage by categories were compared, and yet in spite of all this investigation at Geneva in 1927 no agreement could be reached, because the goodwill necessary as a basis was lacking.

In view of that year it may be doubted whether any agreement can ever be reached on the big issue of disarmament, in the absence of a solid basis of permanent goodwill.

The issue clearly has an ethical side, for it is bound up with the function of force in human polity. War is a resort to force, and in war force becomes the arbiter. War is merely an expression of strife. The idea of universal harmony is ideal and not real, for wherever there is a duality of will, in individuals or families or nations, there arises a possibility of strife. The strife may be settled by law, but the substitution of law for force depends on two fundamental requirements—first, a code and procedure of recognized law, and, secondly, an overwhelming reserve of force ready to execute the judgments of the law.

It seems inevitable that wherever there are separate entities such as individuals, families, societies and nations moving in orbits of their own, the instinct of competition, rivalry, and the question of

* For text, see Cmd. 2,036 of 1924. This ratio was by no means equally pleasing to everyone, and French opinion chafed under " the unjust tyranny of mathematical formulæ " (M. Tardieu, February 1, 1930).

reciprocal rights is bound to spring up. Disputes may, of course, be settled by diplomacy, but if an opponent remains unmoved by diplomacy and chooses the arbitrament of force the only possible reply is counterforce. Unless there is a spirit of goodwill and common sense so strong as to rule out entirely the possibility of a resort to force, war will always be possible. Here lies the real difficulty in the way of disarmament, for an appeal to force premises that both combatants are going to exert their maximum fighting energy. If force is to be the arbiter, it will proceed to the ultimate degree of force, and no one can bind himself to a minor coefficient of force. The weakness that afflicts all discussions on disarmament is the tendency to mistake symptoms for causes. If there is real goodwill disarmament follows of itself, as on the frontier between the States and Canada; if there is ill-will and deep-seated antagonism, the fortress and the gun make their appearance as a symptom of it, and disarmament will not constitute the cure.

On the other hand it may be admitted that conferences on disarmament are valuable as giving nations an opportunity for the exchange of views, and if conducted in a friendly spirit tend towards an increase of good feeling.

As the London Treaty of 1930 and the Washington Treaty of 1922 are both due to expire on December 31, 1936, a conference to discuss the limitation of naval armaments met in London on December 9. It was attended by Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy, and was opened by the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin.

The strength of the five principal navies was as follows in 1935:*

	Battleships and Battle-cruisers.	Cruisers above 6·1 in. Gun.	Cruisers below 6·1 in. Gun.	Destroyers.	Submarines.
Great Britain ...	15	19	31	161	54
United States ...	15	16	10	227	84
Japan	9	12	19	93	66
France	9	10	7	82	100
Italy	4	7	13	91	46

The proposals put forward by the various Powers were briefly as follows:

Great Britain—Limitation of total tonnage either in terms of types of ships or of global tonnage; quantitative limitation of tonnage of ships and of calibre of guns; announcement of building programme for a period of five years; total abolition of submarines or a limitation of their size.

United States—Tonnage reduction of 20 per cent.; retention of

* From Brassey's *Naval Annual*, 1935, p. 291.

ratio system with a lower level all round; reduction of armaments and not increase.

Japan asked for the abolition of the ratio limitation (5:5:3); the abolition of "offensive" vessels such as battleships and aircraft carriers.

France was in favour of limitations by global tonnage and of reducing the size of capital ships; no limitation in light surface craft and submarines.

Japan was strongly opposed to the ratio system and pressed for a "common upper limit" in the form of a maximum applicable to all Powers.

Great Britain proposed that each Power should adopt the minimum strength necessary for security and declare the limit above which it would not build, thus removing the harmful secrecy which gives rise to ill-feeling and suspicion.

Japan adhered rigidly, however, to the idea of a "common upper limit" being laid down from the start, and, as the other members did not agree to this, decided on January 16 to withdraw from any active part in the Conference.

On January 29 the British delegation put forward the following limits as a basis for discussion:

For capital ships, limit of 35,000 tons and 14-inch guns, with a possible reduction of 3,000 or 2,000 tons; for aircraft-carriers, limit of 22,000 tons and 6·1-inch guns; A-class* cruisers, no more to be built; B-class cruisers, 7,500 to 6,000 tons with 6·1-inch guns; submarines, 2,000 tons and 5·1-inch guns.

It must be regarded as unfortunate that Great Britain has not been able to persuade other Powers to reduce the battleship to a maximum of 25,000 tons with 12-inch guns, the limit proposed by her in the Disarmament Conference of 1932, which would mean an immense economy to everybody. Italy, however, has laid down two battleships of 35,000 tons, and France has followed suit with one laid down and one projected. The disregard of the British proposal of 1932 indicates clearly the strength of the spirit of national rivalry, and how hopeless it is, with the whole current of world polity setting towards armaments, to hope for any big measure of world disarmament. By the end of March a Three-Power Treaty (Great Britain, United States and France) of qualitative limitation will be signed, though Italy is unwilling to sign anything while the question of sanctions is under discussion.

The limit for capital ships will lie in a compromise of 35,000 tons and 14-inch guns. America apparently wished to retain the Washington Treaty limit of 35,000 tons and 16-inch guns, while France, on the sound ground of economy, wanted a limit of 27,500 tons and 13-inch guns. With regard to cruisers, the build-

* That is, cruisers of 10,000 tons with 8-inch guns.

ing of ships between 8,000 tons and 17,500 tons will be prohibited, which will constitute a very distinct and important limitation on the size of cruisers. The upper limit for cruisers will be 8,000 tons, and the lower limit for battleships 17,500 tons.

The Treaty will be for six years, till the end of 1942, and will contain an "escape" clause to permit of a modification of its provisions in the event of possible extensions by Powers outside the Treaty. The signatory Powers will exchange information yearly on the ships they propose to build, and the Treaty will be left open for the adherence of Italy and Japan.

The size of the German Navy is already limited by the Anglo-German agreement of June 18, 1935, by which the total tonnage of the German fleet was not to exceed 35 per cent. of the aggregate British forces, and it is very possible that a bilateral pact on the lines of the Three-Power Treaty will be negotiated between Great Britain and Germany. The new Treaty certainly applies only to the sizes and types of ships, and lays down no definite numbers. Perhaps because it is indefinite on this point it may make a definite contribution towards peace. As treaties have to be considered sacrosanct, it must be regarded as a very unfortunate malady inherent in them that they are the most fruitful source of further wars. It was so at least in the Treaty of Vienna (1815). Let us hope that it will not be so of the Treaty of 1919. Those who are constantly tasting its after-effects can sympathize with the feelings of Dicæopolis of Athens two thousand years ago.

DICÆOPOLIS. You've brought the Treaties?

AMPITHEUS. Aye, three samples of 'em. Here's a good vintage that may suit you—a ten-years' truce.

DICÆOPOLIS. There's a sort of sourness in it, a taste of acid embassies turning to vinegar.

AMPITHEUS. Well, here's one of thirty years' peace, warranted sound.

DICÆOPOLIS. Ah, that's the goods! I'm determined to keep out of the reach of wars and mischief.*

Thirty years, warranted sound! It sounds like the Victorian days. The Naval Conference is a small contribution towards it.

* Aristophanes, *The Acharnians* (Frere).

INDIAN GEMSTONES

By G. H. TIPPER, M.A., F.G.S.
(Late Geological Survey of India.)

THE use of stones as personal adornment is certainly very ancient and as old as man himself. The art of the lapidary early reached a high level of achievement, especially in the cutting, polishing, and boring of the many varieties of quartz in use, and a casual glance at beads from necklaces found at Mohenjo-Daro (3000 B.C.) is sufficient proof of this statement.

The term "gemstones" includes all those stones which have been and are still being used by man for his personal embellishment, and comprises the precious and semi-precious stones. The term "precious" can, of course, only be strictly applied to those which are rare, as no common stone can be "precious," but in certain cases rarity may be artificial, as with the diamond, where sales are strictly controlled to prevent overstocking the markets.

The qualities appreciated in stones are those of colour, transparency, durability, and what may be called brilliancy, the latter character depending on the optical properties of refractive index and dispersion, reaching their acme in the diamond.

Apart from their inherent beauty, the value of gemstones is subject to the vagaries of that peculiar thing known as "fashion," and with the latter may be classed the factor of superstition. In certain cases—*e.g.*, the opal—the "unluckiness" has a definite basis, and is due to the fact that in certain states of the atmosphere the stone shrinks and falls from its setting.

A few of the changes due to fashion are worth remarking. In Victorian times jewellery set with garnets and amethysts was very popular. These stones suffered an almost complete eclipse and have been little used for a considerable period. There are, however, signs of their return. Rubies for several years were rarely seen in jewellers' shops, due to the introduction of clever imitations and synthetic stones, but almost every gem can show this variation in popularity.

Fashion varies from country to country. In China good jade is more valued than many of the rarer gemstones. In India certain stones are popular amongst certain classes. Marwaris, for example, were at one time particularly favourable to rubies.

On the whole the trade seems to be conservative, and the introduction of new stones or varieties is a matter of difficulty even when these have desirable qualities. Zircon is a case in point. It

and certain nations are deliberately refusing to pin their faith upon the efficacy of spiritual power and are unabashedly relying upon naked force to achieve their ends, that all who have faith in the spirit, whatever may be their religion, should come together and reinforce one another in achieving the one common end which all have in view—the dominance of the spiritual over the material and the deepening of the spirit of fellowship between man and man and nation and nation.

There are, it is true, among the followers of every religion, whether they be Christians, Hindus or Muslims, a certain number who are so convinced that their religion, and theirs alone, contains the full and final solution of every ill that to them it seems almost disloyal to consort with men of other faiths, even in the pursuit of a spiritual object. These others must first be converted to the true faith—must all become Christians, Hindus or Muslims, as the case may be—before there can be any true fellowship between them. And those earnest souls who thus think are among the most spiritual-minded of men—men of the very kind who would do best service in a great cause.

But may they not be persuaded to take a different attitude in view of the world position as it is today, when religion itself is threatened? In face of the opposition to all religion; in face of the crass materialism abroad in the world; in face of material considerations outweighing spiritual in the guidance of national policies; should the followers of any religion hold back from working with the followers of other religions for the common end of peace founded upon goodwill?

We Christians describe God as Lover of Concord. The adherents of other religions would likewise so describe Him. In their view the Power that governs the world works for concord amid all the necessary differences. And the one God is working in non-Christians as well as in Christians, in non-Hindus as well as in Hindus, in non-Muslims as well as in Muslims. Neither Christians, nor Hindus, nor Muslims have a monopoly of God. Where, then, can be the objection to men of every religion working together to awake into passionate intention that desire all men have in their hearts for decent neighbourliness between them? Nothing could more evidently be the will of God. To do that will is the prime object of every religion. Why then should men hesitate?

Believing therefore that the time is ripe for the meeting together of men of different religions, the World Fellowship of Faiths are organizing a Congress to be held in London next July to which representative spokesmen of the principal religions of the world, and of recent religious movements springing from them, as well as leading men of independent religious thought

and of science and philosophy, are being invited to deliberate on the one great world-problem of how to promote the spirit of world-fellowship in face of such glaringly evident evils as fear, hatred, suspicion, jealousy and other causes of war, racial animosity, class prejudice, nationalism in excess, poverty, ignorance. Several means for overcoming these evils suggest themselves: improved economic conditions, better education, and above all, prayer, concentrated meditation upon the supremely perfect things in life, sharing spiritual experiences, and the common worship of a God common to all mankind. With all such means the deliverers of addresses at the Congress and the debates on them may be expected to deal.

And as a result of the Congress and of the personal contact of leading men of the spirit from different countries, it is anticipated that a lively sense of comradeship in the fight to make spiritual things dominant in the life of the world will be engendered. Members will have gained a vision of real life—of a transformed life of harmony and indestructible peace. Perhaps some may even experience the untellable intensity of joy which comes from intimate communion with the Motive Spirit of that Universe of which we are all integral and inextricable parts. If they do, they will never after rest till they have brought all together in one radiant fellowship of the spirit.

And such a fellowship of mutual sympathy and understanding in which each preserved his own individuality and specific form of religion but all felt animated by the one Divine Spirit would freshen and exalt, refine and sweeten, the entire life of mankind. The kingdom of heaven would be won.

This, then, is the ultimate aim of the organizers of the Congress of Faith, under the Presidency of the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. They hope to provide the spiritual basis and goal for that new world order which His Majesty's Government have announced they wish to play their part in building up at Geneva.

is in consequence of this tendency that new gems often have the name of a well-established stone to which they show some resemblance tacked on to a qualifying adjective—for example, "Brazilian Sapphire" is a blue topaz. This confusion has led to the use of a host of synonyms, and the nomenclature of stones used as gems requires clarification.

The natural beauty of stones is greatly enhanced by correct cutting and polishing, if done to take advantage of the optical properties. Scientific cutting is at its best in Europe. In India cutting is still largely on traditional lines and is usually poor, and yet in Tavernier's time (seventeenth century) Indian lapidaries knew more about the properties of precious stones, especially the diamond, than European jewellers.

Imitations.—The value of precious stones has led to many attempts to imitate them. Paste or strass, a highly refracting heavy glass, has long been used in this way. Imitations are often made by fixing a plate or table of a more expensive stone on another of lesser value but of approximately the same colour—*e.g.*, a table of ruby on garnet or spinel. All such imitations are readily recognizable, as they do not show the characteristic physical and optical properties of the stone imitated.

Synthetic Stones.—Synthetic stones are not imitations in the true sense of the term, as they are formed either from the powder of the real stone or from material having the same composition and coloured in a similar way. The method consists of allowing a stream of the powder fused by oxy-hydrogen or oxy-coal-gas flame to fall on to a fireclay support. The fused mass is allowed to cool and then cut. Stones thus formed are indistinguishable from the natural, having the same physical and optical properties. They can, however, often be spotted under the microscope by the shape and arrangement of the bubbles. The stones imitated in this way are ruby, sapphire, and the spinels.

In spite of all that has been stated to the contrary, diamonds have never been reproduced artificially.

Diamonds.—Until the discovery of the Brazilian diamond fields (Brazil ceased to be important when the African discoveries were made) in the latter half of the eighteenth century, India was famous for its diamonds, and had supplied the whole world with gems of the finest quality and often of considerable size. It is only necessary to mention such stones as the Pitt or Regent, the Great Mogul, the Koh-i-Noor, and the Hope Blue, all of Indian origin, to recall the palmy days of Golconda, with which name the romance of Indian diamonds is chiefly associated. Golconda was, however, not the centre of the diamond mining industry, but was the market where all the stones were disposed of. The town lay to the south of the area from which the diamonds were obtained.

The area in which the mines were situated lies in the Madras Presidency and the State of Hyderabad in the parts drained by the Penner, the Kistna, and the lower Godavari rivers. In the heyday of its prosperity there were innumerable working places, of which traces still remain. In spite of the fact that active mining has long since ceased, surface finds of considerable value are made from time to time in the Anantapur district, and one of the best-known finds was named the Gord-o-Norr (in imitation of Koh-i-Noor). This stone yielded a table-cut gem of about 60 carats.

Diamonds were also found in the east of the Peninsula along the Mahanadi valley in the alluvial tracts of the Sambalpur and Chanda districts. No trace of diamonds has been found *in situ* in the older rocks. This area can never have equalled in output that above mentioned.

In Central India over a tract 60 miles long by 10 miles wide, with Panna as a centre, diamond mining is still actively carried on. The States in which stones occur are Panna, Charkhari, Bijawar, Ajaigarh, Kothi, Pathar, Kachhar, Baraunda, and Chobepur. The chief diamond-bearing horizon is a narrow, discontinuous band of conglomerate between the Upper Kaimur sandstone and the Panna shales in the Vindhyan rocks. Another diamantiferous conglomerate occurs somewhat higher in the succession. Diamonds are recovered by mining and also from the alluvial deposits in the neighbourhood. The output from this area is never very large, and was 2,480 carats in 1934, a mere drop in the ocean when compared with the production in Africa. The stones found in this area are generally small, but of good quality. The conditions under which the mines are worked lend themselves to concealment of the larger stones.

Rubies and Sapphires.—These two gems, being coloured transparent varieties of the ordinary mineral corundum (oxide of aluminium) are usually considered together. The finest sapphires come from Kashmir, and in the engagement ring of H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent the principal stone was a Kashmir sapphire.

The occurrence in Kashmir of these beautiful stones first became known in 1882, when a landslide laid the rocks bare. The locality is near the village of Sumjam, in Padar, Zanskar, Kishtwar Tehsil. In the early days many beautiful stones were found which yielded a good revenue to the State. Illicit trading was rife, and it is said that fine specimens could be obtained in Simla at about 8 annas per carat.

The output gradually fell off and the mines were abandoned, as it was considered that they were worked out. More recently investigations by the Mineral Survey Department of the State led to the discovery of further deposits in the neighbourhood, and large supplies of stones have since been obtained.

The rocks in which the sapphires occur are felspathic pegmatites penetrating actinolite-tremolite schist lenticles formed in marble bands. The other minerals associated with the sapphires are tourmaline, garnet, kyanite, and euclase.

In colour, the sapphire varies from a pale slate blue to a deep sky blue, and in the best stones is very vivid. The colour is, however, very unevenly distributed in stripes and patches in the milky and colourless corundum.

Pinkish coloured corundum approximating to ruby also occurs.

Beautiful as is the colour of the sapphire, the stone lacks fire, and in artificial light appears very dark. The gem requires careful and scientific cutting in order that it may appear to the best advantage. Many hundreds of Kashmir stones have been cut in India with unfortunate results.

Sapphire also occurs in Burma, where it is associated with the ruby. The Burmese sapphire is rather pale in colour and cannot be compared with a first-class stone from Kashmir.

Rubies.—Burma has long been famous for its rubies. An early reference to the ruby mines is by Varthema, who went to Pegu in 1496. The English traveller Ralph Fitch, who paid a visit to Pegu in 1599, mentions the mines but did not see them. It was not until 1833 that an eye-witness' account was published.

Rubies occur in three areas in Upper Burma: (1) The Ruby Mines Tract, Mogok, Katha district; (2) the Sagyin Hills, Mandalay district; (3) Nanyaseik Stone Tract, Myitkyina district. In all cases the rubies are found in altered crystalline limestones; in the Ruby Mines Area forming part of a complex of highly metamorphosed gneisses and granulites invaded by aplite and pegmatite veins.

Although rubies are known to occur *in situ* in the altered limestones, the best stones are found in the detrital deposits derived from the weathered rocks. In the process of weathering, flawed and cracked stones are destroyed and the more perfect stones remain.

The colour of the rubies from Burma varies from light cochineal to rose-red with a tinge of purple. The most valuable stones are those which show the true pigeon's blood colour.

After the annexation of Upper Burma, a lease of the Ruby Mines Tract was granted to the Burma Ruby Mines, Ltd., at an annual rental of Rs. 3,15,000. A second and revised lease was granted in 1897 and a third in 1904. Under the latter the annual rental was fixed at Rs. 2,00,000 per annum plus 30 per cent. of the net annual profits. The company went into voluntary liquidation in 1925.

In addition to rubies and sapphires (already mentioned), a large number of semi-precious stones are also found: Spinel, rubellite

(pink tourmaline), garnet, topaz, zircon, peridot, iolite or water sapphire, lapis lazuli, and many others.

Some of the Burmese rubies, sapphires, and garnets show the phenomenon of asterism. This starring is due to the occurrence of minute tubes lying at 60° to the long axis of the crystal from which the light is reflected. Such stones are rare and occasionally fetch specially high prices.

Emerald.—This beautiful stone, the gem variety of the mineral beryl, and one specially popular with certain classes in India, is not known to occur within the country. The semi-precious "aquamarine" has been noted in several places, but the chief source of supply is Kashmir, where they occur at Dasu on the Braldu River in Baltistan, Skardu Tehsil, and also in the Padar illaqa. At the former locality the mineral occurs in pegmatite veins penetrating biotite gneiss. The mines have yielded considerable quantities of large, clear crystals, chiefly of a pale sea-green tint. Unfortunately the European market has shown very little interest in these stones, as the colour is too pale and does not compare with the more vivid colouring of material from Madagascar.

Kashmir also supplies rubellite (pink) and green tourmaline; varieties of quartz, garnet, amazon stone (green felspar). Use is also made of fossil wood, which is cut for cheap necklaces. The beads are of pleasing golden brown colour resembling the sunstone variety of felspar.

Jadeite.—This mineral, usually known to the public as "jade," is highly valued by the Chinese, and it is certain that the beautifully carved "jade" objects so recently displayed at the Royal Academy Exhibition were cut from the Burmese jadeite.

The mines are situated in the Mogaung division of the Myitkyina district, Upper Burma. A great part of the production is from alluvial deposits, but some is obtained by mining a pegmatite dyke. The alluvial jadeite is now being chiefly mined from a tertiary conglomerate at Hweka, Pakkan, and other places.

Near Tammaw an intrusion of jadeite-albite rock occurs in serpentine. It is from this or similar rocks that the alluvial deposits were derived. The rock is extremely tough. Formerly the custom was to break it by fire, a very wasteful method, which has now been superseded by blasting.

The jadeite is obtained in blocks of all sizes up to half a ton or larger. It is hand picked, cleaned, and a small area about $2\frac{1}{2}$ square inches is cut and polished to show the quality.

The range of colouring is considerable—white, mauve, reddish, and green. It is often discoloured by ironstaining. The bright apple-green jadeite is the most valuable, but mauve is also popular. All varieties are, however, in demand. Some of the stone goes overland to China to Yunnan, but the greater part is shipped via

Rangoon; only a fraction remains at Mandalay to be carved into small ornaments.

It is safe to say that the best jadeite remains in China, and although there is a considerable export of carved ornaments to Western countries, these are made from inferior material.

Some other Indian Gemstones.—It is impossible in the limits of a short article to give details of all the various semi-precious stones found in India. The many forms of quartz—cornelian, crystal, amethyst, onyx, agate, etc.—have all been worked. Most of these are obtained from the amygdules of the Deccan trap and from the river gravels in the trap area. As the Deccan trap covers approximately 200,000 square miles there is ample scope for plentiful supplies.

The centre of the cutting industry has always been at Cambay, but some cutting is done at Jubbulpore and elsewhere.

Agates are porous and can be dyed, the absorption of the colour being improved by baking. This fact is well-known, not only in India, but elsewhere, and exotic shades unknown to the natural stone can readily be obtained.

Indian beads are usually bored from both ends, giving a doubly tapered hole, narrower in the centre. This is a source of annoyance to those who have to thread them, and is a fairly sure guide to their origin.

Garnet.—The centre of the industry is Jaipur City, where the garnets obtained from the mica schist of Jaipur and the adjoining states are cut.

The garnet is the almandine variety of a purplish red colour. The cutting is usually *en cabochon* and in the form of drops for earrings. A few stones are square table-cut.

Lapis Lazuli.—Lapis lazuli is known to occur in the Ruby Mines district, but supplies from this source are of minor importance. There is a considerable import into Northern India from the famous mines near Fergamu in Badakhshan, in Northern Afghanistan. It is this stone which supplied the lapis for the many ornaments found during the excavations at Ur of the Chaldees and also some of the beads found at Mohenjo-daro.

From the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries the rock was also the source of the finest ultramarine used by artists. Its use in this way has been superseded by the artificial product. The material from Badakhshan is used extensively in Lahore and Jaipur for cutting into beads for necklaces.

Pearls are not strictly stones, even if composed of nothing more exciting than calcium carbonate. The best pearls, either spherical or pear-shaped, are formed in the mantle of the pearl oyster or of the fresh-water mussel in consequence of irritation set up by the introduction of a foreign body, often a parasite. Baroque

or irregularly shaped pearls are formed between the mantle and the shell. Pearls are built up of layers of arragonite and a horny substance. The lustre is due to the play of colours in the thin films which are laid down. The colour is variable, and practically every shade from black to white is known. Bombay has always been one of the chief marts for these gems, which are very popular in India.

Pearls are fished for in Indian waters in the Gulf of Manaar between India and Ceylon and occasionally off the coast of Mergui. Many of the pearls obtained in the Persian Gulf find their way to Bombay.

Cultured pearls are obtained in the same way as natural, differing only in the artificial introduction of the irritant into the oyster. This has always been an industry in Japan, but in recent years has been placed on a more scientific footing.

Cheap imitations are made by coating the inner surface of glass spheres with a preparation of fish scales and filling up with wax.

TOURISTS AND ARCHÆOLOGY IN INDIA

By Stanley Rice

Visitors to India fall, with few exceptions, into three classes. The "tourist" is attracted by the sea voyage, by the novelty, and by the well-known landmarks. Bombay he cannot avoid; Delhi and Agra follow; then Benares, if he can spare the time, and with the same proviso one or two Indian States in Rajputana. If he is making a more leisurely tour and is interested in scenery, he has a wide choice ranging from the Himalayas and Kashmir to the palm-fringed backwaters of the tropical Travancore. But so far as the country is concerned, its people, its history, its customs, he comes away hardly wiser than he went. Not that he lacks intelligence; whatever he sees, he sees with curiosity and with a desire for information; he is, however, simply not interested and is content with the superficialities of the guide-book. The second class goes deeper. It does not profess to be expert, but it has started out with the express intention of learning something of the country. It leaves itself sufficient time for the purpose, maps out its tours on a regular plan designed with the object in view, reads up the subject, and so comes equipped with at least some knowledge ready to be applied. It is from this class that most of the popular travel books come; in spite of the usual gibe they are not usually ill-informed, though they are often coloured by the prepossessions of the authors, and if they do not dive very deep they at least try to discover something below the surface. But the third class consists of those who have really made a study of India and who have a very genuine interest in her. This class is not confined to professed archæologists; there are many who, without much skilled knowledge, are anxious to make their own deductions or to verify those of others by a personal visit to the unveiled history which discoveries have to offer. Some may be interested in Indo-Saracenic architecture, others in the Buddhist period, others, again, in the life of primitive man or the evolution of the historical record. To all these the work of the Archæological Department makes an appeal; to all it has something to say.

It was not so very long ago, as Professor Rapson has said in the preface to the *Cambridge History of India*, that Indian history was thought to begin with the coming of the Mussulmans. Of course, everyone knew that there must have been a history before that, but as no one knew much about it, it was simply ignored. There was one unfortunate result from such an attitude. It gave the impression that since the dawn of history India had been

subject to an invading and alien power—an attitude which was in no way altered by the fact that one of the few episodes known and attested was the invasion of Alexander in the fourth century B.C. Yet it was precisely in those early centuries that Indian thought and Indian life were moulded. It was then that caste was evolved; it was then that the Aryans descended into the plains of the Punjab; it was then that the Vedas were revealed and became to Hindus the sacred origin of religion. It was then, too, that the Upanishads, evolved by much hard thinking from the earlier system, propounded doctrines which have ever since had so profound an influence on the life of the people, even of those who cannot understand them. Buddhism and Jainism broke off from the main stream and, the former especially, fostered by Asoka, who was in his time the Constantine of India, spread over the land, flourished, waned, and, save for a few remnants, were eventually extinguished. The mighty stream dwindled until it became a mere trickle, like the live bed of an Indian river in the season of drought, and was absorbed in the torrent of revived Hinduism.

It was Lord Curzon who, more than any other man, encouraged the systematic study of archæology in India. Before his time there had been spasmodic efforts, and in 1870 the Archæological Department was established. But Lord Curzon organized the Department into regular circles, with a Director-General in command, and also passed the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, which might almost be called the Charter of Ancient Indian History. Perhaps it was not the least of Curzon's inspirations, as he himself once claimed, that he appointed Sir John Marshall to be Director-General, to whose labours we owe the discovery of a hitherto unsuspected civilization in the Indus valley. But the movement had the further effect of arousing a greater interest of Indians themselves in their own past. Not only have public-spirited Indians contributed generously to the work, but it is safe to say that no educated man today would feel himself fully informed if he did not know at least the outlines of these famous discoveries and of what has been recorded in Buddhist cave temples and other works of historical interest. No fair-minded Indian will deny that Western curiosity or inquisitiveness gave the lead, and no Indian need be ashamed that such a stimulus was required, inasmuch as the Indian people, as a people, have never until lately shown any great desire to probe into the past, especially the past that is enshrined in stone. Mention may be made here of the very useful work in the past quarter of a century of the India Society in bringing before the public material in lectures and articles on the wide range and great importance, artistic and historical, of the conservation of India's ancient monuments.

The discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, which have now been extended, though there is much still to be done—and the Report of the Archæological Survey of India* only takes us to the year 1929-30—are so far-reaching that we may have eventually to revise our views on the date of the Aryan invasion, and perhaps on the Aryans themselves as well as on their predecessors. For if the civilization so revealed was highly advanced, so that the people not only lived in well-built houses but had developed ideas of sanitation, to say nothing of the arts and crafts, we may not rest content with the generally assumed date of the Aryan invasion (2500 B.C.) nor with the picture of them and their opponents as pastoral and nomadic tribes who were content with flimsy villages, easily assailable by an enemy and as easily destroyed. The common acceptation is that the Indus valley civilization flourished, waned, and died out; but this seems improbable since an advanced civilization does not usually revert to primitive stages when once it is established; one civilization may be replaced by another when the first falls to a conqueror, but though the lower type may prevail it does not sink back into something like barbarism. Large areas have now been explored in the Punjab and in Sind, and these are being extended eastwards, so that when the work is completed, or, if that is too big a word, substantially extended, we may very well find that history has been revolutionized.

The earlier excavations seem to have produced little that shows the progress of an invasion. Neither fortifications nor any signs of general destruction have yet been found, and the cities seem to have lived a peaceful life. In fact the layout shows some resemblance to that of a modern Indian town which has sprung up more or less haphazard with little or no attempt at town-planning. The streets and lanes are narrow, and it is remarkable that the main entrances to houses in Mohenjo-Daro are found not on the main street, as one would have expected, but in side lanes at right-angles to the main streets. The reason for this is not clear. It is possible that the drainage system may have obstructed the main streets and that the difficulty was overcome in this way. But at Sirkap in the Taxila area evident signs have been found by Sir John Marshall of a "sudden and dire calamity in which many of the citizens must have been killed or driven from their homes." The invaders were almost certainly the Kushans, and the probable date was "shortly before 64 A.D.," which, incidentally, is about the date of the destruction of Pompeii. There is therefore some possibility of comparing the Roman and the North-West civilizations at the same date.

The particular interest of Sirkap lies in the fact that it was a Parthian city, and the excavations have thrown a new light on

* *Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report*, 1929-30. Delhi. £2 4s.

Parthian civilization. Apart from the information they furnish on the life of the people, they show us the Parthians in a very different light from that which has become a tradition from the writings of Romans and Armenians. Sir John Marshall says: "The Parthians were not only fine warriors, but an energetic and highly civilized nation." They "held the carrying trade between the Near and Middle East," and, being themselves "under the influence of Hellenistic art and Hellenistic ideas in general," they acted as intermediaries between Greece and India and were largely responsible for the introduction of Greek culture. To those, therefore, who, like the present writer, have long suspected a cultural influence between Greece and India much greater than is manifested by coins and other material objects, there should be a special attraction in these ruins and what was found there.

Coins, jewellery, utensils, statues and figurines, and other small objects are all of the highest importance, and many of them, both here and elsewhere, show a high degree of workmanship. The Report contains many illustrations of these as well as of the excavations themselves, but space prevents any detailed description here. For the same reason we must pass over the work that is being done elsewhere in India, most of which at the date to which the Report relates does not seem to have progressed very far.

The iconoclastic zeal of the Mussulmans did not extend to Buddhist remains, either because they generally lay too far away from the march of armies to be worth a visit, or more probably because at the time of the Mussulman invasions Buddhism was either dying or dead. Professor Washburn Hopkins says that "the world of India by the second century before Christ was already becoming indifferent to the teaching of Buddhism and was being reabsorbed into the great permanent cults of Vishnu and Çiva with which in spirit Buddhism itself began to be amalgamated." The greatest of Buddhist Emperors, Asoka, has left the famous pillars of the Edicts, but these are interesting mainly because of the inscriptions, which are unintelligible to all but scholars. It is hardly likely that many others will go far out of their way to see them, but portions of those which were broken are now in museums. One only need be mentioned here. The column discovered at Sarnath near Benares had four lions standing back-to-back which had been carved with great accuracy, and these lions originally supported a wheel symbolical of the law of piety preached by Gautama. Portions of the wheel are now in the museum at Sarnath. Later generations followed the example of Asoka, and one is noteworthy inasmuch as it is an iron pillar, erected by Chandragupta II. (375-413 A.D.), such as no European of that time or for many years later was able to forge. It has the further merit that being near the Kutb Minar at Delhi, a famous

place of pilgrimage for all classes of visitors, it is easily accessible.

But the most remarkable of the Buddhist remains are the rock-cut temples, most of which are scattered across the breadth of India from Bombay to Cuttack in Orissa. Buddhists are, or were, divided into two main sects, those who followed the Hinayana or Lesser Vehicle and those who acknowledged the Mahayana or Greater Vehicle. The Hinayana Buddhists were of the Puritan type; their temples are distinguished by severity, they have very little ornament either by statuary, by reliefs, or by paintings. The absence of decoration, and especially of animal and human representation, would have appealed to the Mussulmans, but the chief interest in them is that they represent the older and purer type of Buddhism, and it is possible for scholars to trace to some extent the degeneration of the religion. The most celebrated of the Buddhist monuments are the cave temples of Ellora and Ajanta, and in the latter especially are to be found the famous paintings, which are still in a good state of preservation, though some of them were in the past damaged by weather and by the vandalism of ignorant men, and others have been painted over by later hands. These caves are, however, of a late date—at Ellora they are attributed to the fourth to the seventh century A.D., and at Ajanta, where there is a larger range of date, from the second to the seventh century, at a time when, as we have seen, Buddhism was on the decline and was becoming reabsorbed into Hinduism. What they have gained in artistic merit they have lost in religious purity, and sculpture exists which shows that Brahmanism had either achieved its victory or was well on the way to it.

These caves have, of course, long been known, but the work of conservation is not less important than that of excavation and discovery. The Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government appears to be not less enthusiastic than its British Indian counterpart. The Report,* which was published in 1935, is for 1932-33, and is thus more up-to-date than that of British India. A fresco of the "Temptation of the Buddha" has been brought to new life and a new inscription has been discovered. A great deal has been done lately by the Nizam's Government to make these caves easily accessible to tourists, and every effort has been made to ensure their proper conservation.

The caves of Elephanta, perhaps the best known of all by visitors to India by reason of their proximity to Bombay, show evident signs of Buddhist origin, but they are predominantly Hindu and contain as the principal piece of sculpture a colossal Trimurti. They are ascribed to the tenth century A.D., by which

* *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions in Calcutta.* Baptist Mission Press.

time Buddhism had been reabsorbed by Brahmanism and the original Buddhist caves seem to have been superseded by later Brahmanical construction and decoration. But though these are the best known they are by no means the only remains of Buddhism, nor from the point of view of archæology the most important. The Great Stupa at Sanchi in the State of Bhopal, which can be reached by the railway, dates back to the first or second century A.D. It was originally built some 150 to 200 years before Asoka, by whom recent discoveries have shown it was considerably enlarged and altered. The carvings, which represent as usual scenes from the life of Buddha, are immensely elaborate and of very fine workmanship; excellent illustrations of them are to be found in M. Grousset's work, *Les Civilisations de l'Orient.* They are in an excellent state of preservation, perhaps owing to the fact that Sanchi was, until comparatively recently, not easily accessible, and the monuments were therefore free from the depredations of villagers in quest of building materials. The monument is being well cared for by the Archæological Department of Bhopal. The State of Gwalior, too, has done much for the preservation of the Fort and the Bagh Caves, which are of special attraction to the tourist in Central India.

There are many interesting remains in Kathiawar peninsula, but they have not the artistic merit of those already referred to, and, as Kathiawar is not easily reached, the railways being generally slow and the whole system complicated by the existence of the numerous small States in the peninsula, it is only those who wish to make an intensive study of the rise and fall of Buddhism, or those whom other business takes there, that are likely to undertake the journey. The most important of them lie in the State of Junagadh in the south. But not far from the Poona-Bombay road and a railway station on the G.I.P. railway are the caves of Karli, which contain a Chaitya defined by Major Wauchope as "a model of a Stupa used as an altar in the cathedral or church cave of the Buddhists." This Chaitya is claimed to be "without exception the largest and finest as well as the best preserved of its class." Of other caves—in Orissa, in Nasik, Kanheri, and elsewhere—it is unnecessary to speak here. There are, however, two places of which a word should be added before we leave this branch of the subject.

The celebrated Buddhist University of Nalanda, close to the village of Burgaon in Bihar, has been discovered, and work is still going on there. It was, of course, a religious establishment for the teaching of Buddhism, and has been compared to the French mediæval schools of Cluny and Clairvaux. There were very extensive cells for the monks, and the more recent work has located three monasteries one above the other, while another (on

site No. 8) was built in two storeys. This last one seems to have been seriously damaged by fire. Hieuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, thus describes the great Nalanda monastery as it was in the seventh century A.D.:

"After Nagarjuna's time six successive kings had built as many 'viharas' on this spot, when one of them surrounded them with a high wall, enclosing eight separate courts. Outside this enclosure were numerous 'stupas' or tower-like 'viharas.' In the different courts the houses of the monks were each four storeys high. The pillars were ornamented with dragons and beams resplendent with all colours of the rainbow, columns decorated with jade, painted red and richly carved. The roofs were covered with glazed tiles of brilliant colours. The 'Sangharamas' of India are counted by thousands, but there are none equal to this in majesty or richness or height of construction." It was here that Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, met the mendicant friar Gosala, who afterwards created a schism in the religion and who is denounced by orthodox Jains as a treacherous impostor.

The special interest of Rajghir, which is a prehistoric city built of undressed stone without mortar, is its intimate connection with the Buddha. It has been identified as the city of Kusagarapura described by the Chinese travellers Hieuen Tsang and Fa Hien. Among the sites explored is that which has been identified as the "Pippala Stone House" described by these Chinese travellers. The stream where Buddha washed and dried his clothes and the cave where he took his midday meal and sat in meditation have also been discovered, as well as the hall in which the first convocation was reputed to have been held.

The Hindu monuments scattered throughout the country are naturally numerous in spite of Mussulman efforts to stamp out these symbols of idolatry, more especially in the north. As is well known, the early Mussulmans pulled down temples and built mosques with the materials almost as they found them. The modern spirit of toleration is shown by the work of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. "Most important," says the Director, "and by far the most interesting of all the discoveries made during the year is the one of the Ghanapur temples situated eight miles north-east of Palampet," a place which contains other temples already famous. M. Grousset, who deals more particularly with Hindu and Buddhist sculpture and painting, distinguishes three main schools of Hindu architecture: the Maratha, to which is added the Carnatic of the Pallava period; the Orissa; and the Carnatic of the exclusively Tamil period from the tenth century. The Orissa temples, of which probably the Jagannath temple at Puri is the most celebrated example, are distinguished by the peculiar bulbous form of the tower, giving the appearance of a

gigantic cask set on end; the main feature of Dravidian temples is the elaborate gopuram, generally intensively decorated with sculptures and apparently a development of the Maratha form with its pyramidal roof. The best examples of the Dravidian style are the great temple at Tanjore, which has the advantage of standing by itself, unencumbered, like the Madura temple of Minakshi, by surrounding buildings, and the temple at Srirangam in Trichinopoly. The cluster of monolithic temples at Mavalipuram on the seashore near Madras, and known as the Seven Pagodas, and the ancient temple in the holy city of Conjivaram are assigned by M. Grousset to the seventh or eighth century A.D. and are classed as Pallava. But the special charm of the Mavalipuram group is in the sculpture, of which the best known was called the Penance of Arjuna, but which modern scholars are now inclined to rename "The Descent of the Ganges."

As might be expected, the State of Travancore* has its own contribution to make. Though nothing spectacular is recorded, it has to its credit a fresco of the Nataraja Dance which, in the opinion of Dr. A. Coomaraswamy, is "the oldest specimen of Dravidian painting." An inscription in the temple leads to the conclusion that the date was some time in the sixteenth century A.D. Quiet work is being done in other directions, and Kerala† may prove to be a storehouse of Dravidian treasures. But fine examples of Hindu architecture are to be found all over the country—in the Jhansi district, at Cawnpore, at Bijapur (where there is one building not later than the sixth century), in Bundelkhand, at Ellora, and in many other places. Many of them are still used as places of worship, and therefore, though the outer courts may be seen by the courtesy of the priests, the foot of the profane is not allowed to penetrate further.

If the Mussulmans destroyed many beautiful Hindu temples, they left behind them glorious monuments which have achieved world-wide fame. It is unnecessary to deal at length with Mogul building, which reached its zenith under Shah Jehan, for all visitors to India are attracted to Agra and to Delhi. To many, moreover, the Indo-Saracenic style makes a greater appeal than the more unfamiliar indigenous Hindu style. The delicate and intricate work of these noble monuments are more to the taste of the ordinary European traveller than the perfect proportions of a temple like that at Tanjore. But "there were brave men before Agamemnon" and the pre-Mogul dynasties also left their mark upon the country. The earlier Muslim architecture of Delhi was massive and was richly ornamented; it is illustrated by the Kutb Minar and the tombs of Altamash and Ala-ud-din Khilji. As

* *Archæological Department: Administration Report for* 1933-34.
† That is, the Malabar Coast.

Mussulman conquest advanced, and as the tendency arose to split up into what were for practical purposes separate States, the styles began to diverge from type, not perhaps a great deal, but enough to make them distinctive. There are some very fine examples in Hyderabad, which the care of the Archæological Department has cleaned and restored. They show the characteristic minaret and dome, but these are sometimes in a much modified form. The Great Mosque at Gulbarga is specially noteworthy because the central area, usually an open court, is here covered in by a roof with 63 small domes. At Ahmedabad there is a unique example of Saracenic architecture in the Sidi Sayyid's mosque, which has copied Hindu ideas, whereas the buildings at Bijapur show little or no trace of Hindu influence.

But while much may be learned from these buildings and discoveries, it is probably from the inscriptions that we can best reconstruct history. Or perhaps it would be fairer to say that the two branches are complementary to one another. It is one of the regrettable drawbacks to the excavations in the Punjab and in Sind that whatever writing has been discovered is undecipherable because we have lost the key to that primitive language. The inscriptions of Asoka are invaluable, but the pillars themselves would have told us nothing. On the other hand, the inscriptions require the vivifying influence of the monuments to complete such knowledge as we have of antiquity. It is from the latter rather than the former that we have learned most of the social life of the people; yet without the inscriptions we should often be in the dark as to the age of any given monument, and even as it is we are often reduced to reasoned guesses.

It may be asked, "How are these places of which you have been treating to be reached? It is all very well to talk glibly of this or that monument, of this or that discovery which have gone to the unfolding of India's history, but they are of no use to me unless they are accessible and can be studied in at least comparative comfort." To this question the answer must be what it is in the case of all other projected tours—that the application should be made to those who are able to direct: in this case the Indian Railways Bureau in the Haymarket are always ready to give the most courteous assistance.

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE ASSEMBLY AND ITS PROGRESS

By Sir Barjor Dalal
(President of the Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly.)

The second Budget Sessions, which was the Third Sessions, of the Assembly of the Jammu and Kashmir State opened in its allotted room in the Rajgarh Palace at Srinagar on October 14, 1935. The second Sessions at Jammu had shown the private members in somewhat irascible temper, and the Muhammadan members belonging to the Conference Party once left the Assembly in a body to express disapproval of the attitude of the Assembly at the summary rejection of the Pre-emption Bill. It was feared that there might be exhibition of such temper and estrangement between the private members and Government during the third Sessions of the Assembly. Such fears, however, were falsified by the astuteness with which the members managed to obtain concessions from the Government. It appears that with a larger experience the private members have discovered the disadvantage of open breach with the Government and trust more to persuasion and compromise. Formerly only four days were allotted to non-official business, but, at the request of the Conference and Liberal parties, the Prime Minister promised, on behalf of the Government, that a convention will be established to allot six days to such business during the Budget Sessions at Srinagar and eight days during the Sessions at Jammu. As the legislative business of the Government required five days, and by statute eight days have to be allotted to the discussion of the Budget, the Sessions extended over nineteen working days. As the Ministers have to attend to their own administrative work, it was not found possible to hold the meetings of the Assembly on every day of the Sessions, so it did not close before November 13, 1935.

By reason of the length of the Sessions every question admitted was answered, and this gave satisfaction to the members. 924 questions were sent in by the members, of which 780 were admitted and all of them answered by the Government. One hour is allotted to questions on every working day, and 63 questions are answered. The time allotted is sufficient for reading out the answers, but the great difficulty is the desire of members to start debate on every answer, and the President has to be constantly on the watch to prevent it and soothe them. Detailed reasons were given by the President for the rejection of 140 questions, and the members were permitted to read those reasons in the office.

166 resolutions were sent in for discussion, out of which 130 were admitted and 36 disallowed, for detailed reasons given by the President which the members were permitted to read in the office. These resolutions were given precedence according to the ballot. The resolutions were discussed on four days, and 10 resolutions were fixed for every day. The members have not yet learnt party discipline by which only one or two members of a party may be told off to speak on a particular resolution. A large majority of members has exceptional ability of extempore speech in their own vernacular, Urdu, but the art of compression of ideas and language has not so far been acquired. There is too much talking on every resolution which is certainly not irrelevant, but when many members desire to speak on the same resolution there is a certain amount of repetition and absence of close study by some members to particular resolutions. By reason of such diffuse method of discussion only 12 resolutions were ultimately discussed; 7 resolutions were withdrawn after discussion, 4 were defeated, and one accepted by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government. This will suffice as regards general resolutions.

During discussion of the Budget, any member of the Assembly is entitled to move money resolutions. Out of 128 such resolutions 60 succeeded in ballot, but only 11 were discussed; 10 resolutions were withdrawn by the members without discussion, and 5 were withdrawn after the Government had given assurance to give favourable consideration to the matter raised by those resolutions; 3 resolutions were talked out and 3 were passed. One of these three resolutions recommended to the Council the decrease in the charge of electricity and another the decrease in the rate of income tax. The reduction in the charge of electricity would have meant supply by the Government of electricity to the towns at a loss to be recouped out of the general revenues, and, as the rate of income tax in the State is much lower than that prevailing in British India and the taxable income higher, the Government informed the Assembly that they would not be in a position to act on those resolutions. It seemed odd that in an Assembly which mainly represented agricultural interest, resolutions granting relief to business people and residents of towns should have been passed in spite of the opposition of the Government members. The third resolution recommended increase in the budgeted grant for the supply of water in a particular tract in the Jammu Province, where there is great scarcity of drinking water; on the passing of this resolution a larger grant was made by the Government. Another resolution was withdrawn by the member proposing it, as he was able to obtain the object which he had in view. In a certain portion of the Jammu Province, the Chenab river had been overflowing its banks, and it was desired by a certain member that a certain sum

should be set apart for the protection of this area. The Government informed the Assembly that the work was such as could be undertaken only after taking expert advice, and that money would be thrown away if action was taken without due consideration. The Government promised to ask for the loan of an expert from British India to advise as to what should be done, and promised to incur the expenses necessary for any protection works advised by the expert. On this undertaking being given the resolution was withdrawn.

Eight Bills were presented by the Government during this Sessions and four by non-official members. Merely formal Government Bills were passed and other bills were referred to a Select Committee. There were three non-official Bills, some of which caused considerable difference of opinion among the members of the Assembly. The members have, however, learnt the value of conciliation and compromise, and two contentious Bills were withdrawn by the members of the Muhammadan Conference Party after obtaining from the Government an assurance that the Government themselves will undertake legislation as regards land alienation and pre-emption, which the Muhammadans have very much at heart. These Bills would certainly have been rejected by the Assembly on the Government members voting against them, as a large body of Hindu opinion was against the principles of these Bills. The Government, however, were conciliatory, and were willing to satisfy the feelings of the Muhammadans on these two subjects. Two other non-official Bills relating to compulsory labour and brick kilns were accepted by the Assembly for circulation to obtain public opinion.

The Budget was a surplus Budget and enabled the Prime Minister to inform the Assembly that the 10 per cent. cut from the salaries of the Government servants would be restored at the commencement of the Budget year. The Government granted two requests of the members: (1) the supply of the Government Gazette to every member of the Assembly free of cost, and (2) presentation of the Budget in future in detail and not in abstract form as at present.

As may be expected, during the Sessions of the Assembly any little communal trouble in the State assumes considerable gravity, and the members of the Muhammadan Conference Party were greatly exercised in mind at what they believed to be the high-handedness of the Hindus in preventing construction of a mosque in a tiny village far away in the hills in the Jammu Province. An adjournment motion was tabled, but the Government took prompt action, and the result of this action when communicated by the Prime Minister to the Assembly was such that Muhammadan feelings were pacified and the motion was withdrawn.

One event of note during this Sessions was an interview granted by His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur to the members of the Assembly who desired to congratulate him on his providential escape from a serious motor accident. This privilege was greatly appreciated, and the members considered that the dignity of the Assembly was greatly enhanced thereby. His Highness received the members on a spacious lawn at the Palace and talked to the leaders of the different parties.

During the Sessions the spirit of give and take prevailed. There was no undue exhibition of communal bitterness or feeling, and the members learnt that more was to be gained by conciliation and compromise with the Government than by bitter opposition. One cannot prophesy whether there will be the same calm atmosphere in future and whether the same smooth relations between the Government and private members will continue; it is satisfactory, however, that a very good Sessions of pleasant intercourse and useful work will remain to the credit of the Assembly.

JAMMU,

January 16, 1936.

PROBLEMS OF LABOUR LEGISLATION IN JAPAN

BY Y. KAMII

(International Labour Office.)

A SHORT HISTORICAL SURVEY

A SHORT review of the social history of Japan may form a fitting introduction to the study of problems of labour in the country. Japan is a young industrial nation. It was only in the third quarter of the nineteenth century that she emerged from the feudal régime into the modern capitalist system. Soon after she threw her doors open to American and Western commerce she realized the need of establishing modern industries within her shores. Model factories, therefore, were set up by the State, to be turned over to private ownership as soon as they were placed on a self-supporting basis. The Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5 marked the first stage of her industrial progress, which was carried further by the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5. The big development, however, came during the World War, when Japan seized the opportunity of capturing Eastern markets vacated by the Europeans.

While promoting industry, the Government did not lose sight of the need for framing a labour code at the same time. As early as in 1887, without demand from the people, as in many other lines of legislation in Japan, the Government drew up a Bill regulating the conditions of work in factories. This project, however, did not make headway, on the grounds that it would nip industry in the bud. In 1897 the Government undertook the task of drafting a more complete law, and, after an arduous effort, a law was finally proclaimed in 1911 under the name of the Factory Act. In the domain of mining, the Mining Act was issued in 1890, which included provisions concerning safety of miners. Later, in 1916, the Miners' Regulations were issued along lines similar to the provisions of the Factory Act, and were put into operation in the same year simultaneously with the Factory Act. This was the situation with regard to labour legislation before the creation of the International Labour Organization in 1919.

Encouraged by the establishment of the International Labour Organization, the Government was determined to embark upon social reform in accordance with the standards laid down in the International Labour Conventions, whether ratified by Japan or not. In 1921 the Government promulgated the Employment Exchange Act, under which about 600 employment exchanges have been established throughout the country up to this time.

This was followed by the Health Insurance Act of 1922, which enabled 2·9 million workers to receive medical benefits at the end of 1935. More important by far was the Amendment Act of the Factory Act promulgated in 1923, which was put into operation in 1926 together with the amended Miners' Regulations. Two Acts concerning conciliation of labour disputes in industry and agriculture were issued in 1926. By the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1931, almost all workers became entitled to compensation in case of accident. New laws and regulations were also proclaimed on maritime labour to give effect to the provisions of the Maritime Conventions. These are the most important pieces of labour legislation enacted after the Washington Conference.

Rapid as was the progress after 1919, labour legislation in Japan is still in an early stage of development. Japan has ratified only twelve Conventions* out of forty adopted up to 1934. She has ratified neither the Night Work Convention nor the Hours Convention, the latter having a special clause inserted at the request of Japan. There is as yet no legislation on trade unions, collective agreements and social insurance except sickness insurance. Above all, the Factory Act, which is the basic social law in Japan, remains to be improved. The Factory Act as it stands applies to undertakings employing more than 10 persons (15 persons under the Factory Act of 1911), or any other establishments equipped with motive power or engaged in processes dangerous or injurious to health, irrespective of the number of workers employed. The minimum age for admission to industrial employent is fixed at 14 (formerly 12), and the employment of women is prohibited during 4 weeks before and 6 weeks after confinement (formerly 5 weeks after confinement). The Act covers only young persons under 16 years of age (formerly 15) and women so far as hours of work, rest periods, rest days, and night work are concerned. Under the existing law, hours of work are limited to 11 (formerly 12), including 1 hour of rest. The number of rest days is 2 per month

* Japan has ratified the following twelve Conventions:

Conventions.	*Year Adopted.*	*Year Ratified by Japan.*
Unemployment	1919	1922
Minimum age (industry)	1919	1926
Minimum age (sea)	1920	1924
Employment for seamen	1920	1922
Minimum age (agriculture)	1921	1923
Minimum age (trimmers and stokers) ...	1921	1930
Medical examination for young persons (sea)	1921	1924
Workers' compensation (diseases)	1925	1928
Equality of treatment (accident)	1925	1928
Inspection of emigrants on board ship ...	1926	1928
Marking of weights on packages	1929	1931
Forced labour	1930	1932

and 4 if the work is divided into more than two shifts. Night work is prohibited between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m. (formerly 4 a.m.), with the extension by permission of 1 hour until 11 p.m.

There are several causes for the slow progress of social legislation in Japan, especially after 1927. Among the most important reasons are the undeveloped status of trade unionism, the influence of indigenous social traditions, and unfavourable economic factors, such as over-supply of labour resulting from the rural depression, and the important position that the small-scale industries occupy in the economic structure of the country.

Trade Unionism in Japan

The trade unionism in Japan is of recent origin. It was only in 1922 that the *Yuai Kai* (Friendly Society), the first labour union, was established. Since then the number of unions and their membership rapidly increased under the stimulus of war prosperity. The workers' participation in the activities of the International Labour Organization served as a strong impetus to the development of trade unions. The number of organized labour increased from 103,000 in 1921 to 388,000 in 1934. However, the rate of organized labour to the total number of workers, including casual labourers, is only about 7 per cent. The development of trade unionism was hindered for a long time by dissension arising from communist agitation. Moreover, discouragement by the employers of the workers' movement and the presence of unorganized women, who constitute more than one-half of the factory workers, are important factors responsible for the slow progress of the trade union movement in Japan.

Social Traditions and Labour Legislation

As has been already stated, Japanese industry made rapid development within a short period of time. This transformation, however, was not accompanied by such a revolutionary break with old customs and traditions as was the case in certain Western countries. The social life of the Japanese people is strongly influenced by traditional forces, typified by the family system. Space does not permit to expound the significance of this social system; suffice it to say that the spirit of the family system is manifested not only within the family group, but also in every sphere of organized activities, including Governmental affairs and industrial enterprises.

The family system in industry is expressed in various forms, such as in the method of recruitment of labour, payment of re-

muneration to workers, the dormitory system, and, above all, in the welfare provisions in industry. Industrial welfare work is so well developed in Japan that it is considered as an integral part of the industrial enterprise.* It is believed that, during the period of economic depression, the unemployment situation was relieved to a large extent by the mutual assistance rendered between the members of the family.

There are certain people who hold the view that welfare schemes are an expression of deep social traditions, and that, in promoting workers' interests, welfare measures are better suited to national conditions than labour legislation. An interesting discussion took place recently at a meeting of the Unemployment Commission appointed by the Government on the draft Bill concerning the setting up of funds to enable the employers to pay a cash allowance to their workers upon the latter's leaving employment.† One of the members of the Commission emphasized the fact that industrial relationships can be best administered if they are regulated on the basis of mutual confidence and in the spirit of family solidarity. He declared that the regulation of employment relationships on the basis of contractual obligations would destroy the industrial spirit of the country. To this charge, the supporters of the Bill replied that legal regulation would never contradict nor weaken existing traditions, but rather strengthen them.‡

It is incontestable that welfare schemes are well developed in Japan and that their utility to workers goes often beyond legal provisions, as in the case of the retirement allowance system already referred to. The weakness of this system, however, lies in the absence of uniformity in its provisions and the lack of enforcing power. It is also liable to become unworkable in times of depression. Legal regulations, on the other hand, assure at least the minimum guarantee to all workers at all times.

In this connection it should be noted that there are signs of the

* In 1932 the Bureau of Social Affairs made an enquiry into welfare schemes in respect of 2,267 factories employing 794,194 workers. This study disclosed the fact that every factory investigated had welfare provisions either in educational, economic, or recreational form, or all of these combined. The total expenditure for these purposes was 10,265 yen per factory and 29·30 yen per person per year. (*Industrial Welfare*, March, 1935.) According to another investigation made by the Japan Industrial Club in 1931, which covered 128 representative establishments, the average cost for welfare schemes was 57·28 yen per person per semester, or 23·9 per cent. of the pay roll. (*Eastern Federation of Industrial Associations: A View on Social Dumping*, 1934.)

† This practice is followed by a large number of employers in Japan. According to the above-mentioned investigation of the Bureau of Social Affairs, 968 factories, employing 615,638 persons, or 42·7 per cent. of the total factories and 77·5 per cent. of the total workers investigated, adopted the retirement allowance system.

‡ *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, December 25, 1935.

family system proceeding gradually towards disintegration, under the influences of the development of industrialism, occupational change from agriculture to industry and commerce, and of the constant population movement from the rural districts into urban areas. It is hardly conceivable that the features of the family system can be preserved in their original forms in large establishments where little opportunity of contact is available between the employers and workers.

Economic Factors and Social Legislation

The difficulties arising from traditional influences seem to be of secondary importance, as compared with economic factors. Reference has already been made to the fact that labour legislation in Japan made phenomenal progress during the period between 1920 and 1926. There is no doubt that this advance was accomplished chiefly under the influence of the International Labour Organization. At the same time, the rising tide of industrialism and liberalism and the ascending power of the trade unions during the same period undoubtedly facilitated social progress. The recession of these favourable conditions after 1927 may be regarded as one of the major reasons for the relatively slow progress of labour legislation after that year.

The period from 1925 to 1932 was characterized by the economic slump. The consequences of enormous loss caused by the earthquake of 1923 were felt in 1927, when a financial panic overtook the country. In 1929 the Government lifted the gold embargo, and, in order to maintain the gold standard, a deflation policy was vigorously pursued. The economic trend since 1925 is given in the following table:

Some Economic Indices after 1925.

Year.	*Wholesale Price of Rice in Tokyo.**	*Wholesale Prices in Tokyo.†*	*Employment.†*	*Wage Rates.†*
1925	100·0	100·0		
1926	91·0	88·8	100·0	100·0
1927	81·5	84·3	94·8	99·9
1928	72·5	84·6	90·3	99·1
1929	74·3	82·4	91·1	98·6
1930	47·5	67·8	82·0	96·2
1931	50·3	57·3	74·5	91·3
1932	61·1	60·3	74·7	88·1
1933	58·8	67·4	81·9	85·1
1934	78·0	66·7	91·3	82·9

This table shows that the index number of the price of rice, which reflects agricultural conditions, fell after 1925, and reached its lowest figure in 1931. The index numbers of wholesale prices

* *Oriental Econimist.* † Bank of Japan.

and of employment followed the same trend. The economic activities, however, showed a marked recovery after 1932, as revealed by the upward trend of the business indices given above. During the period from 1931 and 1935 the volume of production increased by 50 per cent., and the value of the total foreign trade was doubled. The wage rates, on the contrary, have continued to decline, even after 1932, although average earnings for men and women have shown a slight increase since 1932.

That the economic recovery should be followed by unfavourable conditions of labour may seem to be paradoxical, but its real explanation lies in the agricultural depression that reached its climax in 1931. As will be explained later, the constant exodus of the rural population into cities caused an over-supply of labour, which resulted in the employment of new workers at lower initial wages.

Effect of Rural Depression upon Urban Labour

Japan is predominantly an agricultural country. In 1930 the agricultural population constituted 47·7 per cent. of the total occupied population. The agriculturalists were severely hit by the advent of industrialism, which destroyed the farmers' self-sufficient life and placed them in a position of dependence upon manufactured goods for their daily necessities. The farmers' purchasing power, on the contrary, was drastically curtailed because of the fall of agricultural prices.* Today the farmers' debts are estimated at 5,000 million yen, or 900 yen per agricultural family. High interest rates on these debts and heavy taxes made the farmers' life more difficult. Moreover, the agricultural community must bear the burden of bringing up and educating its children to send them later to the cities. In 1930, 80·4 per cent. of the total births took place in the rural districts against 19·6 per cent. in the urban areas. The limited arable land and the absence of outlets abroad for the surplus population in the farming villages drive the population from the country into the cities. According to the population census, 97·3 per cent. of about nine million people representing the increase of population between 1920 and 1930 was absorbed by the cities. In 1920 the urban population constituted 32·2 per cent. of the total population, but this ratio increased to 40·8 per cent. in 1930.

The chief attention of the Government at the present time is directed towards rural recovery rather than towards industrial improvement. The Government has already adopted such measures as the control of the price of rice and the limitation of the output of cocoons. Financial aid has also been granted to the farmers residing in particularly distressed localities. These, however, are palliatives, and more effective means remain to be devised for the rehabilitation of the rural population. Thus the surplus labour in the rural districts exercises its unfavourable influence upon the urban workers, especially upon those employed in small-scale undertakings.

* The fact that the fall of the price of rice was more drastic than that of other commodities has been stated on a previous page. The fall of the price of cocoons, which are another important source of income for farmers, was more disastrous than the decline in the price of rice. For instance, the index number of the price of cocoons in 1931 stood at 29, as compared with 50·3 in the case of rice, taking 1925 as 100.

Importance of Small-scale Industries

Small-scale enterprises are always present in a country where labour is abundant and capital is scarce, as is the case in Japan or China. This tendency is especially marked in Japan, where transportation and hydro-electric power are highly developed. In 1930 the total number of independent *entrepreneurs* and persons employed in workshops engaging less than four persons occupied 46·1 per cent. of the total industrial population. In 1932 factories employing from five to thirty persons constituted 85·8 per cent. of the total number of factories, 29·8 per cent. of the total number of workers, and 23·2 per cent. of the total value of products manufactured in factories employing more than five persons. If the factories employing from thirty to fifty persons are added to the above category, the percentages reach 91·9 in the number of factories, 38·7 in the number of workers, and 31·8 in the value of products. The small factories play an important part in the manufacture of export goods, in particular, woven and knitted goods, china ware, marine products, bicycles, enamelled ware and toys.

These small *entrepreneurs* are subject to various disadvantages—viz., difficulty of mechanizing the process of work, severe competition among the people engaged in the same lines of occupation, financial handicaps, and the competition arising from large-scale industries. The opponents of labour legislation advance argument that legislative measures are liable to impose heavier burdens upon small industries than upon large undertakings. They, therefore, insist that labour legislation must not go too far for the purpose of protecting small enterprises. This was one of the chief reasons why the draft Bill concerning the establishment of retirement allowance reserve funds was strongly opposed.

In order to improve the situation in which the small-scale industry is placed, the Government has taken steps to assist the industrialists of limited means on the one hand, and on the other to control the conditions of work. For the former purpose, the Industrial Guild Act and the Exporters' Guild Act were promulgated in 1925 and amended in 1931. The Bureau of Industrial

Rationalization was set up in 1930 with a view to standardizing the articles produced by the small industries. Again the Act for the control of principal industries and the Commercial Guild Act were proclaimed in 1931 and 1932 respectively.

As to the control of the conditions of labour in workshops, the Bureau of Social Affairs has achieved remarkable success in recent years. It has persuaded many industrial associations organized under the aforementioned Acts to conclude and enforce agreements among the members so as to reduce hours of work and introduce minimum wages. The Bureau of Social Affairs has recently drafted a Bill concerning legalization of agreements relating to conditions of work concluded by industrial associations.

Recent Labour Legislation

Though the pace of social progress was slackened after 1927, in 1929 the hours of work of all miners employed underground, irrespective of age or sex, were reduced from 11 to 10 per day, including one hour of rest. The employment of young persons and women on underground work was also prohibited, with exceptions in certain special cases. In 1931 the Government promulgated the Workmen's Compensation Act, by which the workmen's compensation in case of accident has been extended to almost all workers. In the same year a Trade Union Bill was presented to the Diet, in spite of energetic opposition on the part of the employers' organizations. Though this Bill passed the House of Representatives, it did not emerge from the House of Peers. In 1935 the scope of the Health Insurance Act was extended to cover all workers employed in undertakings engaging more than five persons, instead of ten as provided in the old law. As the result of this extension, the number of insured was increased by about 500,000, thus bringing the total number of insured to 2·9 millions at the end of 1935.

Among the Bills that the Government has drafted for presentation to the Diet are those concerning the regulation of hours of work in retail shops, and the extension of the procedure of conciliation in labour disputes from public utility works to private undertakings. The Government has also been preparing for the introduction of a national health insurance system to protect all the citizens who have not yet been covered by the present health insurance law. Most recently a Bill was drafted concerning the establishment of retirement allowance reserve funds, with a view to protecting the workers against unemployment. This is an important indication of social legislation developing in the direction most suitable to indigenous social traditions in the country.

Conclusion

Social progress in the last analysis rests on human will and conscious endeavour. It is, therefore, encouraging that the authorities concerned have been exerting all their efforts for the promotion of social legislation under the given circumstances. The trade unions have also consolidated their position: the Trade Union Congress was established in 1932, embracing about 80 per cent. of all the organized workers; some of the important organizations belonging to the Congress have recently been amalgamated. Although nationalists have of late caused a certain degree of disturbance, yet the dominant position of the Congress in the trade union movement remains unshaken.

As regards Japan's attitude towards the International Labour Organization, the Government definitely manifested her intention to continue her full collaboration with the Organization after her reluctant withdrawal from the League of Nations. Japan has, as usual, sent a strong delegation. Mr. Maurette's visit to Japan in 1934 had a great effect in deepening Japan's interest in the Geneva Organization. Mr. Watanabe, the employers' delegate to the Nineteenth Session of the International Labour Conference, said as follows in his report to the federation of the employers' organizations on the proceedings of the Conference:

> "For Japan, the International Labour Organization is the only international institution through which she can keep contact with all the industrial powers of the world. The International Labour Conference has furnished her with a unique opportunity for making her views and true situation known to the entire world."

What will be the future of social conditions in Japan? As an answer to this question, a table prepared by the *Oriental Economist* is given below. According to this table, the index number of real wages in Japan rose from 100 in 1914 to 160 in 1934, as compared with 130 in Great Britain and 120 in the United States.

Labour Indices in certain Countries in 1934.*
(Base = 1914.)

Country.	*Actual Earnings.*	*Cost of Living.*	*Real Wages.*
Great Britain	183†	141	130
United States	159	132	120
Japan	238	149‡	160

* *Oriental Economist*, June 15, 1935. † Nominal wages.
‡ Average retail prices.

The above table may be subject to criticism from a technical point of view, but it nevertheless indicates the general tendency—viz., the more rapid the industrial progress, the greater is the social progress. Another hopeful sign is the improvement in the living standards of the working classes revealed by the family budget enquiries made by the Japanese Government between 1929 and 1934.*

* *International Labour Review*, November, 1935.

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THE WEAVING AND BATIK INDUSTRIES IN JAVA

WITH NOTES ON HAT MAKING AND SOAP BOILING

BY J. S. FURNIVALL, I.C.S. (RETD.)

THE weaving of cloth and the decoration of cloth with batik work have been known in Java since time immemorial. The word *batik* signified originally to stipple (to make dots), and has come to mean drawing with wax on cloth. (In Burma batik cloths are termed *pateik*, a word which may possibly be of Javanese origin.) Despite the antiquity of weaving, the method of weaving in ordinary use in the villages is primitive in the extreme; far more primitive than any weaving I have seen in Burma. And although batik work had reached a high artistic level before the Dutch came, it seems to have degenerated during the nineteenth century.

Under the "Culture System," when the primary object of administration was to promote the cultivation of crops suitable for export as Government merchandise, indigenous industries were neglected. But the growth of liberalism from 1850 onwards led in 1866 to the constitution of a Department for Education, Religion and Industry. This department, however, paid more attention to commerce than to industry.* In 1884 a Haarlem Society for the Promotion of Industry enquired of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences what could be done to foster the artistic industries of Java. District Officers were consulted, and the Director of the Department of Education, etc., summarized the results in a Report, but nothing further was done. In 1902 the economic condition of the Javanese was attracting attention in the States-General, and the Colonial Minister called for certain reports. One of these, by Van Deventer, contained as an appendix a monograph by Rouffaer on native industries; and another, by D. Fock, subsequently Colonial Minister and Governor-General, contributed suggestions for their development. These led, in 1904, to a proposal that funds should be provided for this purpose by the home Government, and the then Director formulated a scheme for spending the allotment. The funds, however, were not forthcoming, but enquiries by the Director led to Reports on Weaving, Basket work and Batik work which were published between 1913 and 1916. By this time a great deal of useful information on native industries had been published in Part VI. of the Report of a Committee which held an enquiry during 1904-05 into the supposed "Diminishing Welfare of the People of Java."

* *Verslag v.d. Econ. Toestand der Inland, Bevolking*, 1924, ch. v.

Meanwhile the Department of Education had been relieved of its responsibility for industry. In 1905 it made over the care of Fisheries to the newly constituted Department of Agriculture, and at about the same time Industry and Trade were transferred to a special section of the Home Department. In 1911 this section was amalgamated with agriculture in a new Department of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce. The Head of the Department was an engineer, but, as he had no technical staff, he could accomplish little. In 1914, however, the position was changed by the war, which made people realize the dependence of Netherlands India on the outside world. In 1915 a Commission was appointed to investigate the prospects of developing industrial production on a large scale; in 1916 an Industrial Adviser was appointed; and in 1918 a separate branch of the Department was constituted for industrial matters. One outcome of the new activity was the foundation of a small weaving factory, which led, in 1920 or 1921, to the creation of a Textile Institute at Bandoeng. But the Report on Economic Conditions in 1924, from which the foregoing information is taken, states that, "as with other industries, there is little information about weaving . . . because it is conducted on domestic lines," but accepted it as a fact that the native industry had declined.

I. The Weaving Industry

The opening of the Textile Institute at Bandoeng proved a turning-point in the fortunes of the weavers. The immediate impulse to the foundation of the Institute came from a demonstration of some jail-made looms at Cheribon, which excited much public interest. In 1921 the products of the new Institute were exhibited at the annual Fair at Bandoeng, and a trader from Menangkabau was so impressed that he urged the Resident of the south-west coast of Sumatra to arrange similar exhibitions. As a result of these exhibitions, held in 1922 and 1923, many small weaving factories were started. Most of the import houses were suspicious of this new departure, but one firm, Houten Steffan and Co., of Padang, took advantage of it to build up a factory which now possesses 45 mechanical looms, and turns out sarongs known all over Netherlands India by the trade name "Coffee." Exhibitions at other places in Java have had a like result; many small factories have failed, but some have prospered and grown. Apart from Padang, the chief centres of modern weaving are Cheribon, Garoet, Madjalaja, Jokya, Solo, Pekalongan, Kediri, Modjokerto, Modjowarno, Paree, Pareeredjo, Tasikmalaya, Bandjaran, Buitenzorg, Soebang, Soerabaya, Tjermee, and Kasrie. Thus the industry has spread over almost the whole of Java. The most notable factories, other than that at Padang, are one at

Garoet, with 300 hand-looms; at Kasrie and Tjermee, each with 200; at Cheribon, one with 100 and another with 80; at Kediri and Madjalaja with 80 each; and at Jokya several factories with 40 to 60 looms; while at many other places there are smaller factories with 20 to 40 looms.

Meanwhile the Institute at Bandoeng, originally one small building, is now a large group of buildings with several departments for its different activities and a show-room for the finished products. In course of time it has become clear that rapid and satisfactory progress calls for decentralization. In 1931 a branch was opened at Jokya; in 1932 at Soerabaya and Makassar; in 1933 at Padang; and, despite the current depression, branches at Semarang, Bandjermasin and Menado are contemplated. All these branches advise weavers as to the improvement of looms and methods of weaving and give technical instruction in weaving on a small scale. Those who propose to take up production on a large scale are advised to attend the courses at Bandoeng. At Bandoeng, Jokya, and some other places the schools are provided with hostel accommodation. Taking all the departments together, there are now 80 to 100 pupils at Bandoeng, and some 60 to 80 at Jokya and elsewhere. No charge is made for instruction, but board and lodging in the hostel costs fl. 15 a month.

At the Bandoeng Institute there are separate departments for dyeing, the construction of looms, weaving, and knitting. In all departments the practical instruction is combined with theoretical instruction, given in Dutch for the European pupils and in Malay for the indigenous pupils.

The main object of the Dyeing Department is to dye yarns for sale at cost price to native weavers. In Java one does not find dyers and shops where dyes can be obtained, such as there have been for many years past in many of the smaller towns and larger villages in Burma; presumably because the people do not wear flimsy silk *pawas* and *gaungbaungs* which can easily be dyed so as to look quite new. The weavers are therefore dependent on local dyes, and if they use imported dyes are likely to have inferior stuff foisted on them. The Institute must therefore be of great convenience to the smaller weavers in providing them with dyes of fast colours. It is helpful also to the larger weavers; for a factory of 40 looms or more can afford its own dyeing plant if it can find a competent dyer, and at Bandoeng there are regularly some six to eight hands studying the art with a view to employment in such factories. The course in dyeing consists of practical and theoretical instruction in the application of all kinds of dyes to cotton, wool, silk, artificial silk, and linen.

The Construction Department makes hand-looms of an improved pattern on a model originally imported from the Saunders

Institute in Mandalay. The looms, which are in great demand, are made by indigenous carpenters, temporary hands varying in number with the work. Similar looms can be made in the villages, but, owing to careless workmanship, the village looms last only three or four years, while a Bandoeng loom should last for ten years. In this department also there are pupils, who should be able at the end of their course to make better and stronger looms than are now in general use.

The Weaving Department gives practical and theoretical instruction to pupils, European and indigenous, in all branches of hand and mechanical weaving. The full course lasts for six months, and comprises dyeing, weaving, and marketing.

The Knitting Department has only recently been opened after careful preliminary experiments as to the type of machinery most suitable for local use. In connection with it there is a complete installation of sewing machines, so that the pupils can learn practical dressmaking. It is noteworthy that this has already led to the founding of a knitting factory which is working day and night to cope with its orders.

As already mentioned, the Institute provides instruction for Europeans as well as for the indigenous population. At the Jokya branch also there were two or three European adults who had lost their employment owing to the slump in sugar and were studying weaving alongside the indigenous boys and girls with a view to setting up small factories of about 25 looms.

One very striking feature of the Institute is its essentially practical character. At the Saunders Weaving Institute at Mandalay (at any rate, a few years back) one felt that the leading idea was to preserve a traditional domestic craft from degeneration and decay; there did not seem to have been any systematic study of the economic position and possibilities of the weaving industry. But at Bandoeng the Dutch study weaving as a commercial proposition. They are even beginning to attract Dutch capital. The factory at Padang has already been mentioned. The large factory at Garoet with 300 looms is managed on behalf of a Dutch firm by a former head of the Bandoeng Institute. At the same time the Institute supplies the native weavers with good looms, good dyes, and good yarns, importing the material in bulk and selling the produce to the weavers at cost price, or else putting the weavers into direct connection with the Dutch firms which import the material that they require. Again, instruction in marketing is an important feature of the course. One of their special lines is a palm beach cloth, known locally as B.B. (as one might say I.C.S.) because it is the favourite wear of the Civil Servants, *Binnenlandsch Bestuur*. This cloth is indistinguishable in appearance from the cloth worn by most Burmese gentlemen and many Europeans.

But in Burma it is all imported. In Java it is woven by local factories, which sell it at 60 to 65 cents a metre. The Institute definitely aims at capturing the home trade for local people, and one can understand that at first the import houses looked on it with suspicion. But the experience of Houten Steffan and Co. has shown that a Dutch firm can make money by promoting local enterprise. And the indigenous population find the new methods so profitable that at the Jokya School recently there were 70 applicants for 15 vacancies.

The depreciation of the yen, however, has created a very serious position, and the Japanese competition is pressing very heavily on the rising industry. They are quick to copy new designs and import imitations at rates which sometimes undersell the local product. Trade marks have not given satisfactory protection. The Padang mark "Coffee" and the Garoet mark "Paddy" are known everywhere, but the Japanese have sometimes imitated them, and there have been cases even of imported goods being marked "*Bikinan de Djawa*" (*Produce of Java*). It has been found that, if new inventions in the Institute are reported in the Press, particulars reach Japan within three days, and silence is now regarded as the safest policy. Also measures have been taken to tighten up the trade mark legislation. The quality of Japanese goods is often inferior, but the low price is a great attraction, and quality is often overlooked. As regards sarongs, the Japanese have an advantage in large-scale production. But the difference in quality and the economies of large-scale production do not sufficiently explain Japanese prices. The Institute has investigated this matter carefully. For example, yarn was bought in the open market in Japan at 80 cents, and dusters made with this material could not be sold wholesale at a lower price than fl. 1·25.* But the *small* Japanese factory, without the economies of production on a large scale, paying exactly the same price for exactly the same yarn, can dye and weave it and make it into dusters which are exported to Java and sold for 90 cents, leaving only 10 cents for all costs beyond that of the yarn. Experiments have also been made in importing Japanese machinery. Mechanical knitters costing fl. 75 in Japan appear to be as good as European knitters costing fl. 350; but, on the other hand, mechanical looms from Japan cost as much as European looms and are more liable to go wrong. Thus neither cheap labour nor mechanical efficiency wholly account for the Japanese advantage in the market.

The introduction of a quota system has been suggested as the only means of protecting local industries. But they seem to enjoy a certain amount of natural protection. The fashion in patterns

* One florin or guilder (100 cents) is worth about two shillings and sixpence at the present rate of exchange.

changes very quickly, and the production of one pattern on a large scale would swamp the market. This gives an advantage to weavers working with small factories and in intimate touch with the consumer. In some lines the Institute and the local factories can still manage to hold their own, and, if they can survive the present struggle against adverse circumstances, they will be stronger for the fight.

The change which the Institute has brought about is all the more impressive because it is still possible to see traces of the former condition of the industry. A few years ago Java was as far behind Burma in respect of weaving as it is now ahead. In a village where domestic weaving is still conducted on traditional lines one can see a woman weaving as she sits upon the ground, with the thread stretched out from her feet behind her back, and using her body as her loom.

The next stage above this can be seen in a small factory in Imogiri, a village near Jokya. Until recently the weavers worked in their own homes, although the employer preferred them to work in a factory where he could supply them with dyed yarn from Bandoeng and supervise their work. The economic depression made it difficult for the home workers to sell their goods, and now most of the work is done in factories. In the factory we visited about 20 to 30 women were working in a shed used also as a granary, a large room, but low and dark. Each brings her own loom, a primitive wooden instrument without a frame, probably made by her husband at a cost of about a guilder. They are working practically the whole day long and earn 8 cents (less than 2 annas) a day. They are probably given a cup of tea, but if supplied with meals the wage is reduced to $5\frac{1}{2}$ cents, and most of them prefer to take their food at home and earn the extra money. As a rule the work is not done to order. In the factory which we visited a considerable quantity of material had been woven for police uniforms which will be held until it is required. The employer also places some of his goods for sale in the central store for local produce in Jokya. As he must buy the dyed yarn, pay wages, and hold his stock for some time, he must lock up a good deal of capital, but we were informed that most of the employers are wealthy men, with rice land of their own, who need not borrow money for their business. The large quantity of paddy in the shed we visited certainly suggested that the owner was well off. It was difficult to understand why improved looms had not been introduced. Probably the women would find some difficulty in using them; also, improved looms would certainly take up much more space, and a smaller number of improved looms might turn out less cloth than is produced under the present arrangements. But the primitive methods of work were very striking.

A very different picture is presented by the principal weaving factory at Madjalaja, near Bandoeng, owned by the Persatoean Co-operative Tenoen Boemipoetra (United Co-operative Weaving Sons-of-the-soil). This is a combination of five small factories founded in Madjalaja about five years ago with a view to the development of native weaving along the lines suggested by the Textile Institute, Bandoeng. But their mutual competition was prejudicial, as, whenever one firm hit on a successful pattern, the others would copy it and flood the market. They decided, therefore, to combine, and have now applied for recognition as a co-operative society. The organization does not seem to have many of the features which are usually associated with co-operation and is rather in the nature of a joint stock company, but they use the word co-operative in their title, as in Java the use of this word is not, as in Burma, confined to associations which have been registered by the Co-operative Department.

The yarns are imported from Japan and the artificial silk from Arnhem in Holland. These are bought from the Internation, a Dutch firm in Batavia and a Chinese in Tjiandoer. They pay the Internation by cheque, but the payments are made by cash on delivery, and they have not a credit account with their suppliers nor a standing overdraft at their bank.

They dye their own yarns. The machinery for dyeing comes from the Textile Institute in Bandoeng, and their head dyer was sent there for training. He did not have to pay for instruction, but paid fl. 15 a month for board and lodging in the hostel. The course lasted, I think, three months. He has three assistants. They are paid by piecework at the rate of 10 cents a kilo. They pool their earnings, and, as they dye 500 to 600 kilos a month, earn between them fl. 50 to fl. 60 a month. Half of this goes to the head dyer, who is little more than a boy, and the rest is divided between the three assistants, who are all young boys. Formerly the firm bought dyed yarns from Bandoeng, but by buying the yarns direct from the Internation they save 10 cents a kilo. This pays for the cost of dyeing, and they find it more convenient to dye their wares themselves. But it is noteworthy that they can have their dyeing done at Bandoeng as cheaply as they can do it themselves, which must be a great convenience to the smaller factories.

The dyed yarn is spun on to reels for the warp and on to spools for the weft. This work is done by women and girls, who earn 4 cents a skein. There are five machines for making the warp; it is reckoned that the proportion between spindles and warping machines should be as 6 to 1. The warping machines formerly cost fl. 120 each, but are now much cheaper. Three employees are required for each machine.

The material is then ready for weaving. There are 82 looms in

the factory, but only 60 were working at our visit. These are distributed among four or more different sheds which, apparently, were formerly the workshops of the independent factories. In one shed the weavers were women and girls; in the others they were boys, many of them quite young boys. The looms cost about fl. 50 each, the frame costing fl. 32.50 and accessories accounting for the balance. They are on the improved Bandoeng model, and very different from the primitive implements in use at Imogiri. The hours of work are from 7 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. (far shorter than the hours at Imogiri), but the employees are paid on piecework and can work longer if they wish. For a piece of 4 metres, 22 to 24 inches broad, they earn 25 cents. As they should finish a piece in a day or a day and a half, they can earn 16 to 25 cents a day; two or three times as much as the women earn at Imogiri.

The patterns are mostly designed by the head director, a man of great intelligence and energy, who is the mainspring of the whole organization. The fortunes of a firm depend very largely on its patterns, and this firm owes its success to his inspiration as much as to its efficiency. He explains that, as a Sundanese, he can feel what Sundanese would like, and he also obtains hints from customers, but he would be at a loss in trying to design for Javanese taste. He turns out 40 to 50 new designs a month to meet the rapid change in fashions, as the newest pattern is out of date after a month. But if he is left with a surplus stock of any pattern he keeps and puts it on the market a year later, when the people will take to it again.

After the cloth is woven it is pressed in a special mangle and then sewn. The factory cost per sarong is fl. 1.50 to fl. 1.65, plus 5 cents for pressing and sewing.

The goods of the firm are protected by a registered trade mark. At present most of their wares are sold to a Batavian firm, O. Sielcken, which has a contract for 50 kodi (of 20 pieces) a month. A Chinese in Bandoeng takes 35 to 40 kodi a month. One loom should turn out 1 kodi a month, and the full capacity of the 82 looms is therefore 82 kodi a month. Thus at present the firm can sell all the cloth which it produces and has not been seriously injured by Japanese competition, as it specializes in a quality article with better wearing power, for which the upper classes are willing to pay a remunerative price.

It should be noted that in a factory like this, and also at Imogiri, weaving has become a full-time occupation and is no longer a subsidiary source of income for spare time, as in domestic weaving.

II. Hat Making

The director has recently started a hat-making business. The making of hats from bamboo and grass has long been an important industry centred round Tasikmalaya. In 1922 the Regent of Tasikmalaya started the making of panama hats, and is now working up this industry with the assistance of the Agricultural Department, which has laid out a special experimental garden for this purpose. An inferior type of hat for cultivators has been made in Madjalaja for many years. The director set himself to improve this industry. The material used is bamboo and not grass. He is trying various models—straw topees of the European type, panama hats and buffalo-bill (*padvinder*) hats. An agent takes samples round the villages and attends public meetings, such as the monthly *vergadering* of the Resident and other officials, where he obtains orders which he sends in to the firm. This use of the monthly official meetings for encouraging home industries is very noteworthy and seems typical of the general attitude of Government to the development of local industries. At present the hats are made by the people in their cottages, but if the business grows the director hopes to build up a factory as for his weaving business.

III. Batik

By tradition batik work is the normal occupation and pastime of all ladies of good birth. "Formerly," remarked the head of the Batik Station at Jokya, "the education of a well-bred girl was not regarded as complete unless she could do batik. Now, the Foxtrot and Charleston have taken its place." Presumably the common people, as at Solo at the present day, went about in rags dyed with indigo and looking as if they had stolen their garments from a dead Chinese cooly. The older batiks were worked on a rough indigenous homespun, but the importation of fine cambric from China or British India began about three hundred years ago, coinciding more or less with the coming of the Dutch. There were strict sumptuary rules. In Jokya one pattern was reserved for the Sultan and his Queen; this was known as the *hoek* pattern from the conventionalized bird of that name which formed the basis of the design. Other patterns, confined to the nobility, had a diagonal stripe, reminiscent of the Mandalay *pahso*, which in former times was similarly restricted to the Burmese aristocracy. The colours and patterns differed from place to place and were presumably influenced by the dyes available. The dyes chiefly used were indigo for blue, sogar (*Peltophorum pterocarpum*) for brown, and *Morinda speceia* for red. (They do not seem to have used the Jack—*Artocarpus integrifolia*—with which the robes of of pongyis are dyed in Burma.) But other influences also had an effect on the design, as in Cheribon, where a porcelain design may be attributed to the popularity of Chinese porcelain. Some of the old designs are of great interest as showing the

transition from Hindu to Muhammadan ideas. Under the Hindus the design was often based on the figure of an animal, such as an elephant or cock; when the Muhammadans frowned on the representation of animal forms, the batik artists adjusted old traditions to new prejudices in designs consisting of animals built up of flowers, so that a floral pattern, looked at as a whole, would still disclose the figure of an elephant. (But this device was not wholly new, as the use of floral groups as the elements of larger design can be observed in the Hindu temples.) Under Dutch rule, prior to 1850, the art decayed, and in many places, as at Cheribon, where it had flourished, entirely disappeared.*

About 1860, and possibly in connection with the liberal policy of opening Java to private commerce, the industry took a new turn or, rather, the art became a craft. The use of a copper stencil was adopted, and, with the introduction of printed designs, men took to working for their livelihood at what had hitherto been an elegant accomplishment for ladies. But the best work is still done by hand.

The whole operation comprises nine distinct processes: the material is coated with wax, soaked in the dyeing vat, dried, scraped, recoated with wax, and again dyed, soaked and scraped. The worker sits on a low stool, close to a small charcoal stove, on which there stands a pan of melted wax. In her left hand she holds the material for decoration, and in her right hand the *tjanting*, or drawing pen. The *tjanting* is a hollow tube with a small reservoir to hold the fluid wax. She dips the reservoir into the wax pan and draws her pattern with the wax that runs down the tube and flows out of its point. If the pen becomes clogged, she blows down the tube or clears the aperture with a piece of fibre. The *tjanting* is, in fact, a primitive fountain pen. The first, and most delicate, process consists in tracing the design, first on one side and then, along exactly the same lines, on the other side of the cloth; the internal decorations are similarly picked out on both sides of the cloth. All the lines and dots covered with wax in this process will be left white in the finished pattern. Then comes the dyeing. The colours generally used in batik are blue, brown, and black; the black is a combination of the blue and brown dyes. Thus part of the cloth must be exposed to a blue dye, part to a brown dye, and part to both. After the lines and dots have been traced out in wax, as described above, the parts of the cloth which are to appear in brown are covered with a layer of wax laid on with a coarser *tjanting* or a brush. The cloth is then warmed in the sun so that the wax may adhere closely to the material. The work is then ready for the indigo bath. After immersion in indigo the cloth is rinsed in clean water and dried.

* Dr. Ch. J. Bernard, *The Arts and Crafts of Netherlands India*, p. 12.

The wax is then scraped off the parts which are to appear in brown, the cloth is washed in a starch solution, and a coating of wax is applied to all the parts which are to be left blue. The cloth is thereupon soaked in a sogar solution and carefully massaged so that the whole surface comes into intimate contact with the dye. It is then hung up over the pan of sogar and allowed to drip until free of the dye, when it is dried in the wind. This process must be repeated for at least ten days until the parts not protected by wax are saturated with the brown dye. The wax is then scraped off and the cloth is ready for the market. Yellow, red, and green, if wanted, are painted on with a brush, but these colours are rarely used in the headquarters of the craft in Jokya and Solo. The whole process of dyeing takes about a month; coarse work rather less, and fine work rather more.

Stencil work is similar in principle, but the pattern is stamped instead of drawn. This cuts down the duration of the process by about one-half, but can only be adopted where the whole design consists of a symmetrical or repeated pattern.

Recently a new device for speeding up the process has been invented in the Batik Station at Jokya. In this new method, called radio-batik, the cloth is first soaked in the brown dye; two processes are cut out and there is no need for the repeated scraping which, on the traditional method, injures the texture of the cloth. A craftsman using this method can produce for fl. 35 a sarong which even the Japanese cannot sell for less than fl. 40. But the chief protection of the indigenous industry is that the purchasers insist on certain features which, so far, has proved impossible to counterfeit by machinery. An ambitious attempt to manufacture batik by machinery in Holland turned out wares which to a European seemed indistinguishable from the true Java batik, but the Javanese could detect the difference and refused to buy the substitute.

The Batik Station at Jokya does not take pupils, because every Javanese girl is supposed to understand the art. The chief work of the station consists in collecting old designs and inventing new designs, and in improving on old methods. More than 1,200 old designs have been collected from Jokya alone, and there are many others from Solo, Cheribon, Pekalongan, and elsewhere. The older patterns have a wider range of colour and designs than is customary at present. Some of the old sarongs are exceedingly valuable, and for one sarong from Cheribon the Station has refused a Japanese offer of fl. 1,000.

Two designers are employed. One copies old patterns, the other invents new designs based on native motives taken from the old temples or New Guinea bamboo work. A special man is employed on the work of inventing new stencils.

In connection with the Batik Station there is a plant for soap boiling. The process is very simple and consists in boiling caustic soda with coconut oil. Anyone can set up as a soap boiler on a capital of 2 guilders, and many applications are received for the special formula adopted at the Batik Station. The industry has spread so generally during recent years that the increased import of caustic soda is clearly visible in the trade statistics.

NOTE.—Since the above article was written in December, 1933, steps have been taken to protect the weaving industry. In February, 1934, the extension to cotton goods of the Crisis Import Ordinance, 1933, permitted the application of the Quota System, and the working of this system has been made more effective by the Import Licensing Ordinance, 1935.

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

BY ERIC H. KING

A FAIRLY intimate association with the Armenian Colony in London and with the Friends of Armenia Missionary Relief Fund, existing for the purpose of alleviating the distress prevailing amongst the many refugees still living under conditions of great hardship today, particularly in Syria, coupled with the natural inclination of a seasoned traveller in many parts of the globe lying far from the "beaten track," impelled me to combine with a recent protracted journey through the Caucasus a historical study of one of the most interesting regions of the ancient Armenian Kingdom now constituting a portion of the vast Soviet Union, bounded on the north by the Georgian Soviet Republic, on the south by the Iranian border, on the west by Turkey, and on the east by the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan.

Until the establishment of the Armenian Soviet Republic by a decree drawn up on November 28, 1920, what was known as "Armenia" constituted no more than a geographical expression, since as a country it ceased to possess any political boundaries upon the downfall of the Armenian Kingdom under the Bagratyd Dynasty in the eleventh century. Overrun since then by Saracens, Mongols, Turks, Georgians and Persians, we have been accustomed to speak of Turkish, Russian, and Persian Armenia, even during the present generation, as forming such portions of the ancient kingdom as lay within the dominions of and under the suzerainty of these respective nations. The short-lived and ill-fated Dashnakhtsutun, or Armenian National Party, which endeavoured to establish "a greater Armenia from sea to sea" after the Bolshevik Revolution, merely plunged the country into a state of war with all its neighbours, and consequent economic ruin. Finally, driven in their hordes from the Turkish vilayets before the wave of death and destruction, the conditions of famine, misery, and squalor of the survivors of the massacres who sought shelter in Russian Armenia were indescribable and led up to the creation of the Armenian Soviet Republic, of which Erivan formed the capital.

The population of the town before the formation of the republic was barely 30,000; by 1924 this had risen to 70,000, whilst today it stands at no less than 150,000. At first the congestion was appalling; this, however, has now been considerably relieved by the expansion of the town further out into the plain on which it lies

at an altitude of 3,000 feet. In appearance typically Oriental, the bulk of the houses are of one story, yellow-plastered brick, and of sun-dried clay in the form of bricks; but the monotony of the ochre colouring is relieved by the beauty of the sky-blue domes and minarets of the early seventeenth-century Shiite Mosques of the Persians, who captured Erivan from the Turks in 1635, retaining it almost without intermission until it was in turn wrested from them by the Russians in 1827. Quite the loveliest and best preserved of these mosques is that of Gök Jami (Blue Mosque) (Fig. 1), situated in the south-west quarter of the town and still serving a small Persian population today, which otherwise is almost entirely Armenian. Other interesting relics of the Persian occupation are the battered remains of the mosque and palace of the Persian Sirdars, situated along the Citadel Rock, a cliff of black basalt standing in the western quarter and being the scene of some of the fiercest fighting in Erivan's stormy past. From almost every quarter of the town can be seen the crowning glory of these regions—Mount Ararat—awe-inspiring, incomparable, sublime in her graceful contours, rising 14,000 feet from the level plain; she fires the imagination, rivets the eye, until one almost visualizes the familiar nursery shape of Noah's great ship at the summit emerging from the receding waves of the Flood.

Passing westwards through the vineyards, orchards, and cotton-fields surrounding the capital, one realizes how historic is the country which opens out before the traveller's gaze—Ararat to the south and the dark mountains towards Kars in the west. There is something inexpressibly solemn in this desolate plain, a plain in which Armenian tradition places the Garden of Eden. The curse of the Flaming Sword might well be thought to have clung to it, for few spots on earth have witnessed more ruin and slaughter than this Valley of the Araxes. It has been the highway through which the Eastern conquerors and marauders from the days of the Sassanid Kings Shapur and Chosroes Nushirvan down through those of the Saracen, Turkish, Mongol, and Persian invaders have poured their hosts upon the fertile shores of the Euxine, and here, almost to our very day, Turks and Russians have carried on a scarcely interrupted strife. Two or three miles north of the Araxes itself, which forms the Turkish frontier today, a little hillock rises amidst the level plain. Cuneiform inscriptions on stone found here have identified it with the site of the once great city of Armavir, the earliest capital of Armenia. Contemporaneous with Nineveh, it was founded in honour of the God of Van by the Khaldian King Argistis I. in 780 B.C., who had dispossessed of their fertile territories the Knights of the Valley of the Araxes. I photographed, at the summit, the hoary remains of a Christian church which must have been one of the extreme few known to have existed in

the country during the third century.* The later capital of Vagarshapat, seat of the palace of the powerful King Tiridates in the late third and early fourth century, lay about thirty miles east of Armavir, and the name is still applied to the straggling village of today, though but little remains of the ancient city except its churches, and here we find some of the finest specimens of Armenian ecclesiastical architecture, of which, to my mind, the most beautiful is the seventh-century church erected by the Katholikos Komitas to the memory of the martyred nun St. Hripsime, whose remarkable beauty had caused her to flee from the Roman Emperor's attentions in the middle of the third century and to seek refuge in Armenia, where the pagan King Tiridates was similarly affected by her charms, but, failing to secure her as his bride, caused her to be butchered in cold blood on the spot where the church now stands containing her tomb. Rectangular in shape, its conical, octagonal dome and open belfry over the porch forming the main entrance in the west apse are typical of Armenian churches, but the proportions both of the exterior and interior of this church produce an impression of balance and harmony seldom equalled.

In Vagarshapat also stands the great monastery of Echmiadzin, the seat of the Supreme Katholikos, or Patriarch, of the Armenian Gregorian Church, probably the oldest monastic institution in the world and the spiritual centre of practically the entire Armenian nation. A lofty battlemented wall encloses the domain within which stands the Cathedral (Fig. 2), surrounded by buildings forming the cells of the monks, the library, containing a priceless collection of upwards of 8,000 early volumes and exquisitely illuminated manuscripts, the seminary building, refectories, and apartments for the Patriarch, bishops, and archimandrites.

The name Echmiadzin signifies "Where the Only Begotten descended," and a stone canopy covering the high altar within the Cathedral is alleged to be the original shrine of St. Gregory, the Illuminator (or Enlightener), who introduced Christianity to heathen Armenia towards the end of the third century, and beneath which he is said to have received a vision of the Only Begotten descending from heaven, striking the ground with a golden hammer, and bidding the saint build a church upon this site. The Cathedral was probably completed in the year 300 A.D. by St. Gregory in conjunction with King Tiridates, who had been converted by him to Christianity through many humiliating ex-

* Armavir is known to have continued to be the capital until 189 B.C., when it may have been succeeded by Artaxata, a town south-west of Erivan and north of the Araxes, though some state that it remained the capital until the close of the first century of our era. It, however, constituted a city of considerable importance until at least the close of the third century.

periences. Much of the original building is believed to have been destroyed by the Persians soon after its erection, and it was subsequently restored by the Armenian Chief Vahan Mamikonean in 484 and again by the Katholikos Komitas in 618, who replaced the former wooden cupola by the present conical stone tower typical of all Armenian churches. It is impossible to state how much of the original building still exists, but we may reasonably surmise that, despite renovations during succeeding centuries, the principal portion of the edifice largely assumed its present appearance at this period. The main entrance was added by the Katholikos Eleazar in 1658, and the sacristy at the east end by the Katholikos Kvork IV. as lately as 1882, which latter houses some curious relics. I was shown the traditional sacred spearhead thrust into the side of Christ at the Crucifixion, which is said to have been brought to Armenia by the Apostle Thaddeus in the first century, and also the withered right hand and arm of St. Gregory encased in silver, with which the Armenian Patriarch is touched during the ceremony of his consecration, in token of the transmission of grace and power from the very founder of the Armenian Church. Here also is preserved to this day within the Holy Chrism, oil, used during the same ceremony at his anointment, and which is alleged to contain traces of that brought to Armenia by the Apostle St. Bartholomew in the first century and said to have been blessed by Christ Himself.

The great monastery lies within the shadow of Mount Ararat, but I hardly think that even the bishop who conducted me round the Cathedral could have attached much credence to the fragment of wood sealed within a golden cross described as being a portion of a timber of the Ark itself.

According to a thirteenth-century legend, a monk named St. Hagop was consumed by a pious desire to reach and venerate the Holy Ark, which he firmly believed he could behold at the summit of Mount Ararat in fair weather. Three times he attempted to ascend the mountain, and after having reached a considerable height on each occasion he became overpowered by deep slumber, only awakening to find himself once more at the foot. On the third attempt an angel appeared to him in a vision and told him that God had forbidden mortal foot ever to reach the vessel in which mankind was preserved, but as a reward for his devoted perseverance he was to receive a fragment of the wood, which he placed upon the monk's breast and vanished, and which fragment is now preserved at Echmiadzin. It need not necessarily be surmised that the other relics I have mentioned are of such dubious authenticity!

In addition to the High Altar already mentioned, which is only used on great festivals and before which the enthronement and

consecration of the Katholikos has always taken place, there is a large altar at the east end at which the services are normally conducted, another in the north apse where the bishops are consecrated, and a fourth in the south apse near which is a shrine containing oil from the Holy Chrism. Pictures portraying the founders and saints of the Armenian Church adorn the walls, and within the dome are arabesques in the Persian style, which are probably not older than the eighteenth century, nor do they possess any special artistic merit, so far as I was able to judge; twelve windows around the dome provide most of the light to the dim interior wrapt in the twilight of centuries.

Before leaving the monastery I was received by the Patriarch and Supreme Katholikos, His Holiness Khoren I., himself (Fig. 3). His residence is approached from his private garden (now sadly neglected and overgrown), and I found the holder of this historic office to be a man well above average height, of a typical Armenian cast of countenance, possessed of dark, kindly eyes and a flowing black beard tinged with grey, completely garbed in a black robe unrelieved save for the diamond cross set in front of the cowl covering his head, this being the sole distinctive emblem of the Patriarchate. He welcomed me, in fluent French, to Echmiadzin and spoke of his friendship with and high regard for the late Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he had met when in England before his elevation to the Patriarchate, since when, following invariable custom, he had not left Armenian territory. Our conversation largely centred round the political conditions obtaining under the Soviet régime, upon which it is not the purpose of this article to expound.*

The Patriarch is the supreme representative of an entirely autocephalous church professing the Monophysite Doctrine of a Single Person and One Divine Nature of Christ. At the Council of Chalcedon of 451 A.D. the Armenian Church was not represented, and at a conclave held at Echmiadzin in 491 its conclusions and formulas were solemnly condemned, thus entirely alienating the Gregorian Church of Armenia from both that of Rome and Byzantium; moreover, throughout the long centuries the people have invariably closed their ranks against any attempts by their numerous oppressors to shake their religious beliefs.

Within this ancient capital there once stood the magnificent Round Church of the Zvarthnotz (*i.e.*, Angelic Hosts), which, however, is now in a ruinous condition.

According to contemporary Armenian writers, this church was built by the Katholikos Nerses III. in the year 652 A.D., of whom it is written: "At this time the Katholikos Nerses formed the

* My conversation with him was fully reported in the *Church Times* of July 19, 1935.

project of building himself a residence near the Holy Church of Echmiadzin, in the city of Vagarshapat. He also built a church there dedicated to the Angelic Hosts of Heaven who appeared to St. Gregory in a dream. He had the church built with high walls and constructed in all respects wonderfully, making it worthy of the divine beings to whose glory it was dedicated. He brought water thither from the river (the Arax), made all the stony land fruitful, planted vineyards and orchards, and surrounded the dwelling place with a high and handsome wall to the glory of God."

How the church was destroyed nobody can say with certainty, but it is known to have stood for at least 300 years and to have been famed throughout the land for the beauty of its architecture, being the scene of great national gatherings. Some state that its destruction was the work of Arab invaders who swept through the land during the tenth century, whilst others affirm that the ruin was wrought by an earthquake. Although these were very prevalent in the country, this latter supposition is most improbable, since had this been so the church of St. Hripsime close by and Echmiadzin itself must surely have both been affected, having been built at an earlier period. It is possible to fix the approximate date of its destruction, however, for in the year 1001 an exact copy of it was erected in Ani, the then new capital, but this church enjoyed a very brief life, having been destroyed by the Seljuk-Turks in the year 1064. Considerable excavations have been undertaken here in recent years by the clergy and monks from Echmiadzin which have served to demonstrate the Armenian method employed in the building of churches in those far distant days. The remains of the three great pillars are highly characteristic, which consist of a very thick core of concrete with an outer shell composed of accurately fitted blocks or thick slabs of stone which are so perfectly joined together that no mortar was required to be used, and it has often been thought on this account that the Armenians constructed their churches entirely of stone. These old builders must have possessed an extraordinarily high degree of skill even as early as the seventh century, when the Zvarthnotz church was built. It would seem that the binding material was some sort of lime containing cement, which, when mixed with gravel or sand, formed a kind of concrete, and it is remarkable to note that this concrete should still exist (after nearly 1,000 years since the church was destroyed), to a large extent still adhering to the facing stones. The domes of the churches were fashioned of the same material, and in many cases have proved strong enough to hold together even after the facing stones have fallen off. This method of building was not the original one employed in Armenia, since the few large pre-Christian era structures, of which remains still exist, were erected

PLATE I

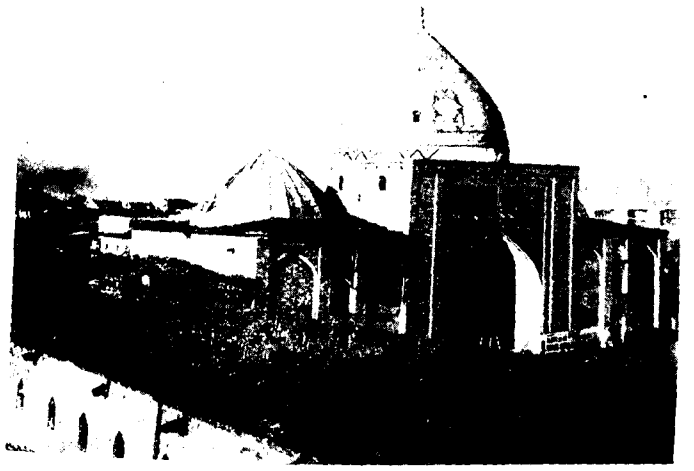


FIG. 1.—PERSIAN MOSQUE OF GÖK JAMI AT ERIVAN.

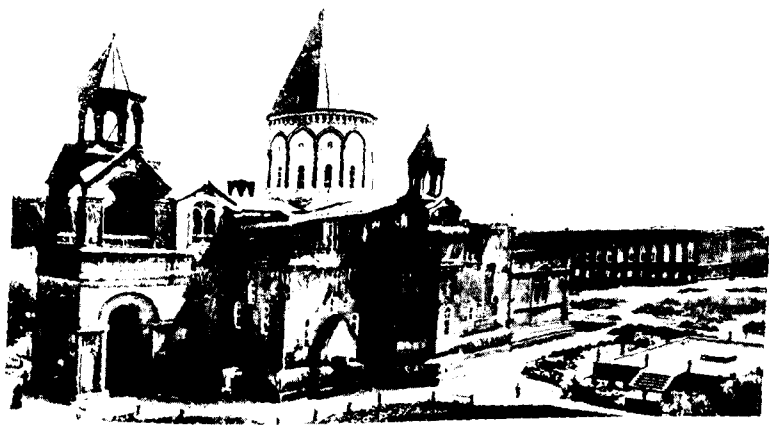


FIG. 2.—CATHEDRAL OF THE MONASTERY OF ECHMIADZIN; THE SEMINARY IS IN THE BACKGROUND.

To face p. 382

PLATE II



FIG. 3.—HIS HOLINESS KHORE'N I., PATRIARCH OF THE ARMENIAN GREGORIAN CHURCH.

Reproduced by kind permission of Rev. M. D. Khanzadian.



FIG. 4.—FOURTH-CENTURY MONASTERY AND CHURCH ON THE HOLY ISLE OF SEVAN.

PLATE III



FIG. 5.—THE DAWN OF DELIJAN IN NORTHERN ARMENIA: THE PAMBAK MOUNTAINS IN THE BACKGROUND.

PLATE IV



FIG. 6.—TURKISH HODJA IN THE KHREBET AKMANGAN MOUNTAINS NEAR NOVO BAYAZET.

To face p. 383

entirely of stone, and it is uncertain whence the new method of construction came. Concrete has been used in Persia and in Mesopotamia since time immemorial with a facing of brick, but if the Armenians learnt it from these sources they developed it in their own way quite independently of the Persians, replacing the brick facing by one of ashlar, and they must have used it for a long preceding period in order to attain the degree of perfection established in the seventh century. There are features in the architecture which suggest Byzantine and Syrian influence, but still more that points eastward—to that of Persia. Like all Armenian churches, that of the Zvarthnotz was erected upon a base rising in three ledges or steps from the ground—a typically Eastern or rather Persian custom which cannot have been borrowed from the West.

The region of the Araxes Valley between Vagarshapat and the river banks bears eloquent, if grim, testimony to the Turkish invasion of 1920, ruined, deserted villages of the ubiquitous dried clay being sparsely scattered amidst the desolate grassy plain. Nevertheless, this is a highly fertile soil which has been irrigated by a network of canals since as far back as the Stone Age, according to cuneiform inscriptions that have been found, while those not destroyed during the numerous invasions still exist today. The Armenian has ever been a son of the soil, and even in this thinly populated region the peasants eke out a livelihood by cultivation of their vineyards as of old, nor is it possible to bestow too lavish praise upon the luscious grapes and superb wines which constitute the products. Most of the peasants in the region of the capital, covering an area of some 30,000 acres, have been collectivized, and there is no doubt but that in recent years very considerable strides have been made towards their betterment. The gardens and vineyards of Erivan have long been famous in this part of the world, and efforts are now being made towards a wider development of the cotton-fields, since, despite the intense cold of the long Armenian winters, the scorching and forcing heat of the summer renders possible the growth of a product which, though short, is of excellent quality. Since very early times there have been about 100,000 acres of irrigated land in the country, used largely for grain, orchards, and vineyards, but only to a very limited extent for cotton. A substantially increased acreage has, however, already been brought under cultivation for this purpose.

Upon my return to Erivan from the Araxes Valley I set out for the northern regions in the hardy little car in which I had been bumped and jogged along bullock-cart tracks and roads which were but little superior, for the Armenian peasant is not fastidious in this respect, and as long as he ultimately attains his destination the time involved in the process is of secondary importance. Transport in the country is mainly effected by bullock carts, as of old,

which, together with their drivers in shaggy sheepskin headgear and peasant's smock, constitute familiar and not unpicturesque spectacles.

What strange scenic contrasts were now to confront me on my journey! It is true that the road to the north compared favourably with those to which I have just referred, but in abrupt contrast to the fertile regions around the capital and in the Araxes Valley I was now travelling across a dun-coloured rolling plateau with scarcely a tree or a shrub visible, strewn upon every side with volcanic lava from the long extinct Mount Alagöz (14,000 feet), rising in gentle slopes to the west. It is an almost waterless region, yet, strange though it may seem, this volcanic soil is extremely rich and only lacks irrigation, having acquired its fertility by lying fallow throughout the ages. The road ascended gradually over a distance of some forty miles until, at a height of 6,380 feet, the blue waters of Lake Sevan lay shimmering in the sunlight at my feet. In the ancient Armenian Kingdom their existed three great lakes—Lake Urumia, now situated in Persian territory, Lake Van, in Turkey, and Lake Sevan, with which we are at present concerned, whose waters, as distinct from the two former, are fresh. Roughly triangular in shape, it measures approximately fifty-seven miles and twenty-seven miles at its greatest length and breadth respectively, and thus constitutes one of the largest lakes at such an altitude in the world.

Here again the scenery underwent a complete change, for in place of the undulating plateau I had just traversed I was now confronted upon all sides by the rugged volcanic ranges of gloomy, stern, and forbidding aspect by which its waters are surrounded, the Shakh Dagh rising almost sheer from the north-eastern coast to an altitude of 11,000 feet above sea level as far as the eye could reach, whilst on the western coast the spurs of the Khrebet Akmangan stretch far away to the south. No fewer than twenty-eight small rivers and streams run into the lake, most of which come from the south and south-west. It discharges into the little River Zanga at the north, flowing through Erivan and ultimately emptying itself into the Araxes, which, however, is entirely unnavigable throughout its course.

It was close to this northern outlet that the Battle of Sevan was fought between the Armenians and Georgians against the Persians in the eighth century, which, through the treachery of the Armenian spy Mekhitar, resulted in one of the most overwhelming victories of the Crescent over the Cross recorded in history. It was at his suggestion that the course of the Zanga was diverted by throwing down a rampart of rock, thus forming a dam, which enabled the Persian army to march across the dry bed of the river, an act for which he was lavishly rewarded by the victors to the

extent of 5,000 golden pieces and a substantial grant of land at Tiflis, the Georgian capital.

Even during the winter the lake is only frozen in enclosed bays, for it is frequently lashed into a fury by the Arctic winds sweeping across it from the surrounding mountains. About a mile from the northern shore lies the Holy Isle of Sevan (Fig. 4), of volcanic origin (the only island), to which I was rowed by an ancient fisherman, and upon which stand a time-honoured monastery and church dating back to the fourth century, tenanted today by a solitary monk, who described to me the age-old pilgrimage made annually in the month of August to the Sevan Monastery, when the peasants pitch their tents upon the grassy slopes. The Holy Isle is regarded by the Armenians as a national treasure and is said to have once formed the seat of the Patriarchate, a contention which, however, is only supported in the immediate locality and of which I can discover no corroboration. A legend dating back to the time of Marco Polo states that the magnificent trout which abound in the lake only appeared between Ash Wednesday and Easter Sunday in order to fortify the faithful during their Lenten fast, but today it is ruefully confessed that the age of at all events that miracle is past.

The next stage of my journey was to carry me through the Pambak Mountains in a north-westerly direction as far as the little town of Delijan, amidst woodland scenery, the beauty of which it is difficult to describe adequately. Actually Delijan is only about twenty-five miles from Sevan as the crow flies, but the innumerable hairpin bends which have to be negotiated in the descent from the top of the pass take about a couple of hours to overcome. Vanished, as if by magic, were the dark, rugged, treeless ranges surrounding the lake, and in their place opened out before me the slopes of the Pambaks covered with long luxuriant pasture of a richness I have seldom before seen, and upon which wandered nomadic tribes grazing their flocks—Tartars from Azerbaijan and Kurds from over the Turkish frontier—whilst here and there I observed curious round dome-roofed felt tents similar in many respects to the "yurts" of the Kirgis of Turkestan. Gradually descending to the lower slopes, the scenery might well be likened to some of the most beautiful in our own far distant land—thickly wooded sweeps of oak, beech, and pines enveloped in dense clouds and mist—and at length the little town of Delijan appeared before me exquisitely situated in a charming hollow where two glens meet high up in the hills at an altitude of 4,200 feet. The explanation of the luxuriant foliage to be seen in these northern regions of Armenia lies not so much in the heavier rainfall as in the fact that this occurs very largely in the month of June, when it is most needed by the growing vegetation. It seemed difficult to believe that until quite

recently the beautiful road I had just traversed possessed quite a sinister reputation and that travellers had been waylaid and robbed by the nomadic tribes encamped in the dense woods through which it lay. The hotel which I found in Erivan was almost Western in its cleanliness and comfort by comparison with the sole hostelry of which Delijan boasted, which was as ill-kept within as it appeared neat from without. I was not tempted, therefore, to linger any longer within its portals than was necessary for refreshment and a night's rest, as is usually the case when travelling in parts of the globe that are far from the beaten track. There is no air of great antiquity about the town, and its interest lies principally in the beauty of its surroundings. The population of about 5,000 comprises both Armenians and also representatives of a Russian sect known as Molokans, who are widely distributed in Northern Armenia and of whom I will write more fully anon. In vivid contrast to the low, flat-roofed, clay-built dwellings in the south the houses in these northern regions, where the rainfall is so much more abundant, are of stone or wood with sloping tiled roofs, those of the Russian settlers being usually better built and frequently whitewashed.

In retracing my footsteps to the lake I was favoured by a clear sky and brilliant sunshine, so that I was enabled to appreciate the beauty of the Pambaks under the most favourable conditions, although these did not develop until after the photograph reproduced here was taken (Fig. 5), from which the mist on the mountains is clearly discernible. Upon reaching the north-west corner of the lake I now struck due south along its western shore towards Novo Bayazet, and in doing so entered upon what must surely constitute the poorest and most distressful region to be found anywhere in this little land; such houses as existed were low, flat-roofed stone dwellings, many of them being merely fishermen's huts. The fittings in all the Armenian peasants' houses which I visited were primitive in the extreme, with perhaps a low stool or two, and matting upon which to sleep, but the conditions of squalor in those to be found along this desolate coast leave little to the imagination.

One unforgettable feature of beauty, however, during this journey must be recorded. As the sun was sinking in a ball of fire behind the sombre Khrebet Akmangan range the waters of the lake assumed a kaleidoscopic effect of unsurpassable magnificence, changing from deep cobalt to tender emerald subtly blended with streaks of flame from the reflected light of the golden orb now rapidly vanishing behind me as I stood upon the shore to witness this sublime spectacle.

I reached Novo Bayazet as darkness was falling. The town, which is the centre of the fisheries, lies about four miles from the

lake, being connected with it by a small river; it is a dun-coloured, dreary, unlovely locality in whose favour I can say nothing, but at least I can pay tribute to the warmth of the welcome accorded me by its inhabitants, for upon my arrival at the establishment beneath the roof of which I was destined to pass the night under (literally) most irritating conditions the car was surrounded by a score or more of kindly fisher-folk, who seemed genuinely delighted at the apparently unprecedented spectacle of an Englishman in their midst. It was in the noisome apartment where I partook of an evening meal that I first sampled the delicious salmon-trout for which the lake is justly famous, and, in refutation of the legend of Marco Polo referred to earlier, I am bound to admit that it was not served to me during the Lenten season, but in the month of October in the year of grace 1934.

Upon the slopes of the Khrebet Akmangan are to be found remains of early civilizations which once inhabited this region, notably during the period of the Bronze Age. Traces of ancient fortifications and caves still exist, and I was fortunate enough to discover, not far from a cluster of hovels in the mountains, a particularly interesting example of one of these latter, which in all probability served to illustrate (according to Armenian historians to whom I have shown a photograph) the undisputed fact that many of the ancient heathen altars were transformed into Christian shrines, and furthermore that the sacrificial rites of paganism are still encountered in the Armenian Church today. Within this small cave, in front of the crude stone altar, four crosses were roughly carved, whilst upon the slab above it a ram or similar sacrificial animal was clearly discernible, having two heads, or rather one superimposed upon the other. A large and quite elaborately carved cross surmounts this animal, and a number of smaller crosses are intricately incorporated into the stonework, as also the bearded head of "St. John," to whom the shrine is dedicated. Upon the threshold of the cave I discovered a pool of freshly shed blood, some of which was also contained in a small vessel upon the altar, where a candle stood burning. The custom of Blood Sacrifice as practised today would only appear to exist in the remote parts of the country, and is performed only in cases of dire need or peril where it is desired to offer up a particularly fervent prayer, such as, for example, in the case of dangerous illness, the procedure being to slaughter some animal or bird at the entrance to the shrine in which the supplication is being offered to the saint to whom it is dedicated. The village priest, where possible, presides at the ceremony, subsequently distributing the flesh of the slaughtered victim amongst the "poor and needy" (in the case to which I refer it must have proved extremely difficult to discriminate!) after the suppliant has lit a votive candle and poured

forth his invocation. A curious survival of the ancient heathen rite which has doubtless been performed, appropriately enough, throughout the long centuries upon the identical altar which witnessed the pagan sacrifices of old. It was not far distant from this spot that I encountered, perhaps, the most picturesque figure that crossed my path during my wanderings (Fig. 6). He described himself as a Turkish "hodja," or Muhammadan priest, and so far as could be ascertained he had journeyed on foot from Baku (the centre of the well-known oilfields on the coast of the Caspian Sea), his destination being the town of Kars in Turkish dominions about 120 miles westward. From his appearance it would not have occasioned me any surprise had he told me that he had travelled from Yokohama!

Upon returning once more to the northern shore of the lake, I now set out to visit a number of the villages inhabited solely by the Russian Molokans, to whom brief reference has already been made. These folk are a sect of dissenters from the Orthodox Church of Russia, who, on account of their fanaticism and other reasons, were banished by Czar Alexander II. in 1862, some of them having settled in Northern Armenia (approximately 5,000 exist here today), whilst the majority (now about 20,000) took up their abode in the Kuban regions of the Northern Caucasus. The word "Moloko" in Russian signifies milk, their contention being that as the child Jesus received His nourishment in the form of milk from His Mother, so they in turn received their spiritual nourishment from Him. They have never intermarried with the Armenians, and although they appear to live on friendly terms with them, they constitute an entirely homogeneous little colony and are, of course, typically Russian in appearance, their fresh Slav complexions being in marked contrast to the more swarthy natives. Many of their villages bear Russian names (*e.g.*, Yelenovka and Semenovka), and so far as I could ascertain they appear to be a hard-working, intelligent community and an asset to the country. They have no form of baptism, possess no churches or regular clergy, and their "services," if they may be so described, take the form of religious meetings, commencing with singing and extempore prayers and gradually culminating in a spiritual ecstasy preceded by a peculiar sort of dance, which continues to the point of exhaustion. An aged Molokan described the procedure to me, which I imagine he must find rather trying to his old bones. Those inhabiting the villages along the northern shore of the lake are naturally fisher-folk, but their cottages are well-built stone or wooden dwellings whitewashed in light blue, pink, or white, and frequently possessing trim little gardens; they are incomparably better furnished than those of the Armenians, though, to be sure, this is not difficult of achievement! Moreover, they are infinitely cleaner than those of the Russian peasants in their homeland.

A few miles along the road to Erivan I now took a turning westward along a steep and rocky track continuing for some eight or nine miles and culminating in the picturesque village of Daratchichak, a name interpreted to mean "Valley of Flowers," and situated in a recess in the hills at an altitude of over 7,000 feet. It was to this wholly delightful little mountain nook that, in Tsarist days, the Governor of Erivan and the wealthier classes used to betake themselves in the summer from the appalling heat of the capital; in fact, it might be described as the "Simla" of Erivan. At the top of the hill which meanders through the village stands three Armenian churches constructed in reddish volcanic stone side by side. The two larger ones are in a ruinous condition and are believed to have been partially destroyed during the Tartar invasions in the ninth century, but the centre smaller one is almost entire, still retaining its polygonal cupola, and is said to have been built by a Muslim convert to Christianity at a much later date. It is quite a little architectural gem with a superb portico, in the centre of which is a Romanesque pillar supporting two pointed arches, a type of entrance which I had not hitherto seen in any Armenian church. The churches are entirely disused, the interiors, I regret to say, containing an agglomeration of rubbish which did not encourage a prolonged investigation, and it was deplorable to observe them debased in this manner.

I spent a day or two in this charming little spot before returning to Erivan, for the country around is wooded and pleasant and the air wonderfully invigorating. From Erivan I was to return to Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, and thence to continue my travels in this country and subsequently in Daghestan.

I purposely did not describe the rail journey from Tiflis to Erivan, as the greater part of it was carried out by night in an interminably slow train on a single-line track, but as I returned by daylight it is now more appropriate to outline the portion of it which passes through Armenian territory, though, indeed, the country itself to the east as one travels northwards is similar to the rolling plateau of lava-strewn, treeless land already described on my journey to the Sevan Lake. To the west, close to the line, flows the Arpa-chai, a tributary of the Araxes, and the country over the border in Turkey is green but apparently uncultivated. The one outstanding feature which can perfectly clearly be discerned is the ruined walled city of Ani lying just across the frontier.

Ani—stronghold of the kings of the Bagratyd Dynasty, "City of a thousand-and-one churches" and last of the Royal Capitals—long since vanished the pomp and splendour of your courts and palaces, ground to dust beneath the remorseless heel of man the

invader and rent asunder by the forces of Nature. Truly is your glory now departed.

A heap of blackened ruins, utterly deserted by man, alone testifies to the architectural magnificence with which the city was once adorned, today steeped in memories of, perhaps, the proudest era in Armenia's history during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The *coup de grâce* was administered by a terrible earthquake as recently as 1926, when the nearby town of Alexandropol (now rebuilt and renamed Leninakan) was largely destroyed, hundreds being killed and injured and thousands rendered homeless, and it was amidst this holocaust of destruction that the ruined Bagratinian capital became engulfed.

Whilst the churches and monasteries which have enjoyed a continuity of use in the Russian regions of the ancient kingdom have been admirably preserved, one looks in vain for any recognizable traces of the royal palaces and castles of old which have been utterly swept away, as witness the complete disappearance of Armavir, the earliest capital (previously referred to), once renowned for the beauty of its cypress groves. As to Vagarshapat, the sole existing remnant of the palace of King Tiridates (so far as I am aware) takes the form of a fragment of a stone frieze and reposes in the Department of Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum (Exhibit No. 102,614).

In conclusion, I am anxious to add a few words concerning the representatives of a nation, amongst whom I travelled in their homeland, today—a nation which has endured with incredible tenacity and courage the most unremitting tyranny, oppression, and persecution almost to our very day, and such as might well have resulted in its extermination. In particular would I speak of my fellow-traveller, driver, and interpreter, a young Turkish-Armenian who, as a child, in his home town of Igdir had witnessed the massacre before his eyes of father, mother, sister, and brother during the Turkish invasion in the year 1920. Miraculously preserved from a similar fate, he was fortunate enough to be discovered and sheltered by the Armenian Near East Relief organization, whose magnificent work in the cause of suffering humanity amongst the wretched survivors must always redound to the credit of this great nation. Naturally, he had acquired a fair degree of fluency in the English language during the years he had spent under their care, and I was extremely glad to have been placed in touch with him shortly after my arrival in Erivan, for he was a first-rate driver (though how he became possessed of the somewhat dilapidated vehicle in which we travelled remained an unsolved mystery!). Together we explored parts of his country previously unknown even to him, and I could not have wished for a more delightful and intelligent companion. Speaking generally of the

people amongst whom I travelled, I would describe them as kindly, courteous, and hospitable to a degree, though perhaps somewhat grave and melancholy in their demeanour, which is really not surprising when one pauses to reflect upon the suffering which, as a nation, they have undergone. Moreover, the stamina of the people is seriously affected by the appalling prevalence of malaria, particularly in the capital and in the Araxes Valley, where no less than 90 per cent. of the population suffer from this insidious disease, due to the stagnant, marshy land, which, of course, forms an ideal breeding-ground for the malaria mosquito. In the mountainous regions the percentage is probably not higher than 20, but taken in the aggregate about one-third of the population are affected. Steps have been and still are being taken to cope with this national misfortune, and doubtless it will prove possible eventually to stamp out the disease by cultivation and drainage of the marshes.

I have already mentioned the tenacity and endurance of the Armenian people, and that these constitute hereditary virtues may be conclusively proved by a fact which is perhaps little known. Upon the downfall of the Armenian Kingdom, a band of nobles, together with their followers, emigrated to the Taurus Mountains in Cilicia, west of the River Euphrates, where, in 1080, under their chief Reuben they formed a colony, which later developed into the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, and which grew and flourished for wellnigh 300 years, notwithstanding the hostility of the Byzantine Empire and of the rising power of the Turks. It is true that their capital, Sis, was stormed and taken by the Egyptian Mamelukes in the year 1375, despite an heroic resistance by their last King, Leon VI., yet within our own generation an independent remnant still existed in their mountain strongholds of Zeitun, Hajin, and Sasoun. It is towards this wild and romantic land that my footsteps will be directed shortly after these words appear in print.

portant railway would progress satisfactorily. Unfortunately disagreement of a serious nature between the contracting parties arose not long after the conclusion of the contract. Finally China had to buy back the franchise for the construction of this railway. With this unfortunate affair the railway construction also stopped, until some years later it was again financed by a new loan with an international syndicate which is known as the Huknang Railway Loans. With the proceeds of this loan new construction started once more, and about one-third of the railway from the north and one-third of it from the south was actually constructed. On account of the Great War of 1914, further financing of this railway became impossible and construction was suspended once again. Therefore this road was left with a gap of about 240 miles in the middle for over twenty years.

II. ORIGIN OF THE SCHEME FOR COMPLETION

After the war world finance became so disorganized that to finance this missing link was quite impossible. As fate would have it, it was the much maligned Boxer Indemnity that made the resumption of construction of this important middle section feasible, thus furnishing a classical illustration of the saying that every cloud has a silver lining.

Some time in 1922, by a good gesture of the British Government towards China, for which Sir Austen Chamberlain was largely responsible, the British Government decided to remit the balance of indemnity to China. The first announcement to the Chinese Government that the balance of the Boxer Indemnity would cease to be paid into the Treasury and would be utilized for the benefit of China was contained in an Act of Parliament in December, 1922. This Act also provided for the creation of an Advisory Committee. It was finally passed in June, 1925, and the late Lord Buxton was made its chairman. There were eleven members of this Committee, and of these three were Chinese—namely, Dr. Hu Shih, the Chinese Philosopher; Dr. V. K. Ting, an eminent Geologist; and the writer. In order to perform its duties properly the Advisory Committee appointed a delegation of its members to make local investigations in China. This delegation consisted of six members, of which Lord Willingdon, the late Viceroy of India, was chairman, with Professor Soothill, of Oxford University, and Dame Adelaide Anderson, a famous social worker, together with the above-named three Chinese members. They spent the greater part of 1926 in visiting many important centres of China and interviewed numerous responsible and representative bodies along all lines of activity in order to decide upon the best way for using the indemnity funds.

3. After careful consideration they concluded that the funds should be partly applied to immediate educational purposes, especially along the lines of agriculture, science, medicine and so forth, and part of the money should be invested, such investment to fulfil the following four conditions:

(1) It must be some new work in China.

(2) It must be of national significance so as to serve as a permanent monument.

(3) It must do the most good for the largest number of people.

(4) It must give the best return under similar conditions.

The delegation, after discussing numerous alternatives and schemes put before them, unanimously and strongly recommended the construction of the unfinished section of the railway between Canton and Hankow, thus completing a trunk line from north to south running through the heart of the country. The estimated cost then was put at five million pounds sterling.

The desirability of railways in China is generally recognized, and I may perhaps here summarize the memorandum I supplied to the Advisory Committee forming the foundation on which their recommendation for the construction of the Canton-Hankow Railway was made.

The construction of a well-located railway in China will be of mutual benefit to both peoples, not only immediately but also permanently. Speaking generally of Chinese railways, about one-half of the cost of construction is local and the other half represents money spent for materials purchased abroad, such as rails, cars, wagons, locomotives, machinery, steel bridge-works, etc., etc. Rolling-stock alone represents about 21 per cent. of the total cost of construction, while rails, bridges, signals, etc., represent another 21 per cent. A great part, if not all, of such materials may be purchased from Great Britain. Such purchases will prove beneficial to British industry and British labour. The other half of the cost of a railway represents work done locally, such as making the road bed, drilling tunnels, construction of buildings, etc. These works, in turn, will immediately give employment to large numbers of Chinese labourers.

Railways Unite the People

Railways can do more than anything else to knit the people of the different parts of the country into a compact whole. Although a homogeneous race, the Chinese, nevertheless, have rather marked provincial differences which are not wholesome. Anything which helps the most to remove such differences is to the greatest good of China as a whole. It is true that the amount of

funds available for investment will not go far in railway-building, but even a hundred miles of a wisely located line will bring enormous prosperity to the section chosen as well as give that much more help towards the union of the people.

Railways Stimulate Agriculture and Trade

Railways not only help to get existing products to market, but stimulate further extension of agriculture. Without railways, each locality will have to produce all the necessaries of life, although its soil may not be fitted for producing some of these necessaries. Once the railway comes, the soil of each locality may be devoted to the cultivation of the products which its soil is best fitted for, while depending upon the railway to bring to it the rest of things which can be more economically bought elsewhere. This feature of the railway alone has transformed many poverty-stricken districts into flourishing localities. Shabby villages soon become flourishing towns and unknown places become important trade centres. For instance, Harbin before the Chinese Eastern was built consisted of half a dozen fishermen's huts and several thatched inns, while a dozen years after the completion of that railway it grew into the Moscow of the Far East. Pengpu in 1908 was a string of mud hovels on a dusty lane, while today it is a national trade centre. Any number of similar cases might be given. What is more, education, culture, and all the good things of modern life always follow the railway, for the railway creates wealth, and wealth makes modern education and modern conveniences possible. I personally know a number of country districts where in a few years the railway, as if by a wave of the magic wand, has made wonderful transformations. The habitual beggar has disappeared, and the poorest has become well-to-do. All this change is due simply to the fact that long-distance commerce is made possible, and the farmer can cultivate his land for the stuff which it is best fitted for and depend upon the railway to ship his produce away for a good price as well as bring him other necessaries of life which he had to produce formerly, although neither his land nor his own ability was fit for such production.

It will be of mutual benefit permanently, because the railway will open up vast stretches of the interior and permit native products to be brought out as well as British goods to be sent in, which cannot be done so adequately by other means. This will create employment and augment the wealth of both nations.

Moreover, the benefits will be widespread and will not be limited to Great Britain and China alone, for commerce of all nations may use the railway on equal terms and be equally benefited.

Soon after the Advisory Committee made its report agreements between the British and Chinese Governments were arrived at, as in the Exchange of Notes of September, 1930. A Board of Trustees in charge of the administration of the Indemnity Funds was organized in Nanking, and at the same time a Purchasing Commission was organized with a seat in London for the sole purpose of making purchases of British materials with the funds from the Boxer Indemnity. Ever since this organization the Commission has been busy in making purchases of all sorts, principally for meeting the requirements of the Canton-Hankow Railway and thus contributing its share in the completion of the important trunk line.

I am indebted to the Editor of *The Railway Gazette* for the following supplementary information regarding the railway which has appeared in its columns.

III. VARIATIONS IN COUNTRY TRAVERSED AND ENGINEERING DIFFICULTIES

Southern Section.—Probably the most difficult part of the uncompleted 252-mile section is the one-third of that distance from Lokchang to Chenchow across the divide that separates Hunan from Kwantung. Work there is very heavy and necessitates many rock cuttings, much tunnelling, and the construction of a number of high viaducts and extensive retaining walls. The original location of this section was carried out by British engineers of the Yueh Han (Canton-Hankow) Railway Company, and included some 66 tunnels. Further survey work has, however, enabled that alignment to be improved and tunnelling reduced to a total number of only 14, the longest of which is 300 m. The ruling gradient is 1 in 100 uncompensated for curvature, equivalent to about 1 in 80 compensated.

Northern Section.—On the northern section from Chuchow to Hengchow, a distance of 130 km., the line traverses rolling country, necessitating only one other tunnel and little rock cutting or retaining walling. There are, however, three major bridges. Over the Lo Ho is a bridge consisting of four spans, each of 45 m. in length, the girders being of the through truss type, and seven 18-m. deck girder spans. The second bridge, over the Mi Ho, consists of two 45-m. through truss spans and 14 18-m. deck girder spans. The Lei Ho bridge consists of four 60-m. through truss spans and eight 18-m. deck spans. Work on these bridges was started in October, 1934, and the piers of the Mi Ho Bridge, which rest on rock foundations, were completed early in 1935, but at the other two bridges caissons had to be sunk and a large

umber of piles driven. Owing to abnormal floods these bridges ere not expected to be completed before the end of 1935.

Transport Difficulties

The rock formation is composed mainly of good limestone, ther exposed or covered with a few feet of earth. Most of the ɔck-cutting work has been carried out with compressed air drills ıd dynamite blasting. Owing, however, to the very steep moun- ıin slopes down into the river bed, only the lightest forms of air ɔmpressors could be used, and in many instances they had to be ıounted on country boats, as this was the only way to move them p and down the river as required. The total quantity of rock ıtting of this difficult section amounts to about 3,000,000 cm. 'he most suitable form of bridging has proved to be reinforced ɔncrete arches or steel girder spans on masonry piers, which are ɔmetimes as much as 120 ft. in height. The greatest difficulty ɾom the engineer's point of view on this 120-km. section of con- ɪruction has been that of transport, as the North River, which the lignment follows, runs in deep gorges through mountain anges, and there are only broken footpaths here and there on the teep hillsides, close to the river. The even flow of the latter, too, ; interrupted by no fewer than eighteen sets of rapids, so that it ; not easily navigable. On the north side of the divide, that is to ay in Hunan, there is no river that can be followed, and the ransportation of men and materials along the watercourses and ootpaths in very broken country has been exceedingly difficult. \s a result, the cost of transport of a barrel of cement has fre- ɹuently been greater than the cost of the cement itself.

Quantities of Materials Used

Mention has already been made of the difficulties of transport. The materials that had to be carried totalled: 50,000 tons of rails and fittings, 6,000 tons of steelwork for bridges, 670,000 sleepers, 525,000 barrels of cement, and several thousand tons of miscellaneous steelwork as well as tools and plant of all kinds. About two-thirds of the materials were brought up the Lei River from the north as far as Chenchow in small junks, about 300 of these being in use at one time.

Permanent Way and Rolling Stock

The permanent way used is Chinese National standard 85-lb. a yard material, rails 40 ft. in length. At least two loop lines are

provided at each station, their minimum effective length being 1,476 ft. Sleepers are either of treated Douglas fir, 6 in. × 9 in. × 8 ft., of Jarrah or Australian hard wood, 5 in. × 9 in. × 8 ft., or of local Hunan pine or fir, 6 in. × 8 in. × 8 ft. Sixteen sleepers are laid in each 40-ft. rail length. The standard Chinese practice of staggering the rail joints has been adopted.

The type of locomotive to be used on the Canton-Hankow for some time to come is the very fine 4-8-4 described and illustrated in *The Railway Gazette*, manufactured by Messrs. Vulcan Foundry Co. The passenger coaches are mostly being purchased from the Birmingham Railway Carriage and Wagon Co., and are reported to be of excellent material and design.

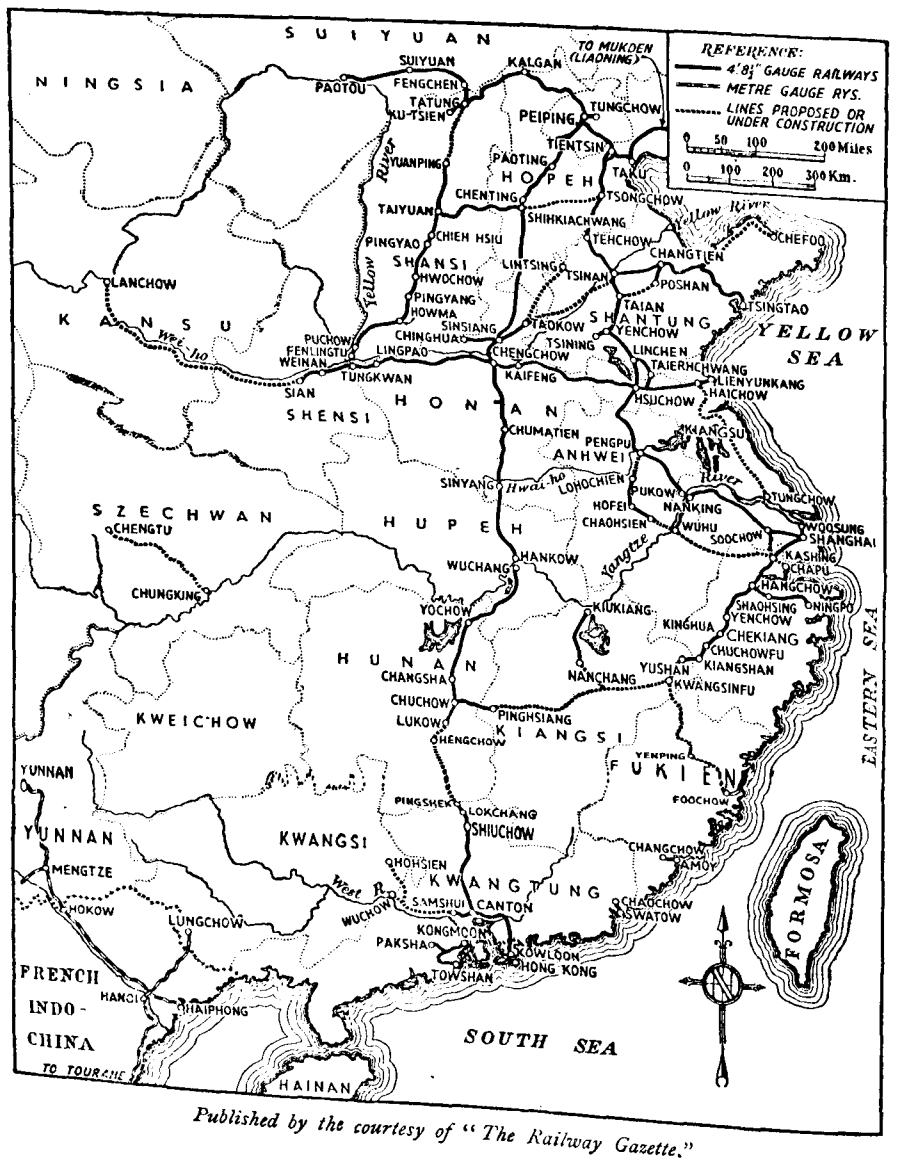
IV. PROSPECTS FOR TRAFFIC

In spite of inadequate transport facilities Hunan already exports—mainly from Pinghsiang—by rail to Wuchang some 1,000,000 tons of coal annually. More will in future be carried southwards over the new line to Canton and Hong-Kong. This rich province also exports, via Wuchang, wood oil valued at $15,000,000 a year. Much of this too—which is about 40 per cent. of the exports of the province—will in future go to Canton. A further 23 per cent. consists of minerals, including antimony, but, due to lack of transport, the large quantities known to exist have so far hardly been touched. Large quantities of imports from Hong-Kong and Canton will also use the new direct route to central China, once this line is open. Passengers, too, will be carried from Hankow to Canton in about 32 hours, instead of from 10 to 15 days via Shanghai. The new railway is therefore expected to be worked to a capacity almost as soon as it is opened for public traffic.

Finally, I cannot do better than refer to my concluding remarks in the memorandum:

The significance of this piece of work cannot be over-estimated. The idea of a grand trunk railway from Peiping to Canton running through the heart of the country has appealed to the imagination of all from the early days of railways. It is the one railway which all observers, Chinese and foreign, consider the most important and most urgently needed from every point of view. It is the one project which the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Railways has never dropped throughout all the changes and vicissitudes of recent years. The ambition of all successive Ministers and all leading railway men has been the completion of this railway. It will bring Peiping to Canton within three days and inaugurate a new era in the intercourse of the Chinese people between the north and the south. It is especially

significant when we recall that the differences between the north and south are far greater than those between the east and west simply because China's large rivers, generally flowing eastward, have helped the intercourse between the eastern and western parts of the country. The scheme, as remarked by many experts, is really one of genuine national importance as compared with other schemes. It will be a worthy standing monument, the significance of which will grow as years advance.



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THE INDIAN BUDGET: PROSPECTS OF FEDERAL FINANCE

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It is generally agreed that if the Constitutional Reforms are to be successfully launched, more funds must be at the disposal of the provincial governments which directly minister to the economic and social well-being of the people; but there is some disagreement on the means of securing the additional funds.

Many people hold that the provincial governments must be given a part of the revenues too lavishly allotted to the Government of India under the "Meston Settlement." A common criticism urged against the existing system is that while the expenditure of the Centre is "stationary or falling," the revenues assigned to it are "the only revenues which in recent years have shown expansion."* With the gestation of the idea of federation, this view seems to have gained further support and was repeatedly brought forward during the discussions of the Round-Table Conference. However, the Report of the Joint Select Committee is more cautious in this matter.† Nonetheless, the above assumption has coloured all recent discussions on the subject, and is still uppermost in the minds of certain provincial governments which have put forward claims for a large share in the income-tax, under Section 138 of the Government of India Act (1935).

Whatever might have been the validity of the above criticism of the "Meston Settlement" in the last decade, it has largely weakened after 1930. That criticism is based on two important assumptions: (1) That the revenues of the Central Government are expansive and (2) that Central expenditure is "stationary or falling." Neither of these is quite true, as will be shown presently.‡

1. The Revenue Position

It may be true that some of the revenues allotted to the Government of India are expansive, but if they can expand they can also contract. The depression has largely undermined the expansiveness of the customs revenue, and on top of it the growing Pro-

* Sir Walter Layton's Memorandum in the Simon Commission Report, Vol. II., p. 210.

† P. 60, para. 245.

‡ For an estimate of the Meston Settlement, see the writer's forthcoming work, *The Indian Financial System*.

tectionist policy, in India as well as abroad, is curtailing foreign trade and is making customs revenue unsteady. For some years, customs duties have accounted for nearly two-thirds of the Central revenues, but one cannot count on this state of things continuing. Imports of cotton goods and sugar—two principal sources of customs revenue—have had a sharp fall in the last few years, and the revenue has also fallen, in spite of heavy surcharges since 1931. Sugar which produced Rs. 10.68 crores in 1930-31 brought in only about Rs. $3\frac{3}{4}$ crores in the last two years, and a further fall is imminent, as Indian production is growing fast. While some items have declined, others have expanded, and the customs revenue has lately increased; but the true position cannot be seen till the surcharges are removed. To a great extent the fall under customs may be made up by excises, but this will take time.

Revenue from Commercial Departments has been severely affected by the decline in foreign trade, and an increase in that line cannot be expected in the near future. Non-tax revenues brought in more than Rs. 20 crores annually between 1921 and 1929, but they have contracted into a fourth of it since 1930, as the following table will show:

NON-TAX REVENUE IN 1929-30 AND 1933-34.
(In crores of rupees.)

	1929-30.	1933-34.
Net revenue from commercial departments (chiefly railways)	5.24	0.56
Net revenue from opium	2.55	0.88
Net revenue from currency and mint ...	2.00	0.74
Interest receipts	4.40	1.63
Extraordinary receipts	1.89	0.36
Other revenues	3.38	2.72
Total ...	19.46	5.77

Indian railways are in a bad way. They have lately been accumulating deficits (Rs. 32 crores for four years ending 1934-35), and there is no sign of any improvement. When large quantities of rice and jute were exported and the interior tracts of India depended on the imports of cotton goods from Lancashire and sugar from Java, railways were able to make heavy profits and contribute liberally to Central revenues. But when the exports fell and home-produced goods largely took the place of imported goods, the demand for railway transport diminished. Internal trade has indeed increased, and is increasing, but the automobile has captured a good part of that trade and is not likely to give it up. Therefore Indian railway finance is in a depressed condition, and, unless a radical reorganization takes place, improvement cannot set in.

The Government of India formerly made a large revenue from its monopolies. Opium brought in Rs. 10 crores in 1880 and Rs. 9 crores even in 1910, but it produces hardly Rs. 70 lakhs today. The revenue from salt is considerable at present (Rs. 8.18 crores in 1935-36); but this high figure is due to certain temporary influences. A strong political party in the country is intent on lowering it and some would like to see it even abolished. With the Damocles sword hanging over its head, one cannot build much hope on the revenue from salt being maintained at its present level.

The only hopeful feature is that income-tax and excises are improving, but this improvement is bound to be slow. It is true that the total revenue has exceeded the budget figures in the last two years, but we must remember that the whole of the surcharge on customs and a part of that on income-tax still remain, and until these are removed Indian finances cannot be regarded as having recovered from the slump.

2. EXPENDITURE ON THE INCREASE

But while revenue is shrinking, expenditure is on the increase. The budget for 1936-37 provides for a subvention of Rs. 158 lakhs to Sind and Orissa, and in addition a grant of Rs. 45 lakhs (from surplus) for building equipment in those provinces. About Rs. 75 lakhs will be required for enlarging the Central legislature. The rebuilding of Quetta is going to cost at least Rs. 1 crore annually for seven or eight years. But these estimates cannot be regarded as final. When constitutional reforms are put into operation in a country like India, expenses are liable to be underestimated, and this must be particularly so when (as now) a substantial transfer of power is being made from a bureaucracy (which, whatever its faults, was not extravagant) to the Indian body-politic which has been for long feeling the need for a more liberal expenditure on social services. The new status that India is entering upon will create new needs, whether essential or ornamental, and such needs cannot all be estimated beforehand.

The assumption that the Central Government's expenditure is stationary or falling is based upon wrong premises. It is against the whole trend of development in federal constitutions. In the old days when transport was slow and economic life functioned in narrow spheres, defence was the only large function of federal governments, but today economic life is functioning on a world scale, and each country is compelled to have a unitary and well co-ordinated economic policy. Politically, the autonomy of the units may be a good thing, but economically such autonomy might lead to most injurious consequences, as is evident from recent happenings in Australia and elsewhere. Most federal con-

stitutions have taken account of this change in economic life, and the scope of federal government has widened and its expenditure has largely increased in respect of functions primarily regarded as provincial—viz., education, public health, agriculture, industries, and economic development generally. Roosevelt discovered to his cost what a stumbling-block State autonomy is to the economic advancement of the U.S.A., and there is a growing desire in that country for a radical change in this respect.

India can utilize what other countries have learnt by bitter experience. We must avoid the evils of a rigid federal structure —double taxation, overlapping tax jurisdictions, duplication of administrative machinery, multiplicity of tax formulas and forms, and inequality of fiscal arrangements.* In many ways the financial arrangements we are adopting will be an improvement on those of other federations. We must also recognize that the best interests of the nation are served by the federal government regulating and co-ordinating economic activities throughout the country. In commerce, the Centre has an important function to fulfil, and it may be a costly one, too, as international trade is now becoming more and more subject to agreements and manipulations. In industry, and even in agriculture, not only research and marketing but a careful co-ordination fall on the shoulders of the Central Government. The same is true of education and public health. No doubt the work in the districts, mostly in the nature of propaganda, will go on under the supervision of the provincial governments, but the important task of formulation of policies will necessarily devolve on the Centre. When the circumstances both within and outside India are calling for a unified economic policy in this country, it would be fatal to curtail the scope of the Central Government's activities. Its economic functions will have to be amplified, and not attenuated, under the Reforms, and its revenues must largely expand if India is to have a harmonious economic development.

It is generally believed that there is large scope for retrenchment, especially in the defence budget. There is no doubt that India's defence expenditure is comparatively heavy. Sir Walter Layton estimated it at 31½ per cent. of the total Central and Provincial expenditure. Although the proportion must have fallen since, owing to the recent cut in military charges, India's defence expenditure is still high in comparison with its civil expenditure, which is rather low. It is deplorable that the outlay on social services is meagre, but this does not strengthen the argument that the defence expenditure must be brought down to the level of the expenditure on the social services; for in defence the thing that matters is that you must keep up your armaments on the scale

* Adarkar: *Principles and Problems of Federal Finance*, p. 63.

adopted by your neighbours and possible enemies. India is like a man who in the insecure times of old had to have a wall of hard stone although he lived in a mud house himself. If his means improved his house would be better built, but he would not be wise in taking away the stone wall till his neighbours took off theirs. India's defences have to be strong until disarmament becomes a reality.

We may remember in this connection that since the World War considerable economies have been effected in military expenditure. It fell from about Rs. 70 crores in 1921-22 to Rs. 55.10 crores in 1929-30, and although it was stabilized at that amount the depression called for emergency economies and the expenditure today stands at about Rs. 44½ crores. A cut of Rs. 10½ crores in four years is no small achievement. The Finance Member has repeatedly warned the Assembly that "the large reduction of defence expenditure in recent years had been secured to some extent by emergency measures of a temporary character," and that the present figure "could not be regarded as representing a new permanent level of defence expenditure."* When prices rise again, the expenditure may also increase. The Quetta earthquake had increased defence expenditure and the budget estimate for 1936-37 is Rs. 45.45 crores. Even assuming that new ways of economizing might be found in future, will not the savings be absorbed in aerial and naval defences? In the present state of things one cannot build much hope on a further fall of defence expenditure in the near future. If fresh resources are needed they must be looked for elsewhere.

3. Prospects of Additional Revenue

Taking all these circumstances into account, one fears that the Central Government needs nearly all its present revenue if it is to function properly. Hopes are being entertained in certain quarters that a substantial part of the income-tax revenue will soon be assigned to the provinces, but in the light of circumstances sketched above one cannot see how this hope can be fulfilled in the immediate future. On every ground, it is essential that the Central Government should have a strong financial position when inaugurating the Reforms.

No doubt the Provinces need more resources. Many of them have had unbalanced budgets lately. Great expectations have been held out to the people in regard to nation-building services, and these expectations will have to be fulfilled in some measure. It is certainly in the interest of the country that provincial resources

* Budget Statements for 1934-35, 1935-36, and 1936-37.

should increase. But it is futile to look to the present Central revenues for filling provincial coffers. New resources must be tapped if the Provinces are to have more revenues.

The burden of taxation is fairly high in India, but it may not be so high as in many advanced countries; we have not got the statistical material necessary for an accurate estimate of the burden, but every indication points to the conclusion that the ratio of total taxation to national income is not so high as in the U.S.A. or Great Britain, or even Japan. India is indeed a poor country, but, as Layton said, "it is at the same time a country in which there are large accumulations of wealth on which the burdens of Government rest very lightly." Commodities in common use like tobacco, on which much revenue is raised in Europe, are still untaxed or lightly taxed in India. Social ceremonies like marriages deserve to be taxed on every ground. Increase of taxation had been hitherto unpopular because it was felt that the revenue was not properly spent, but now that provincial autonomy is becoming a fact, the public must be in a position to control expenditure more effectively. The country is calling for more roads and schools, clean drinking water and sure water supply for the fields; and expenditure on these items will be productive in every sense of the word. In the present state of the country, wise public expenditure is the royal road to increased economic welfare and to greater social harmony. As Layton has pointed out, "taxation may be the only practicable means of creating a better and more secure livelihood." Such taxation will not reduce the income of the people but will increase it; it will enhance taxable capacity and not diminish it.

An encouraging feature of the present economic situation in India is that although the depression has curtailed the country's purchasing power and thereby diminished its capacity to absorb imports, consumption at home has been maintained except in certain minor items, and production has largely increased in the industrial field.* The increase of production in cotton piece-goods, and iron and steel, has been great; that in sugar and cement even more striking. Industrial production (average of 10 industries) has increased by 44 per cent. in India in the seven years, 1928-29 to 1934-35; but during the same period the increase in Great Britain was only $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in France, Germany and U.S.A. there was a decline of 25 per cent., 15 per cent. and 20 per cent. respectively.†

Some people doubt whether such increase of production has

* P. J. Thomas: "Population and Production of India, 1920-31." (*Indian Journal of Economics*, July, 1935.)

† See the writer's letter in *The Times*, October 24, 1935. Sugar production has increased sixfold in six years.

enhanced taxable capacity, but there is no doubt that it has. It is true that a good part of the increased production has only replaced imports, but a large net addition is being made to the flow of goods and services (both of which together constitute the national dividend), and it is having its effect on the existing revenues. Fresh taxable capacity is being generated, and this may be tapped in future. It must be remembered that in the case of articles like sugar, increased production means a much larger supply of raw material and an increase in the purchasing power of the agriculturist. No doubt reduced importation has resulted in smaller exportation from India, but as production has not fallen in the case of most of the exported commodities it may be inferred that the surplus has been absorbed at home. Gold exports have made up for diminished commodity exports, but the gold exported is largely barren metal and not from the reserve supporting currency or credit. Thus, in spite of the depression, the national dividend is on the increase, and with it the taxable capacity; but with the existing statistical material it is not possible to accurately assess the increase of the national dividend and its effects on revenue. The fall of railway receipts does not weaken the above contention. Apart from the road competition, the nature of the transition in trade is such as to affect railways adversely. Income-tax collections have increased in spite of the reduction of surcharges; salt is better and the provincial excise has definitely improved.

A great change seems to be slowly taking place in the revenue system of the country. Opium revenue has nearly become a thing of the past. After the War, customs became the largest single source of revenue, but this is now changing owing to the diminution of foreign trade and the transformation of its content. Excise must take the place of customs, but there is a considerable time-lag to reckon with. Largely by the operations of the Central Government, new industries are arising and old industries are growing, but the benefits of this will have to be shared with the provincial governments. Imports benefited the Central exchequer almost entirely, but home production will increase the provincial revenues, and if income-tax is to be shared between the two Governments the balance of advantage may be on the provincial side. Thus the policy of protection has proved to be a self-denying ordinance so far as the Central Government is concerned. It is high time the Provinces realized this.

The result of these new developments will be that in future a clear separation between the Central and Provincial revenue heads will not be feasible. Not only will income-tax cease to be solely Central, but the excises recently established, and the death-duties and terminal taxes which may be imposed in future will have to be shared between the Central Government and the Provinces.

They will have to be levied by the Central Government, but the proceeds will have to be distributed to the Provinces in some equitable manner. In the case of certain taxes, the Centre or the Provinces may levy a basic rate and the other may place *centimes additionnels*. Even customs revenue has ceased to be entirely Central.

4. The Distribution of Income-Tax

There are many grounds for giving the Provinces a share in the income-tax revenue; but, for reasons given above, the share available for distribution to them may not be large for some years. Whatever surplus may accrue to the Central Government, after providing for the removal of the emergency surcharges, may be distributed to the Provinces in the form of assignments from the income-tax revenue. But the real difficulty lies in deciding on the basis of distribution between the Provinces. The unfairness of allotting to each Province the whole or a proportion of the income-tax collected in it has been convincingly stated by Sir Walter Layton. "The population of towns, and in particular that of the capital cities," says Layton, "builds up its economic life on that of the country as a whole, while the prosperity of the great ports has its roots in the villages of the interior as well as in those of sea-bound Provinces themselves. The shipping concerns and commercial houses of Karachi or Bombay, for example, may enjoy increased profits next year as a result of favourable agricultural conditions in the Punjab. These profits will mean higher income-tax assessments in respect of incomes earned in the Presidency of Bombay. . . . But it would be a mistake to attribute this expansion of revenue to the special industry or the good fortune of the Presidency alone. On the contrary, it would be due primarily to conditions elsewhere."* The economic life of India is becoming more and more unified, and the unfairness of allocating to a single Province the income-tax collections of large cities and ports is becoming greater.

The Percy Committee on Federal Finance, after giving much thought to the question, recommended a scheme of distribution based chiefly on residence, but suggested that the income of non-residents and the undistributed profits of companies may be made over to the Provinces on the basis of population. Considering the difficulties of ascertaining the personal income-tax creditable to each Province and the fact that a growing number of business-men draw their incomes from several Provinces, it may be fair to distribute a large part of the income-tax on the basis of population. This arrangement would help the backward Provinces without hindering the progress of the advanced ones.

* Simon Commission Report, Vol. II., p. 246.

5. Conclusion

Such are the thorny financial problems facing the Government of India today. Some of them will, no doubt, be solved for Government by Sir Otto Niemeyer, but others will have to be tackled by negotiation with the Provinces. Lately, conditions in India have improved remarkably. The budgets for 1934-35 and 1935-36 have closed with comfortable surpluses, and a part of the surcharges has been removed. A substantial improvement has also taken place in the provincial budgets, and Provinces will be much benefited by the timely grants which Sir James Grigg has been able to provide for in his two successive budgets. The Reserve Bank has been established. The credit of the Government of India stands high and loans could be raised at rates lower than those at which many of the Great Powers can borrow. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. sterling stock which fell to 44 in September, 1931, stands at 99 today (March 3, 1936). There is some anxiety concerning the future of gold exports, but considerable assurance comes from the fact that the increase in internal production and trade is enhancing the country's purchasing power and taxable capacity. Thus the conditions laid down in the White Paper have been largely fulfilled and time is getting propitious for the inauguration of Indian Federation.

HINDUSTHANI MUSIC*

By H.H. The Maharana of Dharampur

Western India has, to its credit, produced many pioneers in the field of music as in other fields of national advancement. From Sind to Gujarat, Rajputana, Kathiawar, and Maharashtra and Dharwar right down to the very frontiers of Carnatic music there is open to the research students and exponents of Hindusthani music a vast and almost inexhaustible area of rich material in both folk and traditional as well as classical music, instrumental and vocal.

This historical area needs, no doubt, to be carefully explored. But we are for the moment concerned with the recent attempts to reconstruct, as I suggested, our heritage in music. The pioneering reconstructive attempts of such indefatigable workers as the late Pandit Vishnu Digambar and of scholars of the eminent magnitude of Pandit V. N. Bhatkhande have, no doubt, rendered our task easier and, in some ways, smoother. But much remains to be done and the good work they have done, the results they have accomplished, remain to be consolidated. Musical and educational institutions like the Maharashtra Sangit Samiti should, I think, begin with consolidating these definite gains. It is, evidently, one of the aims and objects of the Samiti. And the Samiti have wisely decided that its name will not and should not restrict its scope, activities, or advantages to workers, students, and exponents of Hindusthani music belonging solely to Maharashtra. Only those guiding the Samiti have decided, provisionally I believe, to take as their particular region of work Maharashtra as their initial unit of reconstruction. If that is so, as I understand it is so, it will be one of those instances where division of work will surely multiply achievement.

The division of labour I am suggesting is essential in view of the three-fold task of nation-wide reconstruction in music we are contemplating—our musical wealth from the past, its present artistic and cultural possibilities, and finally its future development. In examining our musical wealth we shall have soon to decide whether everything, every custom, convention, tradition, personal idiosyncrasies that we inherit from the past is sacrosanct and of perpetual value. We cannot talk of or serve the present in terms merely of the past. We must remember that we are living in times vastly different from the past, and unless we make determined efforts not only to facilitate the study of music but disown

* Based on the author's Presidential Address at the First Hindusthani Music Conference recently held at Bombay.

practically everything that seems to hamper its progress in the present our reconstructive efforts will not be as fruitful as we have a right to expect them to be.

The collection of information about Hindusthani music, the accurate preservation of old songs and *Ragas* and the careful reprint publication and sale of these songs and *Ragas* should be certainly one of the most important functions of the periodic musical conferences. For it is the careful compilation of information and knowledge of the past that will enable us to evaluate our musical heritage and wealth, examine their currency and thus form the basis of our future plan and progress. In the collection of information about *Ragas* and songs, both folk and classical, the collection of the vernacular legacy and wealth in music must not be overlooked. It is precisely in this varied wealth from the different provinces of Hindusthani music from Bengal, Gujarat, Kathiawar, Rajputana, United Provinces and the North, and the Maharashtra that the rich diversity and the magnitude of its creative potentialities would be fully revealed. It would be valuable work if this Conference could be persuaded to assign the collection of such information, to begin with, from Gujarat and Maharashtra. Hindusthani music will as a result, I feel sure, be immensely enriched.

We must decidedly facilitate the study of music, and if we are in earnest about the nation-wide advancement of music we must give up the old, semi-old, or traditional modes of tuition in music. It is not right that we should make of the good old *Chijjas* and styles a mystery and at the same time expect popular interest in music to increase. The way to elevate taste in music is not to elevate its rich beauties beyond the reach of the average citizen but to place them easily available and accessible to him and to make him sensitive to its cultural value and significance by well considered programmes of education generally in music. There was perhaps a very good reason why the *Ustads* of old were very reluctant to part with their long-treasured *Gharanas* and *Banis*. They were to some extent, I admit, even justified in protecting these from the profanity of the irresponsible, immature student, amateur, or exponent, or of the commercial journeyman. But now the moment has arrived when these treasures must be fully revealed and must be fully shared by all, irrespective of all artificial barriers.

We have now to change the methods as well as ancient conventions and customs for imparting instruction in music. The old methods of apprenticeship, memory training and oral instruction have their distinct advantages, no doubt. So have the new. And we must now make an endeavour to adjust both the old and the new to our modern conditions and necessities.

Our pride in *Gharana* and *Bani*, as I said a few months ago at the time of the inauguration ceremony of the Gujarat Sangit Mahamandal, should not be reduced to mere personal conceits, but our aspirations should elevate them positively as an inspiration for further creative effort.

The manufacture of musical instruments along the traditional lines has with the increased interest in music no doubt of late fortunately increased. But there appears very little thought given to the research in and production of new varieties in musical instruments. I have at the request of Mr. Sukhtanker, your Chairman, brought for your information and inspection two musical instruments that I think will probably deeply interest you. The one is an instrument that was prepared in Paris under special instructions from me. The new *Shruti* arrangement that you will see in the harmonium is of course for the moment no more than an experiment, and I would appreciate it very much if those of my colleagues here interested in the subject, after inspection of the new instrument, could assist me with their views and suggestions. There is another instrument which I feel would be of great interest to you. This new instrument which I have been able to get prepared at Dharampur is the *Kacha-tarang*. I will not now detain you by detailing its musical qualities, but you will observe that it has some of the qualities of *Jala-tarang* without the inconvenience which *Jala-tarang* usually implies. I have employed a skilled artisan at Dharampur for experimenting and producing the instrument and it would be of great help if your valuable suggestions can contribute to the research and experiments.

I have, while speaking about the instrumental music, to point out the comparatively scanty endeavours directed towards the orchestration of Hindusthani music. I know that there have been recently many efforts described under the general term "Indian Orchestra," but I think the real orchestration of Hindusthani music could scarcely be said to have begun either seriously or systematically. Its possibilities remain to be dispassionately, systematically, and scientifically analyzed.

May I suggest that every leading town in the country should possess not only a representative library of books on Indian music and as complete a library as possible of gramophone records representative of the main melodies, but that it should also possess a gallery or museum of musical instruments, thus helping in many ways and thus securing the advancement of music both instrumental and vocal.

The concentrated attention on research of the present-day problems of Indian music would be a blessing, particularly for the Indian film producers, for whom at present the main and the minor musical features of the talking picture seem to be more or

less in the nature of a speculation. The dramatic value of music improvised haphazard for the screen tones down to a very appreciable extent the value and appeal of the photo-play, and particularly those dramatic incidents where music should but at present is unable to play a vital part.

Similar facilities if offered would be of great help to the increasing number of the dance enthusiasts. As you all are probably aware, Indian dancing suffers much from the lack of adequate assistance of the requisite musical compositions, rhythms, and appropriate orchestration. A great deal of the monotony which foreigners observe in our dancing could be traced to the lack of the appropriate musical atmosphere which requires to be supplemented in the programmes of Indian dancing.

The research and the application of practical assistance in solving new problems of Indian music would benefit also the rapidly increasing devotees of Indian music now coming out as radio fans. Speaking about the radio programmes of Hindusthani music, I am afraid both the time and the programme require to be changed. The time for Hindusthani music in the evening seems to be particularly unfortunate and in some ways vexatious for lovers of Indian music. May I, therefore, suggest that men of such progressive thought as Mr. Lionel Fieldon, Director of the State Broadcasting, should study first-hand Indian conditions of music not only to interest the already interested, not only to increase their interest, but to employ the radio as one of the means positively to advance Indian music; to bring to light new songs, new compositions, new musical instruments, and combinations of musical instruments, new and young musical talents unknown and worthy to be known.

Music must begin with the child, at home and in the school. And I think it would be great help if, instead of the present system of placing merely the name of the *Raga* of a poem, the simple notations of that Raga were also published in the elementary and advanced text-books of our schools.

The educational institutions in the country, if they can so determine, can soon restore music to its old assured cultural and social place. The amateurs, those whose wholesome ardour is to spread the love of music, the dance and the theatre, can also render immense service to the cause of music by informed and disciplined interest in Hindusthani music. The new theatre, the theatre of the future, will require new music.

It is for the educational institutions, musical associations and responsible young amateurs to establish and spread widely the habit of chorus singing. I cannot emphasize too strongly its necessity. The habit must be a national institution and inspiration. I appeal consequently to every educational and musical

institution to establish chorus singing among its students and members as an indispensable preliminary to all systems, plans and programmes of national music. The *Artis*, the *Bhajans*, and even the *stotras* provide us with the necessary example for emulation.

The valuable suggestion that Mr. Jayakar has made recently about a combined concert from amidst the nominees of all the musical institutions in this city at least once a year is as indispensable as it has been opportune.

We must not also overlook the possibilities of socials where the musicians and all those generally interested in music might meet and exchange their views and benefit mutually.

It is a pity that those who seek for a new India greater even than its glorious past and its sole guarantee in the national solidarity and unity amongst Hindus and Muslims should have till now left neglected one of the most potent instruments of that indispensable unity. Hindusthani music is one of those common cultural national assets that should prove to be the cementing tie, the guarantee of national solidarity.

Music can also form the invaluable vantage ground for those international intellectual and cultural contacts that are so essential for preserving the international position and prestige of the country. From the first-hand reports I have been able to obtain of the First International Congress of Music at Florence and from my own personal experience and observations subsequently, I may assure you that the interest of musicians in the West in the musical distinction and heritage of India is keen, deep, and honest. It is neither sentimental nor academic nor vaguely abstract, as it tends to be with a great number of intellectuals in this country. For such international contacts Bombay, the Gateway of India, offers splendid and frequent opportunities. There are, I am sure, many students and exponents of Western music in this city who would be only too happy to meet, discuss and exchange ideas and information with Indian musicians and exponents of Hindusthani music. If we could arrange for them the requisite socials and recitals, I think Hindusthani music would gain immensely.

Music is as deeply and as ineradicably elemental as the elements. It is one of those rare divine gifts to humanity which is as old as humanity. It can be the proud possession of the lowliest and the highest. It can be the instrument and the medium of expression of the highest aspirations of a nation. The musician is at once a teacher and prophet, if he so aspires. And the cultural history of India is never so vividly redeemed as in the history of its national music where Hindus and Muslims worked and contributed as colleagues in their noble cultural aspirations and lofty cultural altitude of common achievement.

A FRENCH TRAVELLER IN INDIA A HUNDRED YEARS AGO*

By Philip Morrell

On May 5, 1829—in the last year of the reign of George IV.—a French corvette arrived in the River Hooghly, and having dropped anchor opposite Fort William proceeded to fire the usual gun salute. From this vessel next morning there emerged a young man dressed entirely in black, of a remarkable and romantic appearance. His tall, slim figure, his small well-shaped head, his dark grey eyes, dark chestnut hair, and a face of unusual beauty and distinction, but without a trace of self-consciousness, were in marked contrast with the plainness of his dress. Jumping into a palanquin, which his servant had ordered for him, he bade the bearers take him to Pearson Sahib's house, and five minutes later found himself in the hall of a large house near the river belonging to Mr. Pearson, the Advocate-General of Bengal. From here he was ushered between two rows of servants into an immense room, at the end of which were three ladies, in full dress, and a grey-haired man in a light linen suit, who were all occupied, by means of a complicated system of vanes, in being fanned. But at this point the young man's confidence forsook him. In the few minutes that had passed since he left the ship he had seen so much that was new and extraordinary that his English eloquence was paralysed, and at the critical moment, when "the spectre" should have spoken, there was a pause. "I would have given ten louis," he wrote, "for a glass of port, which would have put a little wind into my sails." But there was neither port nor breeze. He stood there becalmed. At last he made a frank avowal of his impotence. "I spoke a few words of English formerly, sir, but I perceive that I have forgotten them all; please help me!" They all did so; making him sit down and drawing up their chairs round him, with the result that very soon he was getting on in English as swimmingly as a little fish in the river.

He produced his letters of introduction, and was at once accepted by the Pearsons as their guest, and then went on to produce other letters, a "monstrous packet" with which his pocket was bulging and which he produced like fireworks, beginning with Mr. this and Dr. that, leading up to the name of a Judge, then to that of the Chief Justice, and ending up in a grand finale with the names

* *Letters from India*, 1829-1832, by Victor Jacquemont, translated, with an introduction, by Catherine Alison Phillips. (Macmillan.) 21s. net.

of the Governor-General and Lady William Bentinck. It was a magnificent display, especially for so young a man.

But Victor Jacquemont, though he had an almost boyish appearance, and preserved to the end of his short life a vivid and delightful youthfulness, was already twenty-eight years old and a man of some experience. In boyhood he had known the famous Marquis de la Fayette, who was a friend of his family, and to him like a second father. At the age of twenty-one he became a medical student in Paris, and there made friends with Stendhal, sharing his love of literature and Mozart's music. But soon Jacquemont's love of music betrayed him. He fell in love with an Italian singer, and so passionately that when at last she rejected him his life was in danger. To escape from this devastating passion he was persuaded by his family, to whom he was devoted, to make a voyage to New York, and from there went to the West Indies to stay with one of his brothers. It was there that he heard that the post of travelling naturalist to the Jardin des Plantes was vacant, and was urged to apply for it. He applied, and was appointed, but before starting to India went over to London armed with letters from Lafayette, Stendhal, and others to their friends in England, and thus obtained those letters of introduction which he now produced. In the few weeks he spent in London he made great exertions to get to know English people, and here first made a discovery that evidently surprised him, that he not only liked the English but was able to make himself liked by them. He came back, he wrote, so enchanted with the English in London that he expected to have every reason for liking those whom he would see in India. But "the curious thing" was that in spite of this they were not really "amiable" in the sense of being agreeable and easy to get on with. On the contrary, they were many of them extremely difficult, but there were one or two whom he liked so much that he felt he would be attached to them all the rest of his life.

So he arrives in India with a general bias in favour of this strange nation, and part of the charm of these letters are his vivid descriptions, both appreciative and critical—often highly critical, for they vary with his moods—of the English men and women he meets.

His first experience was entirely favourable. While he is talking to Mr. Pearson, whom he likes at once, a note is sent to Lady William Bentinck to tell her of the stranger's arrival, and a message comes to say that she is expecting him. He goes to the great pompous house of the Governor-General, which is still one of the most magnificent in India, and is conducted to her private sitting-room, where he finds a woman of fifty, who retains some traces of her former beauty and a great deal of charm. "Très aimable et tres spirituelle" (very charming and intelligent) are the words

he applies to her. They talk of common acquaintances in Paris and of a host of other subjects till it is time for luncheon, and she then presents him to her husband, in the kindest way possible, "with as little ceremony as if they were private people," and he leaves with a promise to return that evening to dinner. At dinner the surroundings were royal and Asiatic, with great bearded footmen in long white robes and scarlet and gold turbans, but the cooking was entirely French and exquisite, the wines delicious, and there was a band playing the loveliest music of Mozart and Rossini. How intoxicating it all was; but Jacquemont, though he enjoys it all, is far too intelligent to lose his head, and what he likes best of all are the long talks he has, both then and later, with the Governor-General over political affairs.

Writing some months later to his brother Porphyrie—who had been an officer in the French Army, and had survived, as if by a miracle, the horrors of the retreat from Moscow—he says of Bentinck:

> "Like you, though long involved in scenes of tumult and bloodshed, like you, my dear Porphyrie, he has kept pure and fresh that flower of humanity which the habits of military life so often wither, leaving nothing but good nature in its place. . . . I stayed with him for a week in the country *en famille*, and shall always remember with feelings of pleasure and tenderness the long conversations I had with him. . . . I felt as if I were talking to a friend like yourself, and when I thought of the vast power possessed by this excellent man, I rejoiced for the cause of humanity."

To his brother Frederick, in the West Indies, he wrote:

> "Lord William Bentinck's character fills me with a profound respect. . . . An old soldier who detests war, a patriot without reserve, who, although the son of an English duke, and himself at present Grand Mogul, is still a man of virtue, as I love them to be, simple and open: in short, I was charmed with him. . . . He showed me extreme kindness; and I passed several evenings with him in a corner of his wife's salon talking politics, as I used to do with two or three friends in Paris. I was happy to see so much power in hands so pure."

And there were a few other people of the same sort with whom he loved to talk. There was his host, Mr. Pearson, full of wit and gaiety, and "a liberal like ourselves," who was extremely well-informed about the character of the inhabitants, though it was difficult to be intimate with him. There was also Sir Charles Grey, the Chief Justice, who was extremely kind, wise and in-

telligent, and the charming Lady Grey, the only person besides Lady William Bentinck who spoke French at all well; and Colonel Fagan, the Irishman, who, in spite of his nationality, seemed to him as much a Frenchman as himself. But immediately below the highest society you found "the commonest and most vulgar substratum." And yet there was no doubt that on the whole English rule had been productive of immense benefit to the inhabitants of India. It had given them peace, external and internal, and equal justice to all, a fact of which Jacquemont became even more strongly aware when he visited some of the territories of native princes.

For it is not only of Calcutta and the English that he writes. In November, after six months of study and preparation, he starts off with a tiny caravan—"the most wretched that ever trailed through India"—to make that wonderful journey to the Himalayas and Tibet, and thence to Kashmir and the Punjab, where he became the honoured guest of Ranjit Singh—the journey upon which his reputation chiefly rests.

It is extraordinary that since the first English translation of a hundred of these letters, which appeared a hundred years ago, there has been no English edition of them till now. In France many editions have been published, but to most English readers, other than a few students of history, Jacquemont, for nearly a hundred years, has been almost unknown. But this selection, as far as it goes, makes excellent reading, and it is to be hoped that Mrs. Alison Phillips, who has edited them and translated them with admirable skill, may be encouraged before long to follow it up with another and larger selection.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDO-CHINA

By Octave Homberg

I had already begun, previous to the Great War, to take an interest in the development of Indo-China. Having paid that country a visit in 1906, I had observed that its vast resources were scarcely exploited at all. The ancient and traditional cultivation of rice was, of course, a fruitful source of wealth. A picturesque phrase in the language of the people compared the Indo-Chinese peninsula to a coolie carrying a bamboo on his shoulder from which were hung on each side sacks of rice; the bamboo represented the chain of Annamite mountains which stretches from north to south and the sacks the two deltas, that of Tonkin and that of Cochin-China, which are covered with rice plantations. The production of rice in Indo-China far exceeded the requirements of internal consumption, and a quantity which, at times of good harvests, was not far off one million tons was available for export; three-quarters at least of this quantity was sent to China and a quarter, perhaps, to Japan, two countries with teeming and ever-hungry populations. As a result of this exportation Indo-China had always a trade credit balance, and the country was slowly and surely growing richer.

But the result of this was that Indo-China remained a region with a single type of crop with all the inconveniences which this system implies.

It was not, of course, to be feared that markets would be closed to a foodstuff of prime necessity as is the case with rice in the Far East; Indo-China remained assured of being always able to sell, but it was at prices which varied in accordance with the irregularities of the harvest, which was sometimes magnificent but at other times wretched. Further, the fact that the sources of the sole wealth of the country were concentrated in the two deltas left all the other regions a prey to unproductiveness and poverty.

It is true that several attempts at tea and coffee growing had been made, the first in Annam, the second at Tonkin, but they had scarcely proved successful.

Certain mining enterprises in Tonkin and in some islands in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Along proved more fortunate. The coal was only anthracite of a rather poor type, but though it was difficult to exploit a deposit such as that on the island of

Kébas, the coal was also available in the Campha mines, which were worked, and are still worked, by the Cie. des Charbonnages du Tonkin under conditions which are unique in the world. These deposits consist in fact of an actual anthracite mountain covered with a thin layer of earth, so that it is merely necessary to remove the surface of the hill, cutting shelves in it, and then cut the coal in slices exactly like cutting a cake. It is a case of surface working with wonderful ease and economy.

The country being scarcely touched by man's labour—with the sole exception, of course, of the rice fields—I was seized by the notion and the ambition to release this French colony, which seemed to me so full of unexploited resources, from its single system of cultivation and, as a beginning, to attempt to establish various types of crops in suitable regions.

Before reaching Indo-China I had stopped in Singapore and the Malay peninsula. I had seen there (it was in 1906, I recollect) the first cultivations of *hévéa brasiliensis* and I had heard the early pioneers of this cultivation express their enthusiastic hopes.

I said to myself, why should we not attempt in Indo-China what already offers such fine prospects in Malaya? I had some difficulty in finding partners and in convincing them. The chief objection which was raised was the climate of Indo-China, where, in Cochin-China itself, there is a dry season which lasts from two to three months. It was pointed out to me that during this season the hévéas could not be tapped and would die, and that in any case their growth would be greatly retarded and that the output of latex would therefore be very seriously affected.

The reply I gave was that my idea, on the contrary, was that this short dry season seemed to me more favourable than harmful and that it would serve to arrest the development of cryptogamous diseases resulting from the continuous humidity, the ravages of which I had seen in the Malaya plantations. I concluded further that it would be strange if one were less successful in planting a tree under conditions more closely resembling those of its place of origin. The hévéa comes from Brazil, where there is a still longer dry season; why should the short dry season of Indo-China prove so harmful to it?

Experience showed that I was perfectly correct. The two months' winter drought was shown to favour the health of the tree, and if, when tapping is done, the output shows at that time a certain falling off, this is more than made up for by its powers of resistance to disease.

My example was quickly followed; many plantations were established and, as will be seen below, the export of rubber forms today an important factor in the wealth of Indo-China. Thanks to this cultivation France will soon be able to obtain from her

fine Asiatic colony all the raw material which she requires, the employment of which in the motor-car industry and in aviation has become one of the prime necessities of contemporary life. The part of promoter, which I have thus been enabled to play as regards the planting of rubber in Indo-China, affords one of my chief sources of pride, if I may be allowed to say so, in my colonial career.

I had tried to grow coffee as a subsidiary form of cultivation in the rubber plantations, but this attempt, which I persisted in obstinately for several years, did not prove successful. The hévéa and the coffee tree harm each other; they require different kinds of ground and methods of tending which cannot be combined. Besides, the separate planting of coffee which I undertook later did not give results which even remotely approached those of rubber cultivation. Coffee has never been more than a partial success in Indo-China.

The case of tea is different. The first planting, done in Annam about fifty years ago, was not a success, but scarcely ten years ago fresh efforts were made—backed by greater experience and greater care—on the well-exposed slopes of the Dalat range to the north-east of Saïgon, and the results obtained have been splendid; the tea is of the very best quality.

Sugar, another important form of colonial cultivation, must also be mentioned. It has on many occasions afforded fortune to Java. It seemed to me that there was no reason why the attempt should not be made to grow the sugar cane in certain plains of Cochin-China which are admirably adapted to irrigation.

My choice fell upon a large plain watered by the Vaico, a tributary of the Saïgon River, and work was begun. Many difficulties had to be overcome, the chief of which arose from the nature of the cane itself and from that of the soil. It must not be expected that one particular cane is everywhere the best; specimens carefully chosen from among the best Java plants gave only poor results at Vaico. The cane which proved of liveliest growth and richest in sugar was a native cane which had simply been improved. Further, the soil requires much tilling: it must be neutralized and any trace of acidity removed. This result can only be secured after many successive seasons.

Today the cultivation of the sugar cane is flourishing in the Vaico plain. Thanks to a system of farming to which the indigenous population have readily agreed, individual crops are increasing; the harvests are excellent and, in spite of the low market price of sugar, its cultivation is very remunerative.

I might quote many other types of cultivation which go to make up the agricultural list in Indo-China, a list which has now become a very lengthy one. I will only mention the cultivation of pepper,

which is very ancient and is carried on in several small islands to the south of the Gulf of Siam, and the far more important maize industry which has recently developed much in Annam.

As has been seen, Indo-China remains primarily one of the rich rice granaries of the Far East, but in future this will be very far from being the sole form of cultivation. Rubber takes second place, not in tonnage but in value; the quantity exported increases rapidly, for planting has not been stopped even during the over-production crisis. Moreover, the grafting system which was introduced five to ten years ago in Indo-China has given new life to the old plantations and has increased output to a really surprising extent. Finally, various subsidiary forms of cultivation, the chief of which I have mentioned, will henceforth make of Indo-China a land which is pre-eminently suitable for "tropical cultivation." This is the title which I have applied to the latest agricultural enterprise which I have created; this title itself marks the completion of my resolute efforts to increase and diversify the products of the fruitful soil of Indo-China, of that red earth which may be compared for its deep richness with the black soil of certain parts of Russia.

As to rice growing, I should like to say something more on all the improvements which could and should be made. In every country of the world the countryman is a creature of routine. The native grower, the naghué, is like the rest of them. He farms as his ancestors did, without troubling to increase the crop by the selection of seed and by the use of manures. Further, he gathers his crops so carelessly that the paddy rice which he supplies for export is coarse and full of impurities. As a result, from the point of view of quality Indo-Chinese rice has much depreciated; on the great world markets it is quoted only at the lowest figures.

Without increasing the area cultivated and by simply judicious use of manures, which are to be found on the spot at Tonkin in the form of phosphates—and this was one of my enterprises—the production of rice in Indo-China could be increased by a full third, perhaps by fifty per cent. As far as quality is concerned, the selection of seed would improve it enormously, and even a single sorting, a simple cleaning, at harvest time would send the paddy rice of Indo-China up several rungs on the quotation ladder.

I must admit that the Administration is making a praiseworthy effort to educate the indigenous population in this direction. He is provided with selected seed at prices more than moderate; in demonstration fields he is shown the results produced by manures to enable him to buy these manures, and also and above all to release him from the clutches of the moneylenders, a whole

system of agricultural credit establishments has been set up which are ready to make him advances at very small charges.

Briefly, as may be seen, the agricultural development of Indo-China has been considerable in the course of the last thirty years. Various methods of cultivation, some of which are delicate or even require great skill, have been introduced. Great riches have been brought into the country through these plantations. A rice field is in fact scarcely worth more than the crop which it bears; the soil is not increased in value by this annual tilling, which would, on the contrary, exhaust it if fertilizing mud did not rejuvenate it. On the other hand, these coffee, tea and sugar plantations, and especially these magnificent gardens in which the rows of hévéas extend indefinitely, are durable sources of wealth; they produce crops like regular dividends, but the capital remains intact or even increases as bushes and trees attain a higher maturity.

Having described the soil and its crops, it remains for me to speak of the subsoil of Indo-China and of its industrial equipment.

The mining wealth of the country is considerable, and much remains so far untouched for lack of economical means of transport.

Leaving out of account the Annamite range, which has still been very little prospected, the two mining centres in Indo-China are Tonkin and Laos.

I have already mentioned the Tonkin anthracite. Here there are considerable deposits which, commencing at the heights of the neighbouring mountains on the Chinese frontier, become lower as the sea is reached, in which they disappear to emerge further on in several islands where they are again found.

The coal is of fairly good quality, but it is a lean coal, and up to the present only one deposit of semi-bituminous coal is known capable of producing metallurgical coke. The principal defects of the Tonkin anthracites is their very marked friability, as the result of which the proportion of small coal is very high. In order to use this dust it is proposed to make briquettes, but the market for these remains a difficulty. While the freight charges remained high after the war, the export of Tonkin coal was much hindered, but now, with the heavy fall which has taken place, the anthracite of Dong-Trieu, for example, even reaches France, as also rice from Indo-China, which is imported there in ever-increasing quantities.

I, for my part, have struggled hard to make the French understand that they should, as far as possible, consume the products of their own colonies, and I am glad to note today that trade currents in this direction are firmly established. The time is past, if I may quote a single example which is unfortunately typical,

when Honduras mahogany was used for the decoration of carriages on the French railways, Gabon mahogany, which is nearly as good as the former and is far less dear, being ruled out.

Apart from coal the Tonkin mountains have very rich deposits of calamine. The ore is very rich and is one of the finest in the world. It is intended to profit by the presence in the same place of a coal which is semi-bituminous but sufficiently suitable and of calamine to instal a zinc metal industry there and build a factory for its treatment. A very slight improvement in the world price of zinc would enable this enterprise, which was for a short time very prosperous, to resume its prosperity.

Further, in the same connection, the presence in the high valleys of Tonkin of inexhaustible supplies of bamboo has resulted in the erection of a pulp and paper-making factory, which turns out a whole series of papers, the best of which in every way resemble the most prized Japanese paper.

Laos has up to now been the most neglected of the countries which make up the Union of Indo-China because it is much the most difficult of access. Before the aeroplane enabled it to be reached in a short flight, it was necessary, if one wished to penetrate the country, to take a long and difficult journey and pass over extremely dangerous rapids, where many travellers have come to a tragic end by drowning. There are some very rich tin deposits here, the systematic exploitation of which has been prevented only by the difficulty of communications, which involves an enormous charge upon the cost price. Both from south and north railway lines are in process of construction which will finally open up Laos and no doubt transform this country, which has remained almost idyllic up to the present day, with its peaceful, friendly population still close to nature, into an industrial area.

Of all the metals which the earth hides, gold is naturally that which exercises the greatest attraction, the most powerful fascination, while very often it is the metal which pays least. When it is a question of "pockets" or "veins," the irregularity of the deposits often involves the bitterest disillusionment: when dredging and washing the gold-bearing sand suffices, the risk is much smaller, but then the costs of working are so high that the small quantity of gold obtained, as compared with the enormous proportion of waste, is often not a paying proposition.

There is certainly gold in Laos, and the proof of this is supplied by the inhabitants of the region, who themselves wear many gold ornaments. Aeroplanes could transport the metal extracted from the ore or the sand more easily than in the case of tin, for the load would certainly be a paying one; but the difficulty up to now has lain in the practical impossibility of conveying to the site of

the workings all the machinery required. What a fantastic charge would be made for a dredger conveyed in separate parts to the centre of Laos! Time alone, with the improvements which will be made in aeroplanes from the point of view of live weight and with a general lowering of charges, will solve the problem. Laos is a reserve for Indo-China which, by reason of the quality of the tin to be found there, is of the greatest value.

I have thus set down, in a sort of summary, the various resources which the economic development of Indo-China has brought to light. A few words must be added as to the equipment of the country generally, of its roads, railways and ports.

The network of roads is excellent; it extends and becomes more comprehensive day by day. The famous Mandarin road, the route of which is ancient but which has been completed by bridges which replace ferries, allows of comfortable and rapid travel by motor-car. From Hanoï to Saïgon it is doubled by the Trans-Indo-China Railway, a line which although it may be a necessity is scarcely an economic proposition, for it follows the coast, and transport prices will always be higher than those of conveyance by sea.

More interesting are the railways into the interior: first there is the line which, starting from Haïphong and passing through Hanoï, crosses the whole of Tonkin, following the valley of the Red River, running as far as Yunnanfu in the centre of the province of Yunnan. This railroad arouses genuine admiration for its bold constructional features.

I, for my part, am proud that for so many years I have tried to secure the construction of another railway into the interior which is merely projected so far but which promises to be of great value. I have called it the "Chemin de Fer du Centre Indochinois." It has its beginnings and makes its start in a tramway on a modest scale which runs out of Saïgon and then climbs in a northerly direction through a series of plantations to the most important of those which I have established at a place called Loc-Ninh on the fringe of the country where live the still savage Moïs. My project is that this railway should cross the Moï country and extend to Laos, finally linking up with another railway running across the country which is already under construction and which runs down to the coast, thanks to a lowering in this region of the Annam range. Such a line, crossing the Indo-Chinese peninsula from one side to the other, facilitating communications, enabling the development of regions hitherto almost inaccessible and in which, at a distance of two or three hundred kilometres only from a town like Saïgon, savage Moïs have been able to defy the French authorities and attack the officials rash enough to visit the country; such a line, I repeat, should long ago have been

constructed. We have been too inclined to forget that in savage countries the railway is the most effective and most economical means of pacification.

In the interior, communication is established by means of roads and railways. In the case of a peninsula, as in Indo-China, it is the ports which serve as doors to the outer world.

In this respect nature has not particularly favoured Indo-China. It possesses only two large river ports, with all the disadvantages involved in ports of this kind. Haïphong, the port of Tonkin, is not accessible to ships of very great tonnage, and apart from this is not on the direct route of the great traffic carriers which call at the chief ports of China and Japan. As to the port of Saïgon, it is situated at a considerable distance from the sea, in the centre of a tortuous river with a narrow channel. When the ships enter it, after rounding the St. Jacques headland, they have to take a pilot on board and for hour after hour follow the needless meanderings of the river; as a result their bows are turned sometimes to the north, sometimes to the south, as may be noted when the twin towers of the cathedral are seen in turn forward and aft. It is an unbearable waste of time, and the result is that all the large mailboats which do not fly the French flag avoid this lengthy and wearisome process of disembarkation, reject it deliberately and make straight for Hong-Kong and Shanghai. Foreign travellers and globe-trotters know nothing, therefore, of Indo-China; this is a definite loss from the tourist point of view, and further, in the matter of trade, many advantageous opportunities of freight are lost. Remedies for this serious disadvantage have, of course, already been considered; projects have been drawn up for making "cuts" across the meanderings of the Saïgon River and thus shorten the journey between sea and port. But these are merely palliatives; after they are carried out Saïgon will still remain, as before, a river port buried in the interior with ordinary quays which can never take the place of a roadstead and docks.

I have always been of the opinion that a much more radical solution, which at first sight might appear too bold but the advantages of which are obvious if one comes to consider them, would consist in the creation of a fine port immediately upon the sea and to connect it by railway with Saïgon, just as Piræus, for example, is linked with Athens.

As long ago as the Russo-Japanese War the exceptional advantages of the fine roadstead at Camranh, where the whole Russian squadron easily found room to shelter, were appreciated. It would be possible to make a magnificent port there and connect it by road and rail with Saïgon.

Indo-China would thus have a fine and commodious port, and

facilities for calling at Camranh would certainly be taken advantage of by long-distance foreign liners, while those of Saïgon can never be used.

So radical a solution will no doubt be adopted with difficulty, partly because nothing has yet been done to carry it through and partly because important interests have established themselves at Saïgon which would be seriously affected by the decay of the river port. But the development of Indo-China, held up for the time by the world crisis, is about to resume its course, and the need for a large port will more and more be emphasized.

In any case, this account which has been given of the agricultural and mining resources of Indo-China shows the possibilities of this fine French Asiatic colony. The development of the country is only just beginning, and I trust that others will follow up the efforts of which I am proud to have been an ardent promoter.

THE DOYEN OF THE INDIAN PRINCES' DIAMOND JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

By C. E. Newham

Today His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda has celebrated his seventy-third birthday. For sixty years he has guided the destinies of his State and the Diamond Jubilee celebrations officially concluded yesterday with the unveiling of the statue of the maker of modern Baroda. It was appropriate that the final ceremony should be presided over by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, who is one of the oldest and most intimate friends of Baroda's royal family and a soldier-statesman whose labours for the welfare of his subjects rank high in the annals of enlightened rulership.

His Highness of Bikaner made a special journey to Baroda at no little inconvenience, in order to unveil the great bronze statue of the Maharaja Gaekwar which has been erected on rising ground at one end of the busy main thoroughfare, facing the city for the beauty and amenities of which His Highness has been responsible. There it will stand for all time as an inspiration to future generations and as a memorial to the beneficent ruler who found Baroda in the Middle Ages and transformed it by personal effort and devotion into a modern and progressive State.

Though the celebrations have thus lasted for ten weeks, the public rejoicings were in fact confined to the first fortnight of January. Almost overnight the capital, whose old-world charm has not suffered through its modern utilitarianism, was transformed into a bower of flowers and bunting. From all parts of the State and of Gujerat and Kathiawar, the masses thronged the city to do honour to a famous and beloved ruler. Distinguished guests from many lands, friends of a long life, came to offer in person those congratulations and tributes which came from all parts of the earth by cable, telegram and letter. By good fortune, the health of His Highness was sufficiently good to enable him to fulfil a heavy programme of engagements and to enjoy them fully.

The joyous enthusiasm which attended the celebrations and the unanimity of the tributes paid by all has impelled many to study the underlying reasons. It is true that Diamond Jubilees are sufficiently rare to attract world-wide attention and that India does not differ materially from other countries in loving a *tamasha*, an occasion for rejoicing and holiday-making. But here was no temporary enthusiasm, no artificial display, no momentary lip-service. The demonstration of devotion, loyalty and admiration

was personal to each and every one. And it is given to few men, men of outstanding character and achievement, to gain the personal affection of all who are brought in contact with them.

It is neither possible nor necessary to attempt a comprehensive review of the long succession of dinners, garden parties, reviews, banquets, fêtes, processions, sports, pageants and religious or secular ceremonies. Some occasions were necessarily of outstanding importance, either for the beauty of their setting or for the manner in which they illustrated the nation-building activities of His Highness during the sixty years of his reign. When he came to the throne, he found Baroda sunk in poverty and inertia. He painted a vivid picture of those early years when inaugurating a Village Uplift and Industrial Exhibition on New Year's Day. Reviewing the policy which he formulated for himself, he recalled his difficulty in knowing where to start, for the first step was vital. His Highness chose education as the foundation on which to build, and he said that he had never regretted for one moment his decision that education should be the right of the humblest villager.

Education in itself was not enough, however. What was the use of giving a man the desire to improve himself and his lot if he was fettered by economic problems such as debts, lack of water and communications, fear of famine and crop failure, and pitiful prices for his produce? Such were the problems with which His Highness grappled in turn and to which he still devotes the greater part of his time. What he has achieved is well known. Of how much remains to be done, no one is more conscious than himself, and he concluded his speech with a very frank reminder that there is a limit to what any government can achieve by itself. Providence helps those who help themselves, and there was urgent need, he said, for the development of character, civic spirit, self-reliance and determination to rise above difficulties. If those qualities were manifested in everyday life, and his peoples worked in close co-operation with a government devoted to their welfare, no limit could be set to the peace, progress and prosperity which could be achieved.

Two days later there was a strong reminder that social reconstruction and rural uplift are never absent from the thoughts of His Highness. Through dense crowds he drove in the State gold carriage from the Laxmi Vilas Palace to a magnificent durbar pandal erected on the cavalry parade ground. There, in the morning and evening and again on the following day, he sat on a golden throne in the sight of his subjects to receive their loyal addresses and congratulations on his memorable reign. From all parts of the Gaekwar's dominions they came, rich and poor, old and young, of every race and religion, to do him honour.

During that Durbar it was announced, and simultaneously broadcast throughout the State, that His Highness had been pleased to create a Diamond Jubilee Trust of one crore of rupees, the income on which will be devoted to improving the life of the rural population and particularly of the depressed and backward classes. This will, of course, be in addition to the considerable amount already allocated for the purpose in the annual budgets. This magnificent gift and its dedication sets a noble seal upon the manner in which His Highness has devoted his life to the well-being of his subjects and has laboured unremittingly in the cause of rural development for over fifty-five years.

For beauty and splendour it would be difficult to parallel the Jubilee Durbar held in the Durbar Hall at the Laxmi Vilas Palace. The early morning sun, streaming through rich stained-glass windows, brought out the glories of the priceless hangings and of the cloth of gold background to the throne, whereon His Highness sat to receive the homage of his sardars, officials and prominent men, and to decorate those who had rendered outstanding service to the State. This ancient ceremonial, with its picturesque costumes and riot of colour, was indeed a magnificent spectacle.

It was in the same hall that the most important function of all took place—the Jubilee Banquet, at which His Excellency the Viceroy was the guest of honour. Lord and Lady Willingdon are very old friends of His Highness, and it gave particular pleasure that they were able to pay a special visit to Baroda on such a unique occasion. Happily, also, it fell to Lord Willingdon to convey to His Highness the congratulations of the late King-Emperor in words which have been echoed in many hearts: "To few Princes is it granted to rule for so long a period of time and to look back with satisfaction upon sixty years of continued material and moral progress in the lives of their subjects. I trust Your Highness may be spared to your State for many years to come and that prosperity and happiness may increasingly attend your rule."

The speech of His Highness was that of an elder statesman, replete with the wisdom of mature experience. He confessed that for many years he had thought Federation to be the most hopeful line of advance, and he was convinced that the States would play a great part, provided that no attempt was made to force them into a uniform mould and that in matters outside the Federal sphere they were given unfettered autonomy, free from restrictions and limitations imposed upon them jointly or severally in circumstances which have now ceased to exist. Naturally there are still many difficulties to surmount, and His Highness drew attention to the perplexing problem of small States and

estates under Federation when he referred to the scheme he has proposed for the readjustment of relations between his State and tributary States and estates.

Over a hundred years ago the British Government elected to mediate between the State and its tributaries, and His Highness desires that direct relationship shall be restored for the benefit of both. In this scheme His Highness has kept two main principles in view. The first is that the powers and privileges of the tributaries should be scrupulously preserved and that their financial position should be improved by the abolition of tributes. The second is that the good government and economic development which is characteristic of Baroda should be available for the tributaries. Baroda and its tributaries are scattered, and the advantages of such consolidation are clear, whether from the standpoint of administration and development or of securing for the tributaries safeguards and representation under Federation which cannot effectively be secured in any other way. The Viceroy, in his reply, said that he sincerely hoped the feudatories would give the proposals full and careful consideration, "for they will certainly be well advised to do so."

In proposing the health of His Highness, Lord Willingdon said that he had devoted his life to the interests of his State and to the welfare of his subjects. That indeed is the brief story of the Maharaja Gaekwar's life. At an early age His Highness set before him very high ideals. Some he has already attained, and others he resolutely pursues. He may bide his time when conditions appear unpropitious, but he never forgets his ultimate objectives. He never hesitates to acknowledge mistakes or to turn back and try afresh, drawing upon the unrivalled experience of long years, with their joys and sorrows, successes and disappointments.

Volumes have been written of the achievements of the last sixty years in Baroda State, and doubtless many more will follow. Those achievements are remarkable, and there is literally no aspect of life which has not been profoundly affected by its ruler's enterprise and determination. Education is free and compulsory, and free libraries have been provided in all towns and almost all villages. Agriculture, irrigation, sanitation and medical relief have been fostered, and roads and railways form a network of communications. A complete system of local self-government has been built up, and executive and judicial functions have been separated. Notable legislation initiated by His Highness aims at the abolition of harmful social customs like early marriage, caste tyranny and untouchability.

Such reforms are typical of many. They are not the result of natural processes or unconscious evolution, but have been

deliberately worked out by His Highness. He has been their architect and his officers and subjects have taken their inspiration from him. Throughout his reign, His Highness has been a personal ruler, and the credit for great achievements is his and his alone. He has delivered his subjects from ignorance, apathy and exploitation, and he has given to them peace, good government and means of prosperity. Were those who knew the sordid conditions which prevailed sixty years ago permitted to revisit Baroda now, they would certainly bear witness that the seemingly impossible has been achieved.

It is not easy to explain adequately wherein his greatness lies or to analyze those qualities which endear him to all who come in contact with him. His outstanding characteristics are perhaps his humanity, catholicity of interests, spirituality and determination. Lesser men would have succumbed long ago to the indifferent health from which he has suffered for so many years. Yet on his seventy-third birthday he has attended as usual to the manifold affairs of State. Shortly he is to leave Baroda on his twenty-fourth tour abroad, and during that tour nothing will escape his eye. Everything will be weighed in the balance, discussed and analyzed to see whether it can be turned to the advantage of his State and subjects.

Among his multitudinous occupations, His Highness finds time to study and lecture upon comparative religion, and the theme to which he inevitably returns, for it is his deep and unalterable conviction, is the brotherhood of man through understanding, toleration and co-operation. He seeks to further it through his every activity, whether in advocating a common script and language for India, or in devising methods whereby his subjects can obtain healthy open-air recreation and better diet, whether in revising India's complex social laws, or in promoting wide study and travel. Kindly and considerate, simple in his tastes and life, he is always seeking, planning and working, agreeing with Rostand that inertia is the great vice and enthusiasm the great virtue.

In his most important Jubilee speech His Highness said: "Every effort has been worth while, and in the fulness of time I hope and pray that the policy I have initiated and steadfastly pursued may be crowned with success." If the measure of merit be unrelenting effort in the pursuit of ideals and a spartan devotion to duty, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar has set an example which few can hope to emulate. Of that unsparing devotion, combined with consummate skill and intelligent foresight, modern Baroda is the outcome.

BARODA,
March 14.

HEALTH AND HOUSING IN HYDERABAD

By B. S. TOWNROE, HON.A.R.I.B.A.
(Late of the Ministry of Health and now Mayor of Hampstead.)

(Acknowledgments must be made to Mrs. Milward, who has given permission for the reproduction of four photographs which she took during her visit to Hyderabad.)

THE fact that His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad is to devote the contributions made on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of his Accession this year to philanthropic purposes is typical of his constant care for the welfare of his subjects. The present, therefore, is an opportune time to consider the social progress, especially with regard to health and housing, which has taken place under this progressive ruler.

Not only the Nizam, but members of his family are keenly concerned with what we in the Western world know as the social services. In the latest Report of the City Improvement Board it is stated that the Nizam has appointed one of his sons to preside, and in this way "has shown one more mark of the interest that he takes in the welfare of this great city and in the improvement of the health and housing conditions of the poor."

HEALTH

Much has been done in the organization of medical institutions, of which there are 148 in the Nizam's dominions. The State of Hyderabad has an area of 82,698 square miles, of which 79,819 are mainly forest. It is therefore about the same size as Great Britain, but with a population of about 18½ millions, one-third as many people as in Great Britain.

The latest Report of the Administration for 1932-33 points out that in the State as a whole there were more births and more deaths, but in the City of Hyderabad more deaths and fewer births, indicating that "the general health of the city was not good." The mortality showed an increase against the corresponding figure in the year before and about 63 per cent. of the deaths were on account of fever. In the capital as well as in the rural districts timely preventive and precautionary measures, some of which are described below, have since been taken to check the spread of epidemics.

In the early days the hospitals were regarded with a good deal of suspicion, but now their popularity is considerably increasing, and this is attributed in the 1935 Report of the Medical and Sanitation Department to "highly efficient management."

During the last five years the number of patients treated in all

the hospitals and dispensaries has increased from about 3,300,000 to 5,600,000, and the daily average attendance from 9,000 to 15,000. The total attendance in all the medical institutions of the Dominions ruled over by the Nizam, and with a total population of 14,500,000, has increased by over 66 per cent. as compared with the figures for 1928. This is not the result of an increase in sickness, but is the "measure of public confidence gained by Medical Officers now efficiently supplied with drugs and appliances." The attendance of indoor patients has nearly doubled during the past five years. This is a satisfactory indication that the population appreciates the improved conditions in the hospitals and realizes the advantages of institutional treatment under skilled doctors.

The Osmania Hospital (see Fig. 1) has the largest attendance, the special department for Dentistry, Ear, Nose, Throat, and Skin Diseases attracting steadily increasing numbers of patients. In the hospital the percentage of deaths to the total number of patients treated was 7 per cent., due to the fact that so many cases were not brought in until they were in a moribund condition. As suspicions of treatment are dissipated so the doctors and staff will be given a better chance of effecting cures.

It is significant of the progress made in Hyderabad that there are two institutions in the city maintained exclusively for women, and fifteen staffed by lady doctors.

Patients are treated both in the institutions and at the various medical centres for outdoor visits regardless of their religion. During the last year over 1,000,000 Muslims, over 900,000 Hindus, 18,000 Christians and 10,000 other castes were treated. Many of these suffered from wounds, and it comes with some surprise to anyone ignorant of Indian conditions to learn that many of the wounds were due to bites by rabid or suspected dogs, or by rodents, cats or monkeys. Much care is being given to anti-rabies treatment.

The next step is to try to bring medical relief within easy reach of the rural population. It is expected that twenty doctors will be subsidized for three years on condition that they settle in selected villages and treat poor people free of charge.

Leprosy

An important part of the health work in Hyderabad is concerned with leprosy. Medical officers have been given special courses of instruction in leprosy under the auspices of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association. At the Leper Home and Hospital at Ditchpalli, a mission institution, during the year 782 patients were treated, as against 732 in the previous year, and there is a never-ending pressure of applicants for admission.

How much the patients appreciate the life is shown by the remarkable fact that for many years past there have been sent to Ditchpalli prisoners who are also lepers and who, at the end of their terms of service, invariably wish to return to the "Home."

According to the report the patients are made up of people from all walks of life who are eager to obtain treatment in order to return to normal life and work again. They come at an infective state of the disease when it is an urgent duty both in their own interests, and still more in the interests of the community, to try and cure them of their disease. The leper community of the Hyderabad State has woken up as never before to the possibility of treatment. During the past year no less than 166 patients passed exacting medical tests and went out on parole free from infectivity and symptoms of actual disease.

The latest European appliances are found in the hospitals. His Exalted Highness opened a new X-Ray Department in the Osmania General Hospital, where the new apparatus is installed in a specially designed ward with good accommodation for separate treatment of patients. There is, however, an urgent need for the establishment of a modern mental hospital. Up to now mental patients have been treated in the Central Jail. The far-sighted Nizam and his advisers realize how necessary it is to segregate the different classes of mental patients and give special treatment, and a site covering over 219 acres has been acquired and plans submitted. This gives some idea of the scale on which the State is facing the problem of mental patients.

The Medical Department is also alive to the needs of tubercular patients. Two open-air tuberculosis wards are to be constructed on the roof of the Osmania Hospital in Hyderabad and an up-to-date sanatorium built near Vicarabad City. The public are being instructed as to the highly infectious nature of phthisis and the necessity for care and isolation. The better housing which is being provided to rehouse families displaced by slum clearance is already helping to diminish the scourge of tuberculosis (Fig. 2).

The Epidemics

One of the chief health problems in Hyderabad are the epidemics. When once, for example, an epidemic of cholera has spread, and particularly when river water is infected, control becomes exceedingly difficult. One epidemic during the year 1342 Pasli (or, in the English calendar, between October, 1932, and October, 1933) led to over 4,000 deaths. Fortunately the disinfection of wells is now widely understood, and although inoculation is used for individual protection, with good results, improvement in the construction and control of the water supply has been found to be the best protection.

Special attention is paid to check the outbreaks at important centres of festivals. The staff in the travelling dispensaries have performed an increasing number of anti-plague and malaria operations. Colonel Norman Walker, whose wise influence is apparent in all the measures taken to combat disease, reports how in the City Hall water supplies are being improved, dangerous wells closed, the sewage system developed on modern lines, the roads and street lighting made second to none in India, and the sanitation maintained at a high standard, but in the country districts, as in rural villages in England and Wales, both water supplies and drainage are often far from satisfactory.

Smallpox was responsible for 1,041 deaths. In this matter "apathy sanctioned by superstition regarding vaccination and the isolation of cases is the greatest obstruction to preventive measures. Children of well-educated parents are sent to school in an obviously infected condition, while in poor houses the cases are concealed and denied medical attention." When it is remembered that Hyderabad has a population of about a third of Great Britain it is striking to note that in the same period in the Nizam's dominions there were over 1,000 smallpox deaths and in England and Wales only 2. In the Nizam's dominions 134 vaccinators carried out 205,916 vaccinations.

Plague

Plague in Hyderabad was responsible during that period for 8,749 deaths. Much is being done by propaganda and example. In many villages the people now accept inoculation and realize the importance of evacuating their houses as soon as rats begin to die. Formerly there was objection to inoculation, and it was difficult to move the family until one or two people had died.

The special Plague Department has shown what can be done, but so long as people migrate from infected areas to the non-infected towns or villages, official action is almost powerless. Examples are given in Colonel Norman Walker's reports of how plague spreads. For example, on 16th Mehir (August 22) two girls suffering from plague were admitted to the Isolation Hospital from the Chappal Bazaar area. The family moved from Chappal Bazaar to Bazaar Nur-ul-Umra (Noorkham Bazaar), but was traced and evacuated to Addigmet Health Camp. These two were the first indigenous cases in the municipal area. Enquiry proved that people had come from the infected village Pattencheru to the next house for a wedding and their arrival was followed by rat-falls. The family remained till the wedding ceremonies were completed and did not report the rat-falls, being frightened that the wedding would be stopped. They admitted that they had secretly burnt the rats. From this date onwards till 1st of Aban rats were found infected in the neighbourhood of this house. Further spread of the infection was completely stopped by thorough fumigation and disinfection. No doubt the success of this action was in great part due to the continuous anti-rat campaign, which had reduced the rat population to the minimum. There were no further cases in this locality till the end of the year.

Another example is given by a Military Medical Officer who sent a dead rat and also a blood film taken from a patient to the Jamiyath Nizam Mahboob lines at Chandrayangutta. Both were found positive to plague, and the Special Plague Officer, on inspecting the place, discovered that rat-falls had occurred almost daily in barracks for over a month and that there were more than two human cases in the lines and these cases had already recovered. The infection was found to have been imported from the infected Infantry Training Company lines.

Such cases occurring after rat-falls had been concealed are typical of the way in which plague is introduced into a new locality. Colonel Norman Walker states that the complete arrest of infection by fumigation and disinfection is always to be expected provided the rat population has been kept as low as possible by systematic and regular destruction. Pamphlets in English, Urdu, and Telegu are distributed free of charge explaining how the fleas on the rats carry the fatal germs.

The Plague Department have no doubt, after long observation, that infection is carried about from place to place by infected fleas carried in bedding, clothing and household articles. On this point it is of interest to note that in recent years a rat-flea survey was carried out in the Port of London. During 1934 a similar survey was recommenced in the Port of Cardiff. In British ports many thousands of rats are destroyed every year, and the British Ministry of Health state in the last Report of the Chief Medical Officer that never once during the year under review was plague infection detected amongst the large numbers of rats examined. When it is remembered that even in Hyderabad among the Muhammadan community 5 out of every 1,000 are attacked by plague, the advance that has been made in Great Britain since the Middle Ages in this particular aspect in public health is noteworthy (Fig. 3).

Fortunately the Nizam of Hyderabad realizes the truth of what Francis Bacon wrote: "Nothing forwards the conclusion of business so much as good health." Accordingly the fundamental causes of plague are being rigorously attacked. It is recognized that some of the habits of the people tend to encourage a large rat population, and on account of religious scruples some even object to their destruction. Grain stores are too often kept

uncovered, and therefore rats are able to reach an unlimited food supply. The usual custom of throwing "Patrowlies" outside at night and not burning them helps to increase the rat density. Here again religious sanction is quoted, some arguing that to burn the food which they eat is forbidden by religion and that the scraps should be left to be eaten by other living creatures. On this point incessant propaganda by lectures, magic lanterns, the cinema and house-to-house visits is gradually breaking down barriers; and there are signs of a change of opinion. A cinema film, "Plague the Destroyer," has impressed thousands. A six-wheeler cinema car, equipped with an up-to-date projector, is being used in remote villages so as to dispel conservatism and encourage the people to adopt the modern method for guarding against the epidemic.

The public in Hyderabad is co-operating to an increasing extent with the Plague Department. Though no legal action is taken under the recently sanctioned plague rules, yet their very existence helps the Department to persuade the recalcitrants to follow the right course. The fatalistic tendency of some classes is diminishing day by day, thanks to the influence of education and propaganda, but will take a long time to completely disappear.

Housing

Another fundamental reason for the continuance of plague is bad housing. In spite of the progress that is being made by the City Improvement Board in clearing away slum areas, the condition of several localities both in the city and Shederghat is still such as to harbour a big rat population. Accordingly, side by side with the destruction of rats it is also necessary to continue the good work of improving buildings, especially the construction of rat-proof grain stores and the reconstruction of huts and houses in congested areas, together with the demolition of all buildings with mud walls and without foundations (Fig. 4).

The Nizam and his advisers are fully alive to the close connection between health and housing. Many warnings have been given by the medical authorities regarding the disease and physical disabilities which can be directly attributed to living under slum conditions. To quote the words of the late King George in the notable speech which he made to local authorities and societies at Buckingham Palace in 1919: "Health and housing are indissolubly connected. If this country is to be the country which we desire to see it become, a great offensive must be undertaken against disease and crime, and the first point at which the attack must be delivered is the unhealthy, ugly, overcrowded house in the mean street, which we all of us know too well. If a healthy race is to be reared, it can be reared only in healthy homes; if

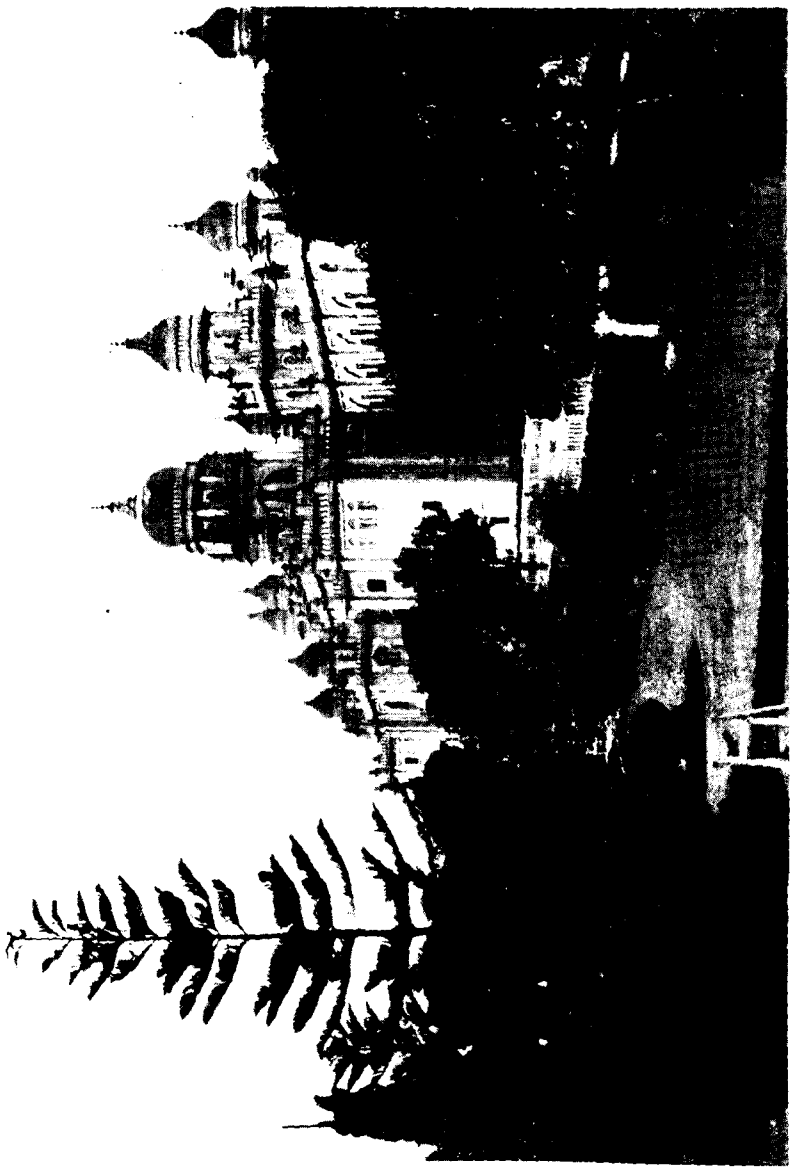


FIG. 1.—THE OSMANIA HOSPITAL, HYDERABAD.

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To face p. 438

PLATE II



FIG. 2.—FLOWER STALLS IN THE OLD BAZAAR (ALL CONDEMNED).

Photograph published by the courtesy of Mrs. Milward.

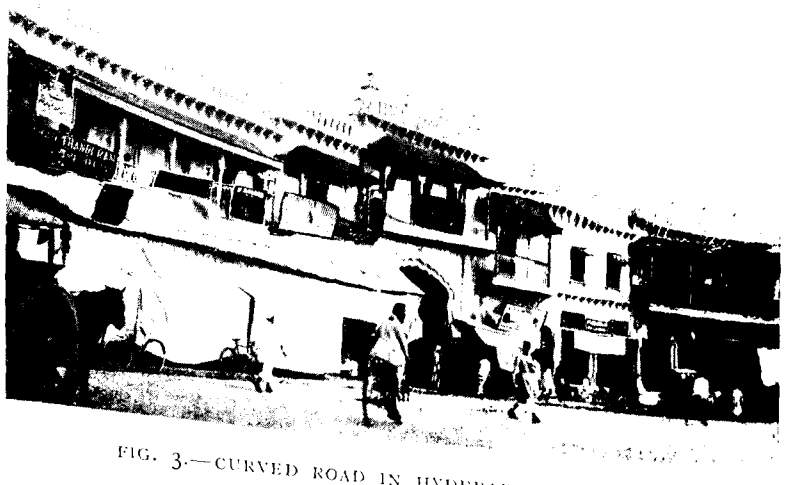


FIG. 3.—CURVED ROAD IN HYDERABAD OLD CITY.

Photograph published by the courtesy of Mrs. Milward.

PLATE III

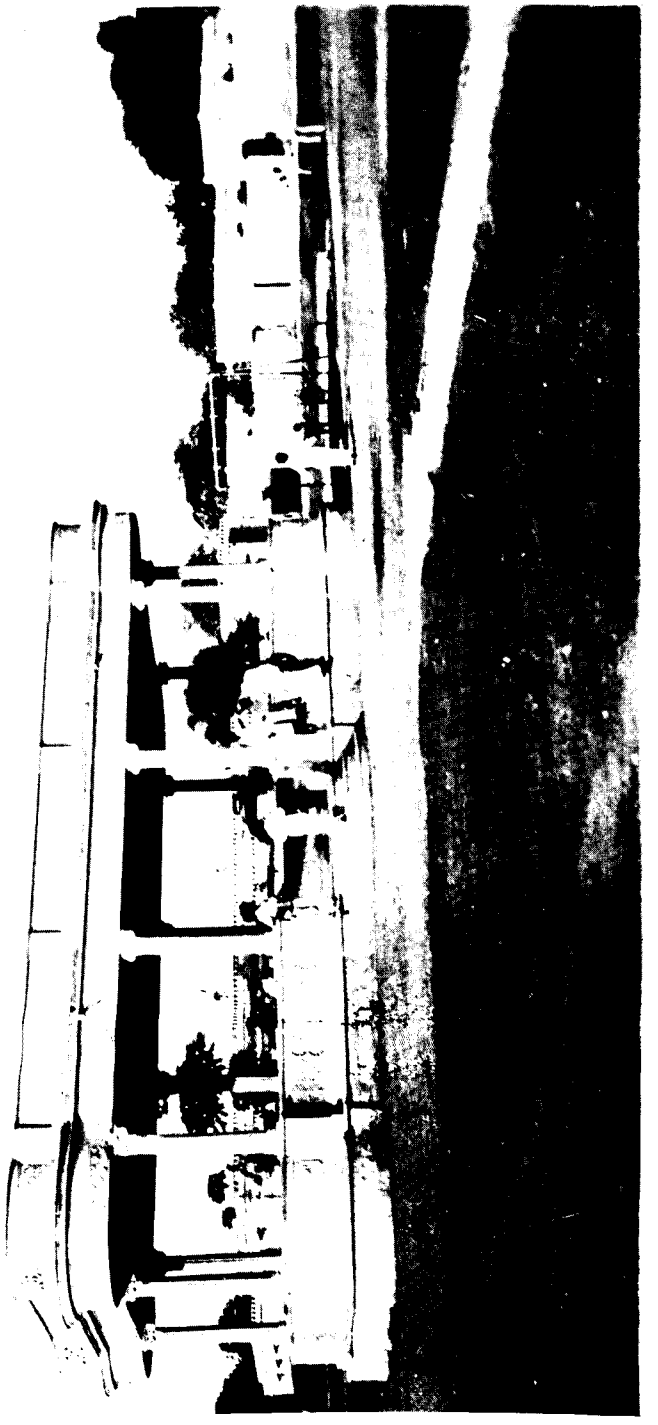
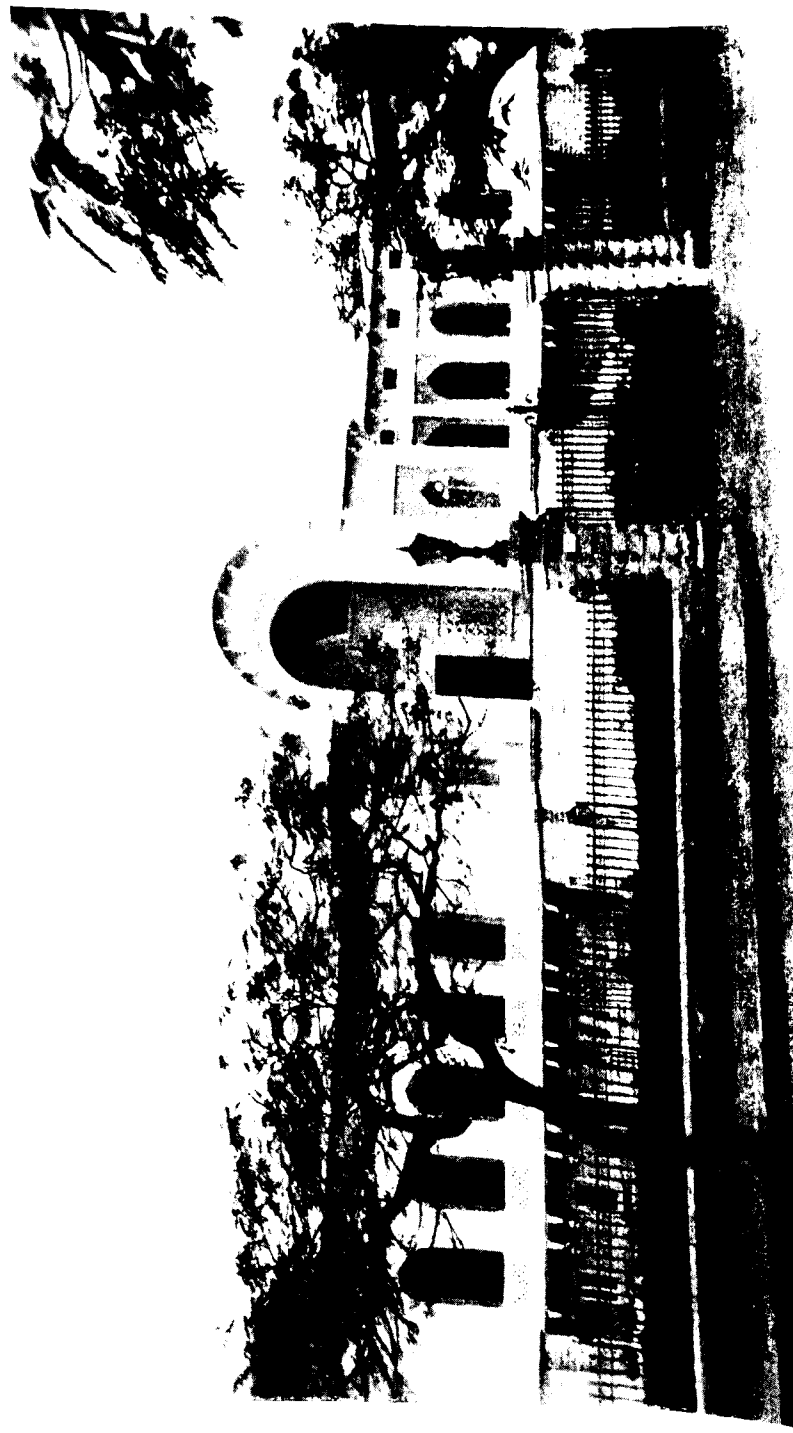


FIG. 4.—SLUM CLEARANCE: MODEL HOUSES AND PLAYGROUND.

Photograph published by the courtesy of Mrs. Milward.

PLATE IV



infant mortality is to be reduced and tuberculosis to be stamped out, the first essential is the improving of housing conditions; if drink and crime are to be successfully combated, decent, sanitary houses must be provided."

The words of the King-Emperor have echoed in Hyderabad as the inspiration of what has been done during the last few years. Hyderabad City, the capital, has a population of about 500,000 people, many of whom are living in old and insanitary dwellings. No one, however, driving through the city can fail to be impressed by the many signs of activity on the part of the City Improvement Board in rebuilding and driving new roads through the congested areas according to a carefully thought out plan.

Town Planning

In a previous article which I contributed to the Asiatic Review in October, 1934, I wrote of the foresight and imagination which are guiding those responsible for the town planning of Hyderabad and suggested that the Nizam is setting an example, not only to other States in India, but in some points to municipalities at home in England. Opportunities for avoiding the mistakes to be found in Greater London, Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, Paris, Rome and other centres of Western Europe, where there has been too little control over building for the last hundred years, are constantly occurring in India, where industrialization is only in its infancy. The Census of India shows an increase in urban populations during the last 30 years, and the report on the Census asks: "Is India going to follow the example of England and allow this naturally healthy influx of labour from the country to be demoralized by slums, chawls and overcrowded bustes?" In some of the Indian cities every known rule of sanitation is disregarded, with the result that there is an appalling death rate of children.

In appreciating what has been done in Hyderabad and other States as compared with England, the fundamental difference in the approach must be recognized. Town planning in Great Britain has been confined to the organization of new developments on land hitherto unbuilt upon up to the time of passing the Town and Country Planning Act of 1932. In India, as was well stated at a meeting of the Town Planning Institute by Mr. J. M. Linton-Bogle, the application of town planning had a public health origin—the desire to improve insanitary and overcrowded quarters, which played such a terrible part in spreading plague and other infectious and contagious diseases. "The Improvements Trusts which are the executive bodies for this work in nearly every large town in India, had this as their first duty, and have devoted their attention to the improvement of built-up areas in a way unparalleled in other countries."

In Hyderabad the City Improvement Board has now been in operation for over twenty years, and its latest report is a record of which any progressive State might indeed be proud. Here, again, the influence of Colonel Norman Walker, Director of Medical Sanitation Department, is apparent.

Details are given of one slum improvement scheme, the Khairiatbad Scheme, under which 47 acres of slum are being cleared. This is an ambitious scheme, and when completed only half the original site will be built over and the other used for roads and open spaces, thereby reducing the congestion by 50 per cent.

Another extensive scheme is the Feelkhana, a locality which is a breeding place for all types of epidemics. Although only a part of the area was cleared on the date of the issue of the latest Report, this stated that "the health of the quarter has appreciably improved and there has been no case of mortality from epidemics, although it is situated in the centre of the busiest part of the city."

The illustrations given in the Report show spacious sites completely cleared of every building, broad and well-laid roads, and new white buildings (Fig. 5). The redeveloped areas are somewhat reminiscent of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in its early stages, and are a proof of the magnificent scale on which the City Improvement Board is carrying out its duties. The trees on the sites, and in the distance the ring of granite rocks outside the city, add much to their picturesqueness. In various places along the banks of the River Musi old buildings have been cleared and parks or gardens, which are much appreciated by the public, have been laid out.

The problem of rehousing displaced slum dwellers is being resolutely faced. Particularly accommodation is being planned and built for the erection of model dwellings to be occupied by the lower middle-class of people. The accompanying plans of four different types of houses show what is being done.

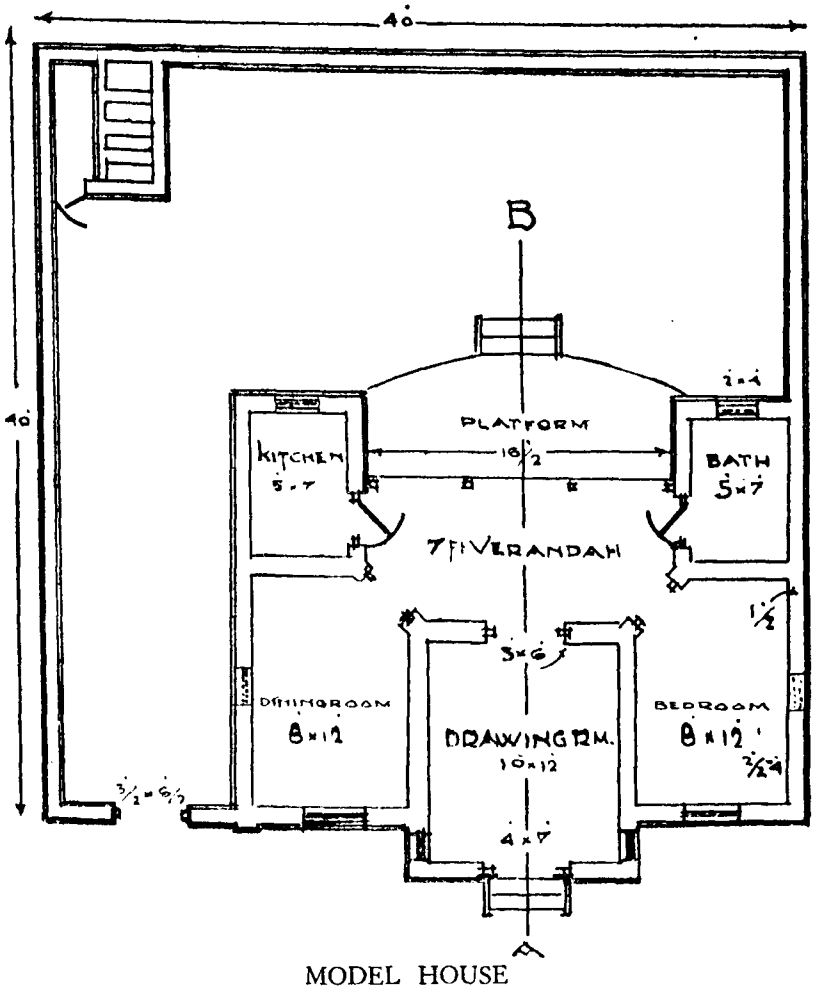
Cost

For the smallest type, the "C" and "D" class, occupied by the very poor people, great concessions in rent have been granted. For the better class the rents are based on a charge of 6 per cent. per annum of the actual cost of the building, apart from the cost of the land.

Of course on English standards these houses appear small, bu the illustrations of those which have already been built show tha the estates have been well laid out and the houses appear to b excellently constructed and are well surrounded by open spaces.

No one can study the latest reports regarding the social service in the State of Hyderabad without recognizing how fortunate ar

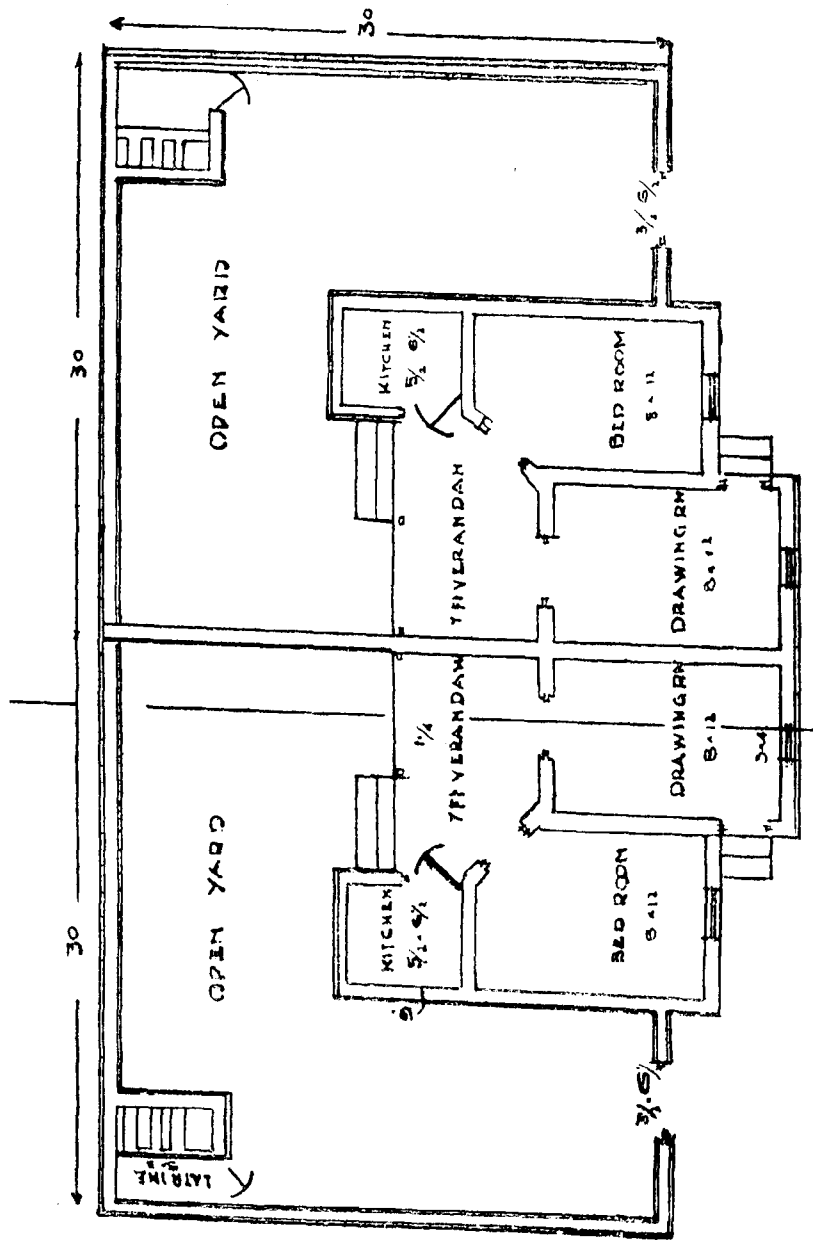
the peoples ruled over by His Exalted Highness the Nizam, and how wise and efficient is the administration of his officials. The obstacles to progress are many, due to climate, to native traditions, to religious scruples, to worn-out buildings, and to other causes. The reports, however, prove that, in spite of all difficulties, real and indeed, rapid progress is being made, and that, on the year of his Silver Jubilee, the Nizam has every reason to feel profoundly gratified that, as an outcome of his far-sighted inspiration, so many of the evils of ill-health and disease are being resolutely fought, so that his people may live happier and healthier lives in the years to come.



MODEL HOUSE

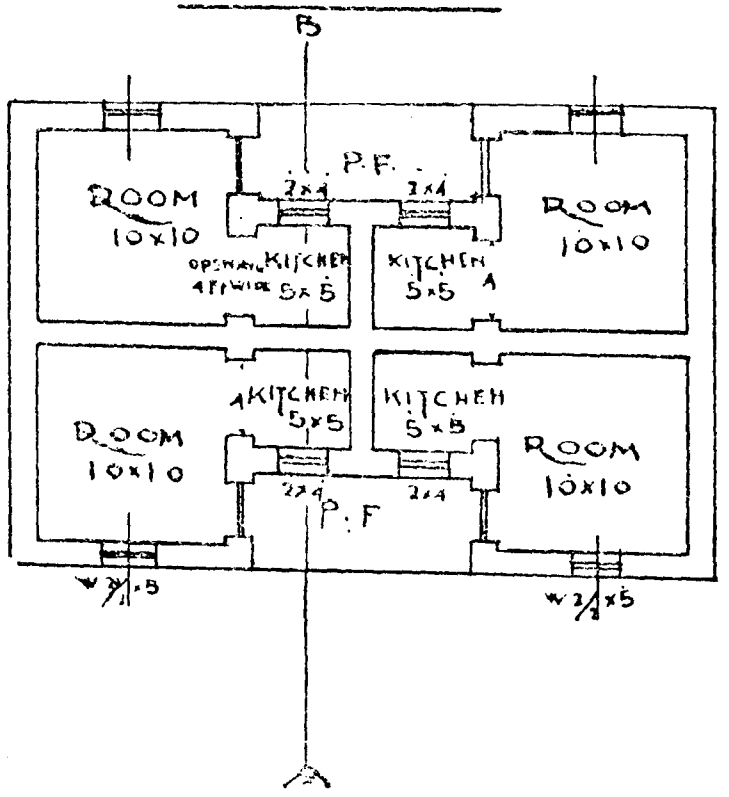
Class A

Cost: Rs. 2,100 (£157 10s.).



MODEL HOUSE
CLASS B
Cost: Rs. 1,300 (£97 10s.).

GROUND PLAN



MODEL HOUSE
CLASS 4 D
Cost: Rs. 500 (£37 10s.).

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIA IN 1933-34. A statement prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26th Section of the Government of India Act. (Delhi: *The Manager of Publications.*) Rs. 1.10.

(*Reviewed by* H. G. RAWLINSON.)

The publication of this invaluable summary is awaited with interest by students of contemporary Indian politics. The year under review was, on the whole, a quiet one: the chief event was the terrible Bihar earthquake. In the political world the passing of the India Act had a salutary effect. It began to be realized that, whatever might be its shortcomings from the Nationalist point of view, it was now a *fait accompli*. As a leading Bombay paper remarked: "If it is agreed that the constitution will have to be worked willy nilly, when it comes, why not be honest about it and say so?" The Congress Party was openly in revolt against the sterile policy of non-violent non-co-operation. If they stood aside it was certain that others would not, and the direction of Indian affairs would pass into the hands of the Liberals. Under these circumstances Mr. Gandhi prudently anticipated the inevitable by suspending civil disobedience, and with equal prudence, perhaps, he decided in September to withdraw from Congress altogether. Since then, Mr. Gandhi's influence has been steadily on the decline. His fasts no longer attract attention. His attempts to remove untouchability have roused strong opposition: in Bihar and Orissa a mob broke the windows of his motor-car, and in Poona there were black-flag demonstrations and a bomb was thrown. Meanwhile, Government responded to the suspension of civil disobedience by the removal of the ban on Congress organizations. This led to the recrudescence of the Congress Party, but on very different lines. "From a mass movement pledged to non-co-operation, civil disobedience, Khaddar, and anti-untouchability, the Congress had become a predominantly political organization, with parliamentary activity substituted for non-co-operation, and civil disobedience relegated to semi-independent bodies." Congress now tends to split into two distinct parties: the Right Wing is in favour of the attainment of Swaraj by the capture of the legislatures, while the Left, consisting of Jawahar Lal Nehru and his followers, advocates direct action, by which is meant civil disobedience bereft of its troublesome creed of non-violence. The growing menace of Communism is the most ominous symptom of Indian political life to-day. The sentences of most of those condemned in the Meerut conspiracy trial of 1929 expired in 1933, and some at least of the released prisoners lost no time in resuming revolutionary agitation for promoting a situation favourable to an armed insurrection. Meanwhile, the communal situation is no better. A resolution of the Muslim League "to accept the Communal

Decision and co-operate with other communities to such a constitution as will be acceptable to the country" was described in Congress circles as "not only meaningless, but absolutely ridiculous." In Bengal, thanks to the unceasing vigilance of the police and the growing detestation for Terrorism on the part of the public, only two outrages were attempted, both of them, happily, without success.

The Bihar earthquake took place on the afternoon of January 15, 1934. It lasted for about five minutes, and in that time every masonry building within an area of 6,000 square miles was damaged or destroyed, including 361 railway bridges and culverts, and twelve towns were wiped out. Thanks to the fact that people were mostly out of doors at the time, only 7,253 lives were lost. Geysers appeared, which spouted streams of sand and water over the fields; wells and tanks were choked, and rivers diverted. Government and private agencies immediately took up relief work, and money poured in from all quarters. A special Relief Commissioner was appointed to co-ordinate their efforts, and the Government of India agreed to replace all schools, hospitals, and other institutions which received aid from local bodies, and to make grants for house-building, repair of sugar-cane factories, and other purposes. Apart from this unforeseen disaster, the economic situation was fairly reassuring. The monsoon was good, and the country at last seemed to be slowly recovering from the depression of past years, though rigid economy was still necessary. Sir Joseph Bhore's review of the Indian Railways might fairly be applied to trade as a whole. "Such improvement as our revenues have shown in the current year has been persistent and well maintained. The steady enlargement of our traffic is an indication that traffic and confidence are beginning to revive. If we have still far to go before we can reach normality, we can at least face the coming year with renewed hope and lighter hearts." Progress continued to be made in agricultural research. The Indianization of the Indian Army, Navy and Air Force advanced steadily. Sixty-seven cadets were admitted to the Indian Military Academy, Debra Dun. Steps were taken for the formation of a field brigade of the Indian Regiment of Artillery, to consist of brigade headquarters and four batteries. The first unit of the Indian Air Force, consisting of a nucleus of squadron headquarters and one complete flight of aircraft, was formed, and took part in the Sind Brigade manœuvres. Four cadets were sent home to Cranwell and subsequently attached to the R.A.F. for training. The Royal Indian Marine was raised to the status of a navy: three Indian officers and eleven cadets were under training in the United Kingdom.

The above is only a summary of a few of the leading heads of this admirable and impartial survey, which will be welcomed by the historian and economist like. It is regrettable that its frank but unbiassed review of the political situation should have led to the defeat of the vote for the Information Department. The facts speak for themselves. Politics only form a small part of the total field surveyed, and it would be a serious blow to India if the publication were suspended.

A History of India. From the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By Sir George Dunbar, Bart. Pp. 682. Sixty-five illustrations and sixteen maps. (*Ivor Nicholson and Watson.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed* by H. G. Rawlinson.)

An up-to-date history of India, written for the general public rather than the specialist, has long been called for, and Sir George Dunbar steps into the gap with this handsome and profusely illustrated volume. The author has read widely and has consulted the latest authorities, and the book is attractively and brightly written. It is a pity, however, that it does not start with a concise summary of the geographical conditions of the country and their influence upon Indian history. A disproportionately small space (87 pages out of 625) is devoted to Hindu India, and some of the later chapters might well have been curtailed in order to describe more fully the cultural achievements of ancient Hindu civilization. The author altogether underrates the importance of Buddhism, which did for Asia what the Catholic Church did for medieval Europe. He barely touches, for example, on Indian influence upon China. Much is said about the gallant Rajputs of the north, but the equally impressive Dravidians are almost ignored. Hardly a paragraph is devoted to the mighty empire of the Cholas, with its great fleets dominating the Bay of Bengal, and its overseas expeditions for the conquest of the Ceylon and Lower Burma and the distant Nicobar Islands. Tamil literature is ignored, and neither illustration nor description gives the reader any notion of the grand cathedrals of the south, much less of the superb architecture of colonial India at Polonnaruva, Borobudur or Angkor Vat.

When he comes to Moghul India the author is on surer ground. His description of Akbar's court and government, and of the personal character and achievements of that great monarch, is admirable, though more might have been made of the momentous visit (curtly referred to in a later chapter) of the three Englishmen, Fitch, Leedes, and Newbery, bearing a letter from Queen Elizabeth to "the most invincible and mighty prince, Lord Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaya." The glories of the Golden Age of Shah Jahan, in reality a thin veneer over the mass of underlying poverty and misery caused by over-taxation, the downfall of the Empire under Aurangzeb, and the renascence of Hinduism under Shivaji and the Peshwas, are well depicted. But in his description of the last battle of Panipat, Sir George Dunbar misses the essential point. By allowing himself to be shut up in Panipat, instead of pursuing the traditional Maratha tactics of avoiding a pitched battle and harassing the enemy's flanks and rear, the Bhao Saheb threw away his army. The Marathas were starved out, and eventually compelled to accept battle on the enemy's terms. And it was not the Abdali who described the Marathas as "the thorn of Hindustan."

Roughly half the book is devoted to the history of British India, and, momentous though these two centuries have been, this seems to indicate a certain loss of perspective in a work which is professedly written "from the standpoint of the governed." It would, however, be graceless to quarrel with so impartial a summary, the very fairness of which will doubtless lessen its appeal to the "die-hards" of either camp. Chapter IX deals in a very interesting manner with the early history of the East India Company. Chapter XIII describes at some length the struggles between the English and the French. In Chapter XIX there is a very good character-sketch of Lord Lawrence, and the lessons of the great Orissa famine of 1865-6 are admirably summed up. It is refreshing to find someone to say a good word for that much-abused Viceroy, Lord Ripon, whose "courage, conscientiousness and ability" are here rightly commended. The statement of the "Pathan problem," on p. 568, is one of the best things in the book. Reference is made to the great work of Sir Robert Sandeman in Baluchistan, and it is pointed out that, when contact was first made, it might not have been impossible to "Sandemanize" the Pathans, and so transfer responsibility for their political, social, and economic development to the people themselves under British supervision. Referring to our failure to educate the masses, the author rightly quotes Curzon's penetrating remark that, "Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian textbooks, the elementary education of the people in their own tongues has shrivelled and pined." The policy of infiltration, so hopefully regarded by Bentinck and his contemporaries, was brought to naught by the exclusive attitude of the higher castes. The book ends with a chapter on the Progress of Responsible Government, which brings the story down to 1935.

Illustrations are numerous and beautiful, and the maps deserve special mention. Unfortunately there are several slips, especially in the proper names in the earlier chapters, which should be corrected in a second edition. If the work is to be used as a reference book, a very much fuller and better index is essential.

THE INDIAN TRADE COMMISSIONER IN LONDON

Report of the Indian Trade Commissioner in London for 1934-35. (The Office of the High Commissioner for India.) 2s. 8d. net.

(*Reviewed by* M. C. B. Sayer.)

India has been fortunate in its Trade Commissioners in London. There have been only three permanent incumbents since that most important branch of the High Commissioner for India's office was opened early in 1918. They have all been officials of outstanding ability with a ready grasp of commercial matters which is not always characteristic of the Civil Service.

The department began on modest lines, but the foundations were well and truly laid by Sir David Chadwick, the first Trade Commissioner. At the beginning its activities were perforce confined for the most part to special work arising out of the various war and post-war control schemes. Any extension of their scope was viewed with suspicion by the old-established firms of East India merchants and banking houses in the City. But business men soon discovered that Sir David Chadwick was very different from the usual order of quasi-commercial Government servants; that his

help and advice were freely available, that he was not tied by red tape, and that he was responsive to changing conditions.

Sir Harry Lindsay, who succeeded early in 1923 to the post, which he was to hold continuously, apart from a few months of fresh contact with Indian conditions in the Commerce Department at Simla and Delhi, for more than eleven years, proved an ideal successor. Like the present incumbent, he had had an extended experience of commercial administration, notably as head of the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics.

During Sir Harry Lindsay's long tenure the functions of the Indian Trade Commissioner in London underwent considerable development. The special work—legacies for the most part of the war—gradually came to an end. Its place was taken by an expansion of the Trade Commissioner's activities in three clearly defined directions—namely, the dissemination of commercial intelligence, representation on Government and other committees, and the wide range of services included in the term "commercial publicity."

Despite the limitations imposed by the removal of his headquarters to Westminster—the present palatial premises in India House were only taken over a few years ago—his relations with the City and other interests remained of the closest and most cordial character.

Although Dr. D. B. Meek has only been a relatively short time in the post rendered vacant by Sir Harry Lindsay's appointment in October, 1934, as Director of the Imperial Institute, his first report shows that the enhanced status and practical value of the Department have been fully maintained. The working of the Ottawa Agreement having recently been the subject of a detailed examination in India by the author, and his successor, in the capacity of Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, no attempt is made to analyze the results of the pact. But the two interesting conclusions which emerge from an instructive analysis of trade developments within the group of countries whose currencies are on a sterling basis as compared with those in the gold bloc are significant in this connection. The first is that the British Empire and the sterling group have relatively improved their position during the year in the United Kingdom market, and, secondly, that the recovery has, generally speaking, been more rapid in this group.

The main features of India's own export trade with this country during the same period were an increase in the supplies of both long and short stapled cotton, largely due to the efforts of the Lancashire Indian Cotton Committee, of timber, and of tea. Coffee, unmanufactured tobacco, oilseeds, and raw jute showed on the other hand a decline. The former, like Indian rice and linseed, suffered severely from outside competition.

As a result of official representations the duties on non-Empire paddy and linseed have since been raised, but coffee producers are forced to rely on their own unaided efforts to arrest the steady decline in the home consumption of their product, which formerly constituted more than 50 per cent. of the United Kingdom's imports of coffee. Happily with the active cooperation and practical support of Mysore State, the home of the Indian industry, which still produces the bulk of the crop, including the best

qualities, steps have at last been taken to deal with the situation which will, it is hoped, be reflected in the improved demand.

Unmanufactured tobacco, other oil seeds and jute have also fared less well in spite of the Ottawa preferences, but from the latest figures—for the most part those in the report are only brought up to the end of March, 1935—there has since been a marked improvement in quantities as well as values. The latter aspect is in many respects the most significant, for, as Dr. Meek pertinently observes, no general recovery is possible in a predominantly agricultural country like India, unless the cultivator obtains prices for his products which bear a higher ratio to those of non-agricultural goods, rents, etc., than they do at present.

The stimulus, on the other hand, must be natural, not artificial, like the unhappy "story of the meteoric rise and catastrophic fall of the London shellac 'pool' in 1934-35." Like so many other Indian commodities, Indian lac has undoubted technical advantages over its synthetic rivals, but is confronted with difficulties only capable of solution at the production end. "Unfortunately, while the results so far achieved are a good augury for the future of this important industry, the handicaps of fluctuating prices and fluctuating quality are still hindering gravely the developments which would otherwise accrue from successful research work."

Mr. A. J. Gibson, Special Officer Lac Inquiry, London Shellac Research Bureau, has written the chapter in the report from which the foregoing extract is taken. Sir Hugh Watson and Mr. G. H. Tupper, F.G.S., Timber and Minerals Adviser, respectively, to the High Commissioner for India, discuss with knowledge and insight the successful efforts which are being made to encourage the demand for the commodities in which they are particularly interested in this country.

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE: ANNUAL REPORT, 1935. By the Director, Sir Harry Lindsay, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., to the Board of Governors.

(*Reviewed by* M. C. B. SAYER.)

The Imperial Institute will shortly be celebrating its fiftieth birthday. The foundation stone was laid by Queen Victoria, whose own golden jubilee is commemorated in the building itself and in the ideals of British Commonwealth service for which it stands. By a happy coincidence the Duke and Duchess of York were present at a reception to the delegates to the 1935 Conference of the Empire Parliamentary Association held at the Imperial Institute on the forty-eighth anniversary of that auspicious occasion in July last.

The annual report of the Institute for 1935 is of more than ordinary interest for several reasons. The present Director, Sir Harry Lindsay, did not take over his new duties until October 1, 1934, so that the period under review was the first one under the new regime. Sir Harry Lindsay has

wisely elected to proceed, in the main, along the sound lines followed by his distinguished predecessor, and the record is one of steady progress in all branches of the Institute's many activities.

The Imperial Institute is the only institution entrusted by statute with the task of receiving samples and specimens from all parts of the Empire and reporting on their economic potentialities. The chapters on the work of the Scientific Department dealing with plant and animal and mineral resources respectively, reveal something of its scope and importance, while the list of officers of the Colonial Services who have visited the Institute during the year—a novel feature of the report—is instructive. The visits have obviously been of great assistance in the task of maintaining contact with the economic problems of the Colonies and Protectorates and of keeping up to date the unique collections of their staple products.

A number of samples were sent from India during the year for test. Further shipments of tung seed have been received from Assam and Burma in connection with the work on the problems involved in the production of tung oil from the fruits grown in the Empire. Upon examination the Indian seeds were found to yield normal percentages of oil of satisfactory quality, thereby providing further evidence that tung oil of good quality can be produced in India and other Empire countries.

A small consignment of skins derived from Somaliland sheep introduced a few years ago into Kutch State, with a view to establishing an export industry in the skins, was submitted for a report on their suitability for the United Kingdom market. The provisional results of the investigation, which are not unfavourable, should be of great assistance to the Indian exporters and afford a good instance of the value of the work which is being done.

Three varieties of Soya beans—Pusa White, Manchurian, and Punjab White—have been found, after suitable tests, to be readily saleable in the United Kingdom. Oil obtained from a plant growing extensively as a weed in some parts of the Bombay Presidency, in the opinion of essential oil distillers and soap makers, would also find a market as a substitute for caraway oil in soap perfumery.

Only one sample of Indian minerals was sent for test, and that was Chromite from Mysore State, but no less than thirty enquiries on marketing, sources of supply, mode of occurrence and analyses were answered. It is to be hoped, in view of the present directors' unrivalled knowledge of India's extensive natural resources, that even greater use will be made of the Institute's services in future.

The Government of India has been a generous supporter of the Imperial Institute, and there are many directions in which co-operation can be further developed to their mutual advantage. The decision to charge fees to Governments of the Empire which have ceased to contribute to the general revenues of the Institute on the same principles as to private firms and individuals, incidentally, is sound. It is not unreasonable that Governments which benefit by its activities, whether in the form of enquiries, investigations, or publications, should at least contribute something towards their cost.

MEDIEVAL INDIAN SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By Ramaprasad Chanda, with introduction by R. L. Hobson. With 24 plates. (*Kegan Paul.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The British Museum contains a large number of examples of Indian sculpture which visitors are able to view, but which a descriptive guide would enable them more fully to appreciate. Few connoisseurs could be better fitted to instruct the visitor in this matter than Mr. Chanda, who has enjoyed long experience in the Archæological Survey of India. He possesses not merely the knowledge, but he also is endowed with the power of description. The plates taken from excellent photographs leave no room for improvement. In this volume the Gandhara and Amravati sculptures are excluded, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Chanda will supplement the present guide with another on the remaining objects, a task for which he is eminently qualified.

THE BAHA'I WORLD. A biennial international record. Vol. V., 1932-34. Illustrated. 1936. (New York: *Baha'i Publ. Committee.*) $2.50.

This formidable record of the Baha'i movement is a true testimony to the progress of this world order. Contributions from all parts, including China and Japan, tend to show how Baha'ism finds favour in the human heart. The former year book is divided into four parts. The first presents the aims of the Baha'i faith, with a survey of its activities and portions of the Sacred Writings. Another part contains a directory and a bibliography of literature appearing in different languages, and yet another contains articles on various aspects of the teachings. The volume concludes with a series of melodies composed for, or appertaining to, Baha'ism. About 200 illustrations embellish the volume.

THE FESTIVAL OF LIFE: PICTURES OF MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD. By Kanu Desai. (*Bombay: Taraporevala.*) Rs. 2.

Mr. Kanu Desai is one of the best known artists of India, and his drawings have met in England with much appreciation. His subjects are chosen from life; his art of drawing is delicate. In looking at the pictures here assembled one feels the pulsation of modern Indian life on the one hand, and on the other the subjects remind us of the old Indian ideal of family life and happiness at home. The most attractive drawing in the book is undoubtedly "The Fairy Tale," and the mother's love appears in all its glory.

Mr. Ratilal M. Trivedi has supplied a very poetic explanatory introduction to the eight Plates, which chiefly portray the happiness of childhood. It is to be hoped that this ideal will long remain one of India's most precious possessions.

THE SPIRIT OF ZEN: A WAY TO LIFE, WORK AND ART IN THE FAR EAST. By Alan W. Watts. (*Murray.*) 3s. 6d. net.

The editors of the Wisdom of the East Series have presented the public with many volumes on Eastern thought and Art, most of which were new to the Western reader. In issuing *The Spirit of Zen* they can be congratulated upon introducing in a popular form and at a low price the ancient philosophy of a great part of Japan. It is true that Dr. D. T. Suzuki of Kyoto has published three large volumes of Essays, but they appeal on account of their treatment more to the scholar than to general readers who are anxious to be informed of what happens outside their immediate neighbourhood. Naturally, Mr. Watts has drawn largely on Dr. Suzuki's original work, and rightly so. Zen is founded on practice and on an intimate, personal experience of the reality; it dispenses with all forms of theorization and lifeless formality. Readers of Okakura's *Book of Tea* will welcome this handy and reliable guide to Zen, and one may anticipate that it will prove a true friend to those who are concerned with the mystery of life.

THE BOOK OF GRADUAL SAYINGS (Anguthara Nikaye). Vol. V. translated from the Pali. By F. L. Woodward. 1936. (*Oxford University Press.*) 10s. net.

With the present volume the Pali Text Society has completed the translation of the four great Nikayas, issued in fifteen volumes. Mr. F. L. Woodward has had the distinction of furnishing the rendering of the last volume. He cannot be praised too highly for his performance in writing on his beloved Pali far away in Tasmania, with no assistance except his own knowledge and private library. The translation in itself is a great achievement, and there is hardly a page which does not testify by explanatory notes and reference to his wide knowledge of the Buddhist Scriptures. Mr. Woodward has for ever placed the Buddhist world under the greatest obligation by his work.

GUJARATA AND ITS LITERATURE. A survey from the earliest times. By Kanaiyalal M. Munshi. With maps and illustrations. (*Longmans.*) 12s. 6d. net.

Gujarati is not a language of which Europe has much knowledge, and on that account we welcome this work of over 400 pages, based on deep research. To the Civil Servants and missionaries living in Western India, Taylor's *Gujarati Grammar*, first published at Surat in 1893, has been a great help in acquiring the language spoken by some millions of people. In recent years Gujarati has become better known through Mahatma Gandhi. His published works are chiefly translations from the Gujarati. Morever, the student of religions is familiar with the Bhakti movement, the genius of which is Chaitauya, and this movement has produced the great poetess Mirabai, known through English renderings, and Narasimha Mehta. Mr. Munshi has enriched this literature by his own product, in which many

fine passages are given in the original, as well as in translation. His critical faculty is searching and sound, and if he continues and finds followers the Gujarati language may experience a great revival.

NEAR EAST

MARRIAGE CONDITIONS IN A PALESTINIAN VILLAGE. By Hilma Granqvist. Vol. II. With 30 plates by the author. (*Helsingfors.*)

Miss Granqvist, a Finnish lady, has performed her task with great credit, and to-day the writer wishes not merely to confirm his high opinion of her researches, but also to increase it. Miss Granqvist's knowledge of Arabic is remarkable, and she gives proof of it in various ways. Her texts, which are in Arabic characters, are faultless as far as it has been possible to examine them, and the English renderings in perfect form and style. Explanatory notes, some of considerable length, are to be found on every page, and in addition numerous references are made to English, French, German, and other works. But this is only a part of her monograph. The other and more important portion of the book naturally deals with the actual subject of the work's title. There are again two sections: the marriage ceremonies, including those of betrothal, the preliminary and wedding festivals, whilst the second depicts in every possible detail the married life, the woman's position, divorce, and widowhood. The restriction of the subject to a village is chosen intentionally, and the account therefore is more faithful and the picture more graphic in detail. Nothing is hidden from our eyes, and all is disclosed as personally observed by the lady-scholar.

A long bibliography has been appended, with references to passages quoted within the volume, and a full index to both parts, including the Arabic words used, completes this important monograph.

Every student of Near Eastern Anthropology will admire the painstaking, exact information contained in these pages.

THIS BUSINESS OF EXPLORING. By Roy Chapman Andrews. Fully illustrated. (*Putnam.*) 15s. net.

Mr. Andrews does not require any introduction. His discoveries in Central Asia are well known through the scientific volumes, wherein they are described to scholars and specialists. Mr. Andrews has become one of the great explorers of the world. The results of his expeditions are mentioned in brief in Appendix B of the present volume. The whole book breathes the spirit of the wild, of the desert, of fresh air, away from the city which he likes only as a change. Are we not satiated with our self-made life called civilization? Would it not be better for us to forgo the comforts, distraction, strife and struggle of town life for a while in order to return to the simple life? If these explorations are continued, will there be anything left to make our life worth living? These are thoughts that may occur to some readers in perusing this popular account of Mr. Andrews' expeditions. In

it we find the explorer full of vigour, and the enthusiasm that carries one away and makes one long for a similar life. The volume deals with all possible subjects which enlighten us on the life of the natives, their occupations, their animals, friend and foe, on politics, on the desert with all the dangers arising from hunger, lack of water, and sandstorms. There he met the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin, who had just returned from Turkestan. But, of course, his own achievements are not forgotten, and readers will be delighted to learn of the scientific discoveries which he has been able to make. The illustrations are splendid; of all the portraits perhaps the best is on page 46, where the author is shown with a pet antelope. An excellent map is provided at the end of the book.

FAR EAST

JAPAN'S PLACE IN THE MODERN WORLD. By Ernest H. Pickering. (*Harrap.*) 10s. net.

THE PROBLEM OF JAPAN. By Captain Malcolm Kennedy. (*Nisbet.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* O. M. GREEN.)

These two books form a valuable complement to each other. Mr. Pickering is mostly concerned to tell us what the Japanese people are like. Captain Kennedy deals with their relations with other nations and the present deplorable suspicion and misunderstanding between Japan and the West. The two combined deserve careful consideration, for it is most abundantly clear that Western policy, and especially Great Britain's, has, in recent years, run in perversely wrong tracks. As Captain Kennedy emphasizes with perfect truth, though he emphatically repudiates war-like intentions on Japan's part, the course that we and America are pursuing towards her threatens to lead either to a war, or, on our part, a climb-down.

Mr. Pickering gives us a very sympathetic picture of the Japanese, not ignoring their faults, but rightly dwelling on their sterling qualities. The three great influences of their life are Country, Emperor, and Family. The ties of the latter have to some extent been weakened by the new industrialism which carries so many youths and girls into the mills far from parental control. But none the less the family and its ancestral abode remain the lodestar of all Japanese. Mr. Pickering says that he has often known students almost incapacitated for work by sheer nostalgia. And the chief reason why unemployment presents so small a problem in Japan is that the family is in duty bound to take charge of any member who is temporarily out of work.

Love of country and devotion to Emperor go hand-in-hand. It is not generally recognized that not only is the Emperor's divine descent a fundamental faith, but all the islands, mountains, rivers, forests, and inhabitants of Japan are, by legend, the offspring of two primeval deities, Izanagi and Izanami. Hence the tremendous influence of the State religion of Shinto, pivoted on devotion to the Emperor, which combines with its exalted mystic tenets a "very intimate association with the duties and obligations of the

present world." Love of country means nothing to a Japanese unless expressed in personal exertion for her material betterment.

Mr. Pickering's chapters on education in Japan, on which he writes as an expert, are particularly interesting. Illiteracy is practically non-existent, and in the State schools nobleman's son and peasant's son mix on an equality which is unsurpassed in building up national solidarity. These factors applied to Japan's industrial development necessarily make of her a most formidable competitor of other nations. Like everybody who knows the facts, Mr. Pickering scouts the suggestion that Japanese labour is sweated. From his own point of view the Japanese millhand is well treated: his standards of life are far simpler than those of the West, and he readily works for very long hours, but he is perfectly happy and, by the Japanese scale, well paid. Not the least of Japan's troubles is due to the farmer's envy for, as it seems to him, the far more fortunate millhand.

When, at the top, we find the finest organization of all industry, centralized control and elimination of expensive middlemen, Japan's manufacturing success is easily understood. It is not so much the magnitude of Japan's exports (her share of the world's trade was only 3·32 per cent. in 1934 as against Great Britain's 13·85) as the suddenness of her arrival which has made her a universal bugbear.

That there is no cure in discrimination against her is equally the moral of Captain Kennedy's book and of Mr. Pickering's. Captain Kennedy insists that what Japan wants is access to markets, not territorial expansion; as we may well believe, remembering how reluctantly Japanese leave their native land. If the West has grievances against Japan, Japan has undoubtedly good ground for complaint against the West. The insulting discrimination of America against Japanese immigrants, the undeserved slight inflicted by Great Britain's dissolution of the Alliance, and above all the unmistakable threat of Russian expansion, alike under Tsar and Bolshevist, all this has a reality of meaning for the Japanese which the world does not adequately appreciate.

Captain Kennedy attributes many of Japan's present difficulties with the West to the seclusion policy deliberately adopted by the Shogun Iyeyasu at the beginning of the seventeenth century and pursued for 250 years, during which the Western Powers were industriously parcelling out the world. By the time that Japan began to look abroad, the West, having satisfied its appetite for acquisition, had adopted the new anti-expansionist morality, very comforting for the *beati possidentes* but quite inconsistent with its own record. Thus it appears to Japan (as Mr. Pickering puts it) the West has two standards of morality, one for itself and one for her. On the other hand, Captain Kennedy believes, probably with truth, that if Japan had frankly admitted that she went into Manchuria out of sheer necessity, instead of trying to excuse herself with clumsy propaganda that she was actuated by altruism, there would have been very little complaint abroad.

The many pages that treat of Japan's relations with Great Britain are particularly deserving of study. Nothing, perhaps, will appear more glaring to future historians than the blindness of Great Britain's policy in the Far East generally since the war, beginning with the empty sacrifice of the

Anglo-Japanese Alliance, continuing with the surrender of Hankow—which, as Captain Kennedy truly points out, encouraged the Chinese to believe that they could get anything by force and thus directly led to their humiliations in Manchuria, first at Russia's hands in 1929, then at Japan's in 1931—and culminating with the violent anti-Japanesism of our intellectuals in recent years.

The question is whether we can make a new start. Of the Japanese it may be said more than of any nation that you can do everything with them with ha'pence, nothing with kicks. A policy of continual denial of Japan's inexorable necessities can only play into the hands of her fanatics. On the other hand, both Mr. Pickering and Captain Kennedy are convinced that "gentleman's agreements" with Japan are perfectly feasible and indeed the only possible course if the present tension between Japan and the West is not to end in some hideous explosion. There is still among the Japanese a strong sentiment in favour of Great Britain.

THE LAST EMPRESS AND THE PASSING FROM THE OLD CHINA TO THE NEW. By Daniele Varè. Illustrated. 1936. (*Murray.*) 15s. net.

It appears that this book on Tzu-hsi, the Empress Dowager, was written by the Italian Minister to the Court of Peking in English and not in his native tongue. One cannot but marvel that he could become such a master of English style and expression. Perhaps his writing differs from that of other books with which we are familiar in displaying a more international outlook. We have been given to understand from previous literature that Tzu-hsi was a Manchu, and that perhaps her failings were exaggerated. Ku Hung-min, a really trustworthy Chinese scholar and writer, in fact depicted her as a noble lady. "A bird had escaped from its cage, and it was impossible to entice the bird back. Her Majesty came into that part of the ground and said: 'I will call it down.' She made a low, bird-like sound with her lips, and its flute-like sound seemed like a magical magnet to the bird. He fluttered and began to descend from bough to bough until he finally rested upon her finger." This story is characteristic, and no stories can persuade a fair-minded man to think otherwise. This, however, is one of the numerous traits from which the lofty character can be traced. Mr. Varè can be trusted to have given us a faithful portrait of the Empress. In addition, he has painted the life and times at Peking during her lifetime in a convincing manner.

INTRODUCTION TO CHINESE ART AND HISTORY. By Arnold Silcock. With maps, plates, and text illustrations. Second edition. (*Faber and Faber.*) 7s. 6d. net.

This excellent handbook is published at a popular price and a favourable time. The reader will notice that the introduction is arranged according to the dynasties, and not to the subjects. Thus the reader can at a glance follow the special period in which he is interested and can trace the growth or decay of Chinese culture from the earliest beginnings. It is written in a fluent style, and should long outlive the attention it may claim on account of the exhibition. Those who find it difficult to follow the various periods will find in one appendix some excellent comparative chronological tables and also a satisfactory bibliography. A work that might have been included in the list is Steel's translation of the I Li, or Book of Ceremonial and Etiquette, one of the minor, but important, Chinese Classics.

GENERAL

ALL ABOUT COFFEE. By William H. Ukers, M.A. (New York: *The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Co.*, 79, Wall Street.) $15.00.

(*Reviewed by* H. D. RICE.)

The first reaction on reading this remarkable book is amazement at its immensity and the amount of detail the author has been able to collect on his subject. None, until they have dipped into the volume, could appreciate the labour of the author, who spent ten years in sorting and classifying the material he had collected and then four years in co-ordinating the work. It deserves to find a place in every public library with an economic or trade branch.

Coffee is one of the three non-alcoholic beverages that civilization has been able to produce, and the coffee-lover will agree with Mr. Ukers in asserting that coffee is a stimulant to the brain, that it makes for efficiency and is a human necessity.

It is interesting to read that no food-drink has met with such opposition or suffered from such superstition and prejudice, and yet has survived from its first use in the classical period of Arabian medicine (A.D. 850) to share with tea the distinction of being the foremost beverages of the day. Every coffee drinker can support the author's statement that coffee is in reality more than a mere beverage and that its flavour and aroma are definitely comforting as well as exhilarating. The use of Empire coffee has been encouraged by the policy of preference. It comes largely from Kenya, and the Indian contribution is chiefly from the State of Mysore and from Coorg.

In spite of all that has been written about this "tonic" beverage, it is sad to find coffee so often completely ruined in the preparation. Granted that a little more care is needed in its preparation as compared with the other non-alcoholic drinks, yet one is more than compensated by expending this little extra care in obtaining a beverage that is unsurpassed for palatability and a resulting sense of *bien être*.

It must be left to the student of the coffee industry to appraise the value of the various interesting chapters dealing with every conceivable phase of the product as well as of its romantic history. One realizes in what high esteem coffee is held by all countries when glancing through the bibliography, which Mr. Ukers has compiled, of over two thousand authors and titles.

In spite of all that is known about coffee, there is still much research work to be carried out regarding the most suitable soil for its growth, manures, the fight against pests, borer, leaf disease, etc. May success attend these efforts, and may coffee continue to hold its place as "the fire which consumes our griefs" and "the gentle panacea of domestic troubles."

The Coffee Thesaurus at the end of the volume well sums up all that has been written on this subject in a number of fascinating encomiums and phrases descriptive of this "rare" beverage.

ASIA THROUGH ASIATIC EYES

FACING TWO WAYS. By Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto. (*Cassell.*) 7s. 6d. net.
TALES TOLD IN INDIA. Retold by Berta Metzger. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* DR. RANJEE G. SHAHANI.)

Facing Two Ways is a remarkable book, one that the reader, particularly the Western reader, cannot afford to neglect. After he has read and absorbed it with interest he will have some idea of the beauty and greatness of the Land of the Rising Sun. Through Baroness Ishimoto he will be analyzing—nay, discovering—the Japanese soul. For myself, I have found the work revealing, though, I frankly confess, neither alien in spirit nor in any way bizarre. This is perhaps due to the fact that Asia is one—both culturally and spiritually.

The book makes a threefold appeal. First and foremost and above all, it is a woman's world that we are privileged to peep into, and this, even in Western lands, is a rare occurrence; for so uniform is the scheme of education and so dominant is the masculine point of view, that most women write like men. There are, generally speaking, no feminine books in the West. The distinct charm of Baroness Ishimoto's effort is that she is always and entirely herself. Then, as an autobiography, the book is of fascinating interest. It tells us, simply and naturally, without a trace of sentimentalism or cynicism, the life story of a girl born in a Samurai family who became one of the central figures in modern Japan. We follow her career, from the time she entered the kindergarten of the Peeress's School to the day when she returned home after a successful lecture tour in America, with surprise and admiration. She followed the rigid etiquette and complicated conventions of her class, and yet, unlike most of her compatriots, retained a free and inquiring mind. We marvel at her unhurried, unworried, smiling ways. She seems to have had the rare gift of looking at herself and the world around her with a pitiless lucidity. This tends to explain the acuteness of her sufferings. She might well have muttered sullenly: "I think, therefore I suffer." We can understand what it cost her to resolve her one-time dilemma: personal happiness or the liberation of her sex? Boldly, unflinchingly, after due deliberation, she made her choice; and a brave choice it was, involving, as it did, the loss of something that means a good deal to a woman. She gave up her husband, cost what it might, rather than

be false to her ideals. She did not look back, but, with lips tightened, pressed forward, blazing a solitary trail. But, if read between the lines, we shall find that her real difficulty, to which she hardly dares to give open expression, lies elsewhere. She loves what is genuinely good in the Japanese civilization and what is equally good in the Western civilization. But, in *facing both ways*, she is not alone; many of us are in the same predicament. We look to the East, we look to the West, and cannot be false to either. This is not a case of Mohammed's coffin, poised between earth and heaven, but the first faint intimation of a New Renaissance to come—the marriage of East and West. When that great consummation will have arrived, Baroness Ishimoto will be among those who, seeing, did really see. . . . Finally, the book is of prime importance for the light it casts upon Japanese mentality. It gives us intimate pictures of home life, not very different, I may remark in passing, from what obtains in India. There are many finely drawn character sketches: of the old grandfather who loved to hear the music of the pine insects; of the solemn professor who taught Baroness Ishimoto the art of flower arrangement (a philosophy in itself); of the uncle who prepared his orations before a mirror, so moved by his own eloquence that tears bedewed his cheeks; of a well-known dignitary who loved his native pickles, but had to do without them at home because his American spouse thought them "indigestible." But the portrait of her mother is perhaps the one that tells us most about the real character of Baroness Ishimoto's people. To her daughter the mother counselled: "Endurance a woman should cultivate more than anything else. If you endure well in any circumstances, you will achieve happiness." Yet the same mother, when her children had been worrying the goldfish in the pond, scolded them, "saying that she felt sorry for the little goldfish being disturbed like that." Here, I think, we have a clue to the secret of the Japanese soul—stoical yet tender. What makes the Japanese experiment with life so notable is that they have acquired a fine balance between inward and outward reality. Heroic in action, compassionate in spirit—that is their response to the cosmos. And I cannot think of a better one.

Max Müller, as a child, happened to see a picture of a ghaut in Benares. He never forgot it. Years later, when he was trying to become a classical scholar, the memory of what he had once seen came back to him with a rush; and he at once realized what it was that he really wanted to do. He went to Paris and studied Sanskrit under Burnouf. Thus it was that he embarked upon a career in which he attained such distinction.

If a picture, casually seen, can have so far-reaching an influence, how much more so stories heard or read? Indeed, tales play an important part in the mental and spiritual growth of the "little people." But the choice of material in Europe is sadly restricted. India, the home of the *conte*, remains to be tapped.

Madame Berta Metzger, like some others before her, has had the happy thought to work this vein. She has assiduously collected and largely re-written, in a simple, plain manner, a number of Indian tales. The selection is varied and does convey "something of the strength and beauty of Indian

literature, and of the sons and daughters of India." British parents cannot imagine a better book present for their children than this charming and unpretentious volume. It would not only give the youngsters some idea of the real India, but it might serve to stimulate their imaginations.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

On the occasion of receiving the Gold Cross of Merit of the Republic of Poland recently, Professor Henry Heras, the Director of the Institute, delivered the following address in the presence of the Polish Consul:

"Dr. Banasinski, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When you, sir, for the first time announced to me that His Excellency the President of the Republic of Poland had bestowed upon me the Gold Cross of Merit I was simply astounded by the novelty of the news. I had always been working only thinking of that incorruptible reward which, according to St. Paul, is granted to all those who work for the love of God and for the love of men. And now you, on behalf of the President of Poland, have placed on my chest a reward which was never expected, which was totally undreamt of. I am infinitely grateful to His Excellency and to you for it.

"In course of the very kind words you have pronounced, sir, you mentioned my work in the cause of Indian historical research. Indeed, I have been working all these years with great enthusiasm: but the field is so vast, and the subject so noble and important, that at the end of all these years it appears to me that I have done very little. Perhaps my greatest work, sir, if there is any that deserves to come out from the sphere of littleness, has been this Indian Historical Research Institute, where young men are being trained in the modern methods of Indian historical research. And I am glad indeed that you have come here today when the old and the present students of this Research Institute have gathered here for the first time on the solemn occasion of the proclamation of the Holi Magi as the heavenly patrons of this Institute. When seeing these students round, I remember the story of that Roman matron who, being asked by a friend where were her jewels, called her children and said, "These are my jewels." So say I; these are my children, the future curators of museums and superintendents of archæology—the future historians of this great country. Future historians are some of them, but not all. For some of them are already bearing the fruits the seeds of which were carefully laid in the furrow here in this Research Institute.

"You have further mentioned the interest that our work creates among the scholars and students of Poland. Of this interest, sir, I am myself an eye-witness. When I had the privilege to visit Warsaw three years ago, on the occasion of the Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences, I realized the great interest that many Polish professors and students took in the history and philology of India. Often I was surrounded by some of those scholars making enquiries about India and its wonderful civilization. And I must say that I had great pleasure a few weeks ago when one of

those professors, Dr. Stasiak, Professor of Sanskrit and Hindi in the University of Lwow, visited the Research Institute and spent several hours in our library.

"In the course of your speech you have also referred to my appreciation of the Polish nation in the days of the national mourning at the time of the death of the great Marshal Joseph Pilsudski. A professor of history, sir, must naturally love the noble Polish nation, which, though divided into bits and forming part of neighbouring states, still remained always one. And nowadays we have witnessed the resurrection of that nation with new life and vigour ready to take its place among the great nations of Europe. When I had the pleasure of visiting the Wawel Cathedral at Cracow, and when walking through the tombs of those great national heroes, among whom now Marshal Pilsudski rests, I imagined that I was meeting those great administrators the Csimirs and Sigismund, that genius of war called John Sobieski and the example of sanctity Jadwiga. It is impossible for a professor of history not to admire and to love the noble Polish nation. When you will write to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Poland communicating my deep feelings of gratefulness to him, I hope, sir, you will also inform him that in Bombay students of history learn and love the glories of Poland and wish that nation brighter glories for the future."

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DEFENCE OF INDIA, NOW AND WHEN THE REFORMS MATERIALIZE

BY FIELD-MARSHAL SIR PHILIP CHETWODE, BART.,
O.M., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.

I MUCH hope that anything I say today will not be taken to imply that I am hostile to the great experiment in self-government now being inaugurated in India. On the contrary, the faith that is in me is a very strong faith. I am well persuaded that General Smuts was right when he said in a recent speech: "The Empire is the greatest paradox of all time in that it derives its strength at the Centre from the weakness of its hold on the circumference." It was the die-hards of the day who lost us the American colonies by treating them as children when they had grown up. Some of their successors tried hard to lose us South Africa, by refusing to give them self-government so soon after we had fought them.

The success of our Empire lies in the fact that for many years we have not sought for power over our children who have left the nest. On the contrary, as a Mr. F. Clarke says in a very interesting article in the April *Nineteenth Century*, we derive our strength from the fact that our relations with our colonies and dominions for the last hundred years have been a long succession of surrender of power by the Centre on the part of men who had the vision to see in the future an association of free peoples, in which co-operation and mutual persuasion—influence in fact—takes the place of a relationship determined by the sovereignty of one Central Power.

Now we are working towards the same political idea for India. I do not for a moment suggest that her problems resemble those we had to deal with in the case of the Dominions and Colonies, who were more or less homogeneous units. She is a continent of races differing almost as much as the nations of Europe do, and

has many other characteristics peculiar to herself, which complicate the problem. The experiment is the greatest in all political history. It has its dangers; but to stand still is more dangerous, and the reward of success will be, I firmly believe, to double the strength and influence for good in the world of the British Empire, and make India a great asset and not a commitment. But her peculiar conditions and geographical position call for reliable and efficient defence forces. If she cannot produce them herself, the experiment must fail, and it is so vital to her progress, that my paper is written to sound a warning to those who think the process can be hurried.

We are to see how the great Constitutional changes embodied in the Government of India Act of last year may affect the question of defence in India. I am well aware that many present probably know as much, or more than, I do on the subject, and I therefore address you with some diffidence. But since I came home hardly a day has passed without my meeting people, some of them in important positions, who seem to have only the haziest ideas about defence matters in India, about the Reforms, and how they will react on the vital question of defence.

It is hardly necessary to stress the importance of the subject. People who know India as well as most of you do in this room are aware that the Viceroy sits upon the throne in Delhi because the armed forces in India are not only efficient, but are completely to be trusted.

A certain class of Indian politician may find it convenient to suggest that what it really amounts to is, that an alien Government is kept in power by the Army. That sounds telling on the platform, but in his heart he knows very well that, should dominion status be reached in India, a completely efficient and neutral army, with no political bias, which the country who pays for it can trust entirely to obey the orders of the Government in power, will be even more necessary than it is now. No amount of theorizing, no amount of speech-making, will alter the fact that the eventual success of the Reforms depends on the right solution of the defence problem of India, and whether Indianization of her Army, now in an experimental stage, succeeds or not.

It is quite natural that many of the younger politically minded Indians, who chafe at the apparently slow progress towards the goal of their desires, would like to speed it up, and they are wont to declare that the slow pace of the Indianization of the defence forces is the principal brake on the wheels of progress. We have to admit that they are right. Partial Indianization in many of the Civil Services of India, and of most forms of civil activity, has been in progress for many years, and in many cases Services and departments are already 50 per cent. Indianized, whereas Indianization of the armed forces is a plant of very recent growth.

Efficiency: The Vital Test

Indianization of the Civil Services in India raised many difficulties and problems. Some of these have been gradually overcome by the process of trial and error. Some still exist. It is permissible to run considerable risks in the process of Indianizing the Civil Services and departments. Errors made by the personnel, especially under expert supervision, are not likely to be fatal, and can be corrected in time. They have been, and on the whole the Civil Services of India are, extremely efficient and reliable.

In matters of defence it would be madness to take risks. If we are caught changing horses in war, or in serious civil disturbances, the results of inefficiency in a part of the armed forces might well be disastrous. Every step in so vital an experiment must be taken only as and when we are sure the last one has produced efficiency; not partial efficiency, but full efficiency—the thing which counts above all else when you are up against the final arbitrament of force and war; and in India we may be up against either at a moment's notice.

Let us consider at this stage the tasks which the defence forces of India may be called upon to perform. First, they are the guardians of the Frontier. The land frontier of India, including Burma, is over four thousand miles long; but only the five or six hundred miles between Chitral and Quetta are vital to her security. Through three or four passes on the North-West Frontier all the invasions of the past have poured into Hindustan.

These few hundred miles are inhabited by probably the hardiest race of fighters in the world, Moslem by religion, highly skilled in the use of ground, and for the most part armed with modern rifles. Should they rise simultaneously, they could put half a million men into the field, whose requirements on service are small—no great supply columns, no bases, nothing really vital vulnerable to the air. Their trade, and indeed their recreation, from time immemorial has been raiding their richer and more peaceful neighbours. We have stopped them raiding, but up to the present have given their young men very little opportunity of making a living in any other way. They are completely illiterate, and always easily roused to religious frenzy against the "unbelievers."

Only troops and Air Force in a high state of discipline and training, and completely equipped, are of the slightest use as guardians of the Indian marches on this wild frontier. A new unit, an inexperienced regiment, is noticed at once by these tribesmen, and regarded by them as merely provided by God to furnish them with rifles. These stretches of wild mountainous country constitute the only land frontier in the British Empire. The only other frontier we possess on land is between Canada and America, and war between us and America is discounted as outside the range of practical politics.

The Indian frontier is within touch of the Russian menace, which advances and recedes according to the state of the rest of the world and Russian politics, but is always there. No one would imagine now that there is likely to be a cause of war between the British Empire and Russia, but as we have seen in the last year, international situations alter with great rapidity, and the Russians have the biggest and possibly the best equipped army and air force in the world.

Given a cause, given the leader, given an opportunity, the cause being a weak India with an indifferent army, the object being the looting of India, is it outside all possibility that a leader may appear with such a tempting bait to offer to his followers that they will sink their differences? For that reason only there is not the smallest doubt that we must be perfectly certain that

the new forces we are beginning to create in India must be in every way in the highest state of efficiency; also that the men must trust their leaders completely, that the country must trust their armed forces, and that these must be completely divorced from politics. That is not too easy to bring about in a continent in which the inhabitants differ in race and language and religion one from the other in different parts of India as much as Swedes differ from Portuguese, and even more so.

Internal Security

The second task of the defence forces, principally the Army, is that of internal security. The Army is the last resort of the Government when religious or racial quarrels have gone beyond the power of the police to deal with. It is the last resort of the Government in the case of grave industrial disturbance, with India becoming every day more of an industrial country. Further, on the Army depends the supply of the vital necessities to their brothers who may be fighting in the defence of the frontier of India.

India now makes over 90 per cent. of the requirements of her armed forces, guns, shells, machine-guns, rifles, ammunition, boots, clothes, saddlery, harness, vehicles, and almost everything except motor-cars and aeroplanes; and these will soon come. The factories where these necessities are made have gradually grown up all over India, millions of capital have been sunk in them, and it would be difficult and would cost immense sums to move them now. Her powder is made in the Nilgiris, guns and rifles in Cossipore at Calcutta, her S.A.A. in Poona, her wagons in Jubbulpore, saddlery and blankets in Cawnpore. In addition, if she required outside assistance from the British Empire, reinforcements would have to land at Bombay, Karachi, Madras, or Calcutta.

Altogether there are over 4,000 miles of vital frontier communications, road and rail, made vulnerable by the bridges crossing the immense rivers of India. Should these communications be cut, the forces fighting in defence of India's frontier would be gravely

embarrassed, if not brought to a stand. The guarding of these 4,000 miles is one of the principal functions of the Army in India. While that work does not necessitate, possibly, the high degree of training required by those who have to fight on the frontier, it requires an army entirely free from communal bias, one we can depend on to take action against anyone of whatsoever creed, race, or religion, who interferes with the safety of our communications or the welfare of the people. The internal security forces must be an army in which the people of the country have complete confidence.

External Calls

The third duty that the armed forces in India may be called upon to perform is that of assisting the remainder of the Empire in case of a great war, or in case of minor occurrences where the position of India enables them to go to the Empire's assistance more quickly than any other forces. There is, for instance, the defence of Aden, which is the gate of India's communications with the West; also the defence of the oilfields in the Persian Gulf, on which India largely depends. Again we have to provide for the defence of Burma and Singapore, through which India receives much oil and other commodities, and especially in the case of Singapore, which is becoming vital to the safety of the Empire and India in particular. She is close to both.

To show the constant necessity of the Army in India being ready at any moment for the duties I have outlined, is it sufficient to say that, during my five years as Commander-in-Chief in India, the armed forces were employed in warlike enterprises in Peshawar and the Khajuri Plain (1½ divisions); in the Burma rebellion (11 battalions); in Bajaur (2 brigades); in the Mohmand country (twice) a division or more on the first occasion and four brigades on the second; in the Loe Agra salient (1 brigade); and in internal security troubles of a serious nature in Cawnpore, Bombay, Calcutta, Sholapur, Agra, Karachi, and Lahore, and twice in the Indian States of Kashmir and Alwar. It is fortunate that several of these occurrences did not take place at the same time.

Distribution of the Army

These facts dictate the distribution of the armed forces in India. They are, first, the covering troops on the frontier, all kept at war strength; secondly, the three war divisions, mostly in the North of India, with one war division in the south, with a long period of mobilization. Behind them troops are situated along the lines of communication, in what we call corridors, for their protection first, and secondly for internal security. Thirdly, some of our troops are kept in cantonments in certain Indian States under Treaty obligations.

A glance at the map shows how thin on the ground the troops are in many parts of India. It is seldom understood also what a very large portion of India—over one-third—is Indian States, in which we keep no armed forces other than those mentioned. Some of the States maintain their own troops, sufficient for their own internal security, but only a few of which would be of any use in serious war. I have said nothing in this review of coast defence, which is every day becoming of more importance. The coast defence of India hardly exists, and neither I nor my predecessors were able to find sufficient money to put it in proper order. At the moment, unless the British Fleet could come to the assistance of India, the coasts and ports and commerce of India would be more or less at the mercy of raiders and mine-laying submarines.

No one with the smallest acquaintance with the facts would deny the necessity for large and completely efficient forces in India. The cost of troops to defend 500 miles of frontier, and keep the peace in a continent where there is such explosive human material, is bound to be heavy. It is heavy, very heavy.

Army Budget

In the Great War the equipment and the organization of the Army in India were found to be completely unsuitable for its task, For some years after 1919, the Indian Defence Budget remained at a figure of not less than Rs. 60 crores.* The Inchcape Committee decreed its reduction, and an arrangement was come to by

* Plus a lump sum of Rs. 10 crores for re-equipment.

which the Commander-in-Chief was given what is known as a "contract" figure of Rs. 55 crores. The "contract" system meant that that sum was definitely allotted to him annually, and he could budget ahead and take the long view, knowing that the money would be there. If he underspent in one department, what he saved went to a military reserve fund, and not back into the general purse, though he could not actually spend the surplus without the consent of the Finance Member and the Government. This arrangement was not only convenient for all parties, but resulted in the enormous deficiencies in equipment and ammunition being fairly rapidly reduced, and the modernization of the armed forces.

Lord Inchcape's Committee considered that the figure of Rs. 55 crores was too high for India to bear for ever, and envisaged a gradual reduction to Rs. 50 crores, but considered that it would take a long time. The Government of India agreed with a good deal of the Inchcape Report, but in their dispatch to His Majesty's Government stigmatized the figure of Rs. 50 crores as visionary.

When I became Commander-in-Chief, I took over a Contract Budget of Rs. 55 crores, but just then the world financial and commercial crisis began, and it was not long before the Government of India informed me quite definitely that the country could not bear the cost of Rs. 55 crores. By immense efforts, and with the most wonderful co-operation of all my officers throughout India, by reducing equipment, ammunition, and all forms of reserves, and by abandoning or postponing many cherished projects, we saved the country something like Rs. 13 crores, and reduced the Budget from Rs. 55 crores to just over Rs. 44 crores. We made no secret that the latter figure was temporary, and it is bound to go up to some extent. We took big risks, but the world was exhausted.

Even the figure of Rs. 44 crores represents close on half the Central income of India, and practically absorbs the whole of the Customs revenue. I do not myself believe that that figure can be very greatly reduced for many years. I honestly think that I and my officers cut everything that could be cut consistent with efficiency being maintained. We succeeded, however, in obtaining a yearly contribution from His Majesty's Government of one and a half millions sterling as a result of the award of the Tribunal under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Garran.

Air Power and the Budget

It is often suggested that, by employing a larger Air Force and reducing the ground troops, the defence of India could be made far less costly. It is an attractive proposition at first sight, and was very closely examined by me while I was in India. The air has made a great deal of difference in the defence of the North-West Frontier. The R.A.F. have mapped that country by the use of aerial photography, their reconnaissance is of the utmost value, their co-operation with ground troops when actually engaged with the tribes is invaluable. In a great number of instances, by taking air action against the villages of mullahs, maliks, hajis, and so on, who were contemplating making trouble between the tribes and the British, they have been able to stop hostile action which, but for them, might have developed into a serious conflict.

So far, however, only the construction of roads, and the presence of ground troops, have resulted in a very large reduction in the number of campaigns we have had to undertake. We built the great circular road in Waziristan after the war of 1919. We occupied the country, and to all intents and purposes there has been no serious war there since. We have no roads in the Tirah, and we are only just beginning to build them in the Mohmand country and further north. In spite of action by the air, and action by the ground troops, we have trouble almost annually in these districts of the frontier.

Air power is not so cheap to buy and maintain as some people think. It costs from Rs. 17 to Rs. 20 lakhs a year to maintain a squadron, and anything up to Rs. 40 lakhs or over to purchase the machines, to say nothing of the cost of barracks and buildings to accommodate them. In other words a squadron of air costs as much as three battalions of Indian Infantry to maintain, and the initial cost is vastly greater.

Situated as we are on the frontier in India, and especially in regard to internal security, it is still heads that count very largely.

If you bomb rioters from the air it is difficult to distinguish who are the guilty people at the moment. Action against rioters must be particular and not indiscriminate.

In some cases you may be able to reinforce certain places threatened by civil disturbance by air, always provided, however, that there are landing grounds sufficiently extensive for the great troop-carrying machines to land on and get up from, and above all, that they are in possession of your own friends. If not, a few trenches dug across the ground, or a herd of bullocks, may prevent aeroplanes from landing at all.

Indianization

Indianization is a plant of post-war growth. Before then, we had a purely British part of the Army in India, and we had an Indian Army partly officered by British officers and partly by Indian officers, who received the Viceroy's commission only, and who were always subordinate to British officers no matter what their length of service might be. Those who do not know India might imagine that such a state of affairs would produce friction and inefficiency. I have no hesitation in saying that was not the case. Although the pre-war Indian Army was not adapted to modern war, by reason of the *Silladar* system, long service and no reserve to fill up casualties, no reserves of ammunition or equipment, and almost prehistoric Services and departments, nevertheless for actual hard fighting on the North-West Frontier it was even then very efficient, while the relations between the British officers and Indian officers and the men they both commanded were, from a millitary point of view, almost ideal. They were based on complete mutual confidence and trust and admiration of each other. A finer military partnership has never existed in the history of the world.

Then came the Great War. India's services to the Empire in the war were immense. She stepped into the breach and held the fort until we trained our youth and made them ready to take their place. They held India. They held the frontier. Their value to the Empire cannot be computed in money or treasure. There was a universal feeling that the British Empire should

show its appreciation of the services of India, and especially of her Army. The form that recognition took was a steadily increasing grant of more power and more say by Indians in their own affairs and their own government. The words "self-government" and "dominion status" were as guiding stars to millions of educated young Indians. It was obviously useless to hold these prospects out to Indians unless the vital matter of defence should also gradually become their own affair, and India should be called upon eventually not only to supply the men, but the officers to command her own forces. If she could not do so, then the idea of self-government was ludicrous.

We who had to carry the new policy out made no secret of our opinion that, to create a purely Indian Army and Air Force, officered by Indians only, who would be capable of carrying out with complete efficiency and safety the duties now allotted to the forces in India, was bound to be a very long process; and that during that process considerable risk would have to be run. We also made no secret of our belief that if the eventual Indian Army was to be as efficient as it is now, it depended on two things. The first was that we should obtain Indian officers who would gain the complete confidence of the men they commanded, and the second that only a very small extension could be made in the classes now enlisted in the Indian Army.

Indian Commissions

On the officer question, we were confronted at once with considerable difficulties. We had no almost hereditary class whose sons were accustomed to take service in the defence forces of the country. There was little or no private or public school education, and the universities had not the discipline or tradition that had been built up in Great Britain. The nobles and big families in the Indian States had not been in the habit of offering themselves for commissions in the defence forces of India. Young men belonging to the so-called martial races, especially Muslims, were seldom sufficiently educated to take on the responsibilities of officers. In addition, those who presented themselves for commissions had very often not the slightest idea of

what the career of an officer involved—day to day efficiency, hardship, complete physical fitness. Many of them presented themselves thinking that the career of an officer was a well-paid sinecure. Quite a number had none of the traditions or character necessary to gain the confidence of their men.

The Indian Sandhurst

Nevertheless, the experiment has started, and one feature of it has been constant throughout—and that is the absolutely selfless efforts of the British officers concerned to do their best to make it a success, and to help the young Indians they were called upon to make into officers. We have established King George's Schools for the education of the sons of our Viceroy's officers and soldiers, the Prince of Wales's College at Dehra Dun, the Kitchener College, and the Indian Sandhurst at Dehra Dun, all out of the Defence Budget. On the whole, I think that those who know India best would say that quite a number of the young Indians who have been through these institutions, and have taken King's commissions, have been and will increasingly be successful; but we do not get nearly enough of the right stamp, and a great number have failed. The wastage since the experiment was really started in 1923 has been enormous. Many of the young officers get out of the Army into the Civil Services: the tradition of service in the Army has not yet grown up in India, though it is improving. Only two have so far passed into the Staff College, and an army is not officered by regimental officers only.

The experiment, as you know, began with eight units detailed for eventual Indianization. They became overcrowded, and by the time I took over command it was necessary to increase the experiment to fifteen units, departments and services; to make a start with a brigade of artillery and an air squadron. Before very long—that is to say, about 1939 or 1940—there will again be congestion among the young officers, and the number of units detailed will not be large enough to balance themselves by normal process of intake and wastage. The Government will have to decide whether to increase the quota or not. By that time, some of the new young Indian officers will have been given companies

and squadrons, and those who have to do with them will be able to judge by then whether it is likely that they will grow up into officers capable of gaining the confidence of their men, teaching them in peace, and leading them in war.

The Present Government

Now a word about the system of government in India, and how it reacts on defence. Up to a short time ago our Government in India was a benevolent despotism, and Indians themselves had little part in the higher direction. But it is important to note that, even before this the Civil Services—justice, railways, education, forests, irrigation—were largely Indianized. They are now at least 50 per cent. Indianized. This is not realized in England, where people are apt to imagine that, because they hear so much about it, the Army is the only Service to be Indianized, whereas the percentage so far in the Army is almost negligible.

Since the so-called Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, India has had a diarchic form of government. Popular assemblies were established in the provinces and at the Centre, and the latter has an Upper House. The majority of subjects came under Provincial Ministers and were named transferred subjects. At the Centre, some subjects, including defence and foreign and political relations, were kept in the hands of the Governor-General in Council, otherwise the Indian Cabinet, which it is important to remember is an entirely nominated body, and not responsible to an elected Parliament.

The Viceroy is solely responsible for defence, as a reserved subject, and under him the Commander-in-Chief is a Member of Council *ex officio*, and holds the portfolio of defence. He is called the Defence Member, and implements the military policy of the Viceroy. He has also a seat in the Council of State and the right of audience, but not of voting, in the Lower House (Legislative Assembly). He has to answer for defence matters in the Indian Parliament, and expound and justify the military policy of the Viceroy there, and he has full voting power on all matters in the Council of State and the Viceroy's Council.

Defence subjects are dealt with in the Lower House by a civil official called the Army Secretary.

The Commander-in-Chief is responsible for all the Defence Services, Navy, Army, and Air Force, as well as the civil side of the War Office. He is therefore a Secretary of State for Defence (an office which many people in England think should be instituted here); and the Army Secretary is roughly in the position of an Under Secretary of State for Defence, and runs the civil side of the defence work.

It is clear, therefore, that the control of the defence forces in India differs entirely from that which obtains in England. In India there is only one Minister under the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, for all three Services. Further, the Commander-in Chief in India is solely responsible to the Viceroy, and through him to Parliament at home, for the training and administration of the defence forces, advice on peace defence policy, and advice on war policy and the conduct of operations, both in war and in aid of the civil power. There is no joint responsibility, as there is in the Admiralty, War Office, and Air Ministry. Letters and orders issue not as in England "By Order of the Army Council" (or "'My Lords' of the Admiralty"), but "By Order of the Commander-in-Chief."

The Commander-in-Chief, in addition to the burden of the actual responsibility for defence, finance, policy, advice to the Government, etc., has a very considerable amount of work as a member of the Government of India, and, when the session is on, Parliamentary work. It is easy to understand that very much depends on the personal relations between the Viceroy and himself, and that the two should have complete mutual confidence in each other.

The Federal Arrangements

The proposed reforms will make a great difference to the conduct of the defence of India. The duties of the Commander-in-Chief to which I have referred are not altered by the first step, provincial autonomy, which will probably come about a year hence; but when Central control, as contemplated in the Government of India Act, becomes a fact in perhaps three or four years' time, there will be a complete change.

India will then have a Central Government, consisting of a Cabinet with no nominated members, and entirely responsible to an elected Parliament. There will still be Governors and a Viceroy appointed by the Crown, with considerable powers of veto and for the protection of minorities, conferred upon them by the safeguarding clauses of the Government of India Bill. But they will no longer govern through the medium of their own Councils, for these will cease to exist. Authority will be transferred to Cabinets, while the Viceroy and the Governors remain alone without any constituted advisory body to help them, other than a Cabinet, which may be completely opposed to their policy, especially on defence and financial matters.

But in addition to the wide powers conferred on the new Viceroy to act or forbid action if he considers he should do so for the safety and welfare of India, three departments of State are reserved to him entirely: Foreign and Political, Defence, and Ecclesiastical. The portfolios will be held by him alone, with secretaries only to assist him, and these departments will not be represented by ministers in the new Cabinets. The Viceroy alone will be responsible, and to help him he will have three so-called counsellors, one for each subject.

As there will be no Governor-General in Council, the Commander-in-Chief ceases to be a Minister, and becomes technical adviser only to the Viceroy (not to the Government). He will have the right to attend any discussions on defence by the Viceroy, and if he disagrees with him on high policy, he will be entitled to have his views communicated to the Secretary of State. He will no longer sit in Parliament, but he will remain entirely responsible to the Viceroy for the administration and training of the defence forces and remain his sole adviser on peace-time policy, and preparation for war and in actual war itself.

The functions of the counsellors are not very clearly defined, They are to be appointed at the sole discretion of the Viceroy, and will have the right of audience in Parliament, but not of voting. They are apparently designed to be a link between the

Viceroy and the Indian Parliament in the reserved subjects, and will expound and justify his policy thereto. What their actual powers inside the War Office and the Foreign and Political Office will be is not yet quite clear.

The position of the Commander-in-Chief, as I have already described it, is even now unique, as he is half a Commander-in-Chief and half a politician. He will, under the Reforms, be still more unique, and perhaps even more powerful, as he will remain Commander-in-Chief and Defence Minister in all but name, and be sole adviser to the Crown on technical defence matters. He ceases, however, to be a Minister, and ceases also therefore to be bound by Cabinet loyalty as well as loyalty to the forces, which is now on occasions very embarrassing.

Conclusions

I think I have said enough to show that, however impatient—and naturally impatient—certain Indians are, the process of Indianization, and therefore the process of handing over complete control, must be extremely slow. It is impossible—indeed it would be fatal—to hurry the vital process of Indianization of the defence forces. There will come a point, and that point will arrive sooner or later, largely by the efforts of Indians themselves, when it will be permissible to increase the pace of the process very gradually; but for some years yet that process must always lag behind Indianization in the Civil Services.

Success or failure depends almost entirely on Indians themselves. We have done our best to give Indians the means and the chance to show that they can produce armed forces fit to take over the immense responsibilities which have hitherto been in British hands. The production of a constant flow of the right stamp of officer is essential. I venture to suggest also that another essential is a little more goodwill on the part of political India, a little more help, and less perpetual criticism and crabbing. Such a change of spirit would make all the difference. Is it too much to hope that this will come about?

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A meeting of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, April 7, 1936, when a lecture entitled " Some Aspects of the Defence of India, Now and When the Reforms Materialize " was given by Field Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart, o.m., g.c.b., g.c.s.i., k.c.m.g., d.s.o. The Right Hon. the Earl Winterton, p.c., m.p., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, g.c.m.g., g.c.i.e., the Right Hon. Sir Shadi Lal, Sir James MacKenna, c.i.e., Sir Hubert Carr, k.c.i.e., Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Alfred Chatterton, c.i.e., General Sir George Barrow, g.c.b., k.c.m.g., General Sir John Shea, g.c.b., k.c.m.g., d.s.o., Major-General M. R. W. Nightingale, c.b., c.m.g., c.i.e., d.s.o., Lieut.-Colonel Sir Stewart Patterson, k.c.v.o., c.s.i., c.i.e., and Lady Patterson, Brevet-Colonel M. Browne, Sir H. Verney Lovett, k.c.s.i., Major-General M. G. H. Barker, d.s.o., Sir George Godfrey, Sir William Barton, k.c.i.e., c.s.i., Sir Reginald Mant, k.c.s.i., k.c.i.e., and Lady Mant, Sir Benjamin Robertson, k.c.s.i., k.c.m.g., c.i.e., Sir Miles Irving, c.i.e., o.b.e., and Lady Irving, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Chenevix Trench, k.c.i.e., o.b.e., and Lady Trench, Sir Patrick Cadell, c.s.i., c.i.e., Colonel Sir Arthur Dick, k.b.e., c.b., c.v.o., Major-General Sir Wyndham Knight, k.c.i.e., c.b., c.s.i., d.s.o., and Lady Knight, Sir Philip Buckland, Sir Hopetoun Stokes, k.c.i.e., c.s.i., and Lady Stokes, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Hugh G. Cocke, Mr. C. M. Baker, c.i.e., Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, c.i.e., Mr. K. M. Panikkar, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. R. W. Brock, Lady Pinhey, Lady (James) Walker, Major-General Arthur Le Grand Jacob, c.m.g., c.i.e., c.b.e., Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Mr. A. M. Macmillan, c.i.e., Mr. J. G. Drummond, Mr. V. P. Bhandarkar, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. and Mrs. K. K. Lalkaka, Mrs. Damry, Mr. John de La Valette, Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Starr, Mrs. Rushworth, Miss Leatherdale, Mrs. Dewar, Major and Mrs. Ozer, Miss Berry, Mr. A. T. Penman, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Mrs. Weir, Lady Dawson, Major C. M. H. Wingfield, Mr. B. Chatterjee, Mr. M. S. P. Mistri, Mr. P. N. Katju, Colonel L. Thompson, Major Walkins, Miss H. V. Souter, Mr. A. Christie, Mrs. Watkins, Mr. W. W. Seton Karr, Captain J. H. Calson, Major G. M. Dyer, Mr. E. G. Mandeville Roe, Lieut.-Colonel H. J. Jones, Mr. K. C. Sahny, Mr. F. Grubb, Mrs. Chitty, Dr. Sambidananda Das, Mr. K. M. Thomas, Colonel Arthur Crookenden, Mr. Spencer Crookenden, Major G. H. J. Rooke, Major A. H. Stuart Menteth, Mr. J. Beckett, Mr. B. K. Sinha, Mr. Waris Ameer Ali, Miss MacEwan, and Mr. F. H. Brown, c.i.e., Hon. Secretary.

The Chairman: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure that members of the Association and guests present will agree with me that we are very fortunate this afternoon in having as our speaker Sir Philip Chet-

wode, and equally that they will be extremely interested in the subject matter of the address which he is about to deliver to us. It is not necessary for me to say anything about Sir Philip's career. You know he has but recently returned from holding one of the most responsible offices under the Crown in India, and that he has, while holding that office, endeared himself to Indians and Europeans alike who have come in contact with him.

I have to ask the permission of the Association to vacate the Chair and to ask also my friend Lord Lamington, your President, to take it before the conclusion of the discussion which will follow Sir Philip Chetwode's address, for this reason: that I am a member of the Select Committee on the Civil List, that Committee which is set up at the commencement of every reign and consists of members of the House of Commons, and which has to report to the House and advise on the emoluments to be voted by Parliament to His Majesty. As it happens, the meeting which is being held this afternoon is the meeting at which the Report which will be presented to Parliament will be considered. Only a circumstance of such importance would cause me to do something which would otherwise seem discourteous, but I am sure that members present will agree with me that it would be wanting in tact and in courtesy, in view of the great importance of the subject, for any member of the Select Committee to be absent when the Report was being considered.

Field Marshal Sir PHILIP CHETWODE then spoke on the subject of his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: For reasons already mentioned, it will be my duty to ask your permission to leave very shortly. It would perhaps be more gracious on my part if I did not indulge myself by the usual Chairman's address. But I wish to speak briefly as I have had much to do with Indian defence matters by reason of long office at the India Office—junior office it is true, but like my honourable friend whom I see in the audience (Mr. Butler), office which was more than junior because I represented the India Office alone in the House of Commons; and also by reason of membership of the Round-Table Conference and the Joint Select Committee on Indian Reforms.

It is a relief to turn from the turbulent, storm-tossed waters of European international relations to the comparative calm of the great Indian peninsula. There is indeed a lesson to be learnt by all of us, Indians and Europeans alike, from that state of affairs. Whatever may be the defects of the British Empire, it has one great advantage in these days, that it offers to those who reside within its borders and who are subjects of His Majesty the King and the King-Emperor a peace and security and regard for civil and religious liberty which does not exist in many quarters of the world to-day. The contrast between the Empire and the rest of the world is striking. (Applause.)

That lesson should be forced, I think, further home. Quite obviously an Empire composed of so many diverse races, with such differing ideas on every sort of question, both secular and religious, is an Empire which always has to work hard in order that its component parts may understand each other. In addressing a mixed audience, I may say that neither the British nor Indian race is very easily understood by other people. Nobody on the Continent of Europe understands us, and very few of us understand the people on the Continent of Europe. That does not make it any the less necessary, as the lecturer said in his opening remarks, that we should try to work together; in fact, the need is really much greater.

In regard to the subject matter of the lecture, may I just say something about the circular road. I was in office at the time it was both commenced and completed, and I regard it as one of the greatest works ever undertaken for the defence of the North-West Frontier. I should like to pay tribute to two men in particular, to whom it is no breach of the Official Secrets Act to say a large share of the credit, the main share of the credit, is due for the circular road—Lord Peel and the late Lord Rawlinson. One was Secretary of State for India at the time; the other was Commander-in-Chief.

With regard to the Frontier problem generally, it would be impertinent for me to comment on anything Sir Philip has said, but so far as my limited knowledge goes, I think I found myself in agreement with him. Unquestionably the air arm has altered the military and naval problems everywhere. The real truth about the matter is that it has altered them far more extensively than the average keen soldier or sailor would admit, and far less extensively than the average keen airman would admit: and the duty of the Government here and in India (not very actively performed up to now) is to decide between the conflicting views of the Services. Do not believe it when people say that the Services are agreed on those matters; they never have been and never can be. The duty of the Government is to assess the problem and to decide upon it.

It changes every day. For example, at the Russian Embassy the other night a very remarkable cinematograph photograph was shown of no less than one thousand men being dropped from Russian aeroplanes together with machine guns and guns of heavier calibre. The Abyssinian war has a great bearing on the problem. Without aeroplanes and the supplies from the air Italy could not have advanced to the extent to which she has advanced.

Some study of the subject has made me feel that the problem of defence in India is changing. It is true that everything Sir Philip said holds good about the Frontier so far as the troops are concerned. But what used sometimes to be known as the "major problem" is a much less potent factor to-day than it was in the eighties and nineties of last century, or even at the beginning of this century. In fact, it is almost inconceivable that a certain great Asiatic Power should attempt to invade India, as anybody who studies the map of Asia and has read Herr Hitler's recent pronouncements will understand.

But the problem has changed in other directions for the worse. Anyone who has studied history would agree that at the end of last century it was almost inconceivable that India should be open to serious attack from the sea. No one but the Americans would have been in a position to attack us, and they would not have done so. It is unfortunately no longer true, as Sir Philip said in his remarks, that India is not open to attack by the navy of a certain Power, should that Power—which God forbid!—ever attack us.

Moreover, she is increasingly becoming open to air attack. Therefore I say, though in no spirit of criticism (for we all know that the reasons for that state of affairs are unavoidable), that it is with great concern that I hear from

the mouth of Sir Philip and others that the coastal defences of India are practically non-existent. At this moment Great Britain on the seas east of Aden is in a weaker position vis-à-vis certain other Powers than probably she has been in history.

I do not believe, with the world so close together as it is to-day, that, hard saying as it may be, the peoples of the British Empire, whatever their colour, whatever their race, wherever they live—with the possible exception of the people of Canada, who are protected by their proximity to the United States—I do not believe that the peoples of the British Empire in the present state of the world can afford to ignore the strategy and defence of the Empire as a whole, and somehow or other we have got to bring home, we who are British, you who are Indians, who are loyal and patriotic subjects of the King, any who are here from the Dominions or the Crown Colonies, to bring home to our fellow-subjects in the different parts of the world, that if the British Empire is to exist, its defence as a whole must be visualized by its statesmen.

(Lord Winterton then left and Lord Lamington took the Chair.)

General Sir GEORGE BARROW: I think what impressed me as one of the most important remarks of Sir Philip Chetwode's address was that in which he said that no amount of theorizing and no amount of speech-making would alter the fact that the future of the Reforms depended on the right solution of the problem of Indian defence. I might remind you that the Simon Commission's Report said something of the same sort—viz., that one of the most crucial points, if not the most crucial point, in the matter of the reforms was the Army question.

It has always been a matter of astonishment to me that in the pontifical articles in *The Times* and various articles in other newspapers, innumerable addresses and speeches of statesmen, ministers, and politicians and all sorts of people who are interested in reforms, very scant recognition, if any at all, has been paid to the Army question. Finance, federation, franchise, every other sort of question connected with the Reforms, has been ventilated, one might almost say *ad nauseam*, but the Army has been thrust into the background. I wonder why? I only hope that somebody who knows can give a good reason here and get up afterwards and say so.

The question of Indianization of the Army is always a very difficult one to touch upon. I feel that a good many of us have been influenced in our doubts about Indianization simply by the historical background. We have seen in the past history of India that Europeans—whether English, or French, or Dutch, whether they were adventurers or regular soldiers—have invariably led whenever circumstances brought them to the surface; and the Indians have been content to follow. That point has been hard to get out of our minds. I do not say it is a right point, but that is what has influenced us in our feelings. I think we ought to try to eradicate that.

Another point is the length of time Indianization will take. It will depend very largely on the extent to which Indians can last the course. We know that in the early twenties the young Indian officer can hold his own against a young British officer. Often he will be intellectually and physically fitter,

but you have to look to thirty or thirty-five years onwards and then compare them. It is then the real test comes as to whether absolutely complete Indianization is a success. That is what Indianization alone can answer, and it is obvious that it is going to take some considerable time.

Of course, in this question of Indianization, a good deal has depended upon our prestige. I could explain this perhaps best by a personal incident. I remember when I was adjutant of my regiment, and an Indian officer, whose home was across the border, came up to the orderly room and asked for leave. My Colonel asked him what he wanted leave for. He said he wanted leave to go and shoot his uncle. After some discussion he went off, and after he had been absent a month I got a letter from him in which he said: "Honoured Sir,—Thanks for your honour's instructions in musketry and reconnaissance, I have successfully shot my uncle." I asked him afterwards how he had done it. He said he had stalked his uncle for a week. There was nothing I could teach him in rifle shooting or reconnaissance, and, of course, there was a good deal he could have taught me. That is only a minor example of our prestige.

Sir Philip told you that with immense efforts and with the wonderful assistance of all his officers throughout India, he had been able to reduce the military budget from Rs. 55 to Rs. 44 crores. That, I think, works out to something like £8,000,000. When one considers the interest in the welfare and efficiency of the Army of those officers concerned, the loyalty to Government and the unadvertised professional unselfishness that is concealed behind those words demand our highest admiration.

I am particularly glad Sir Philip alluded to the wonderful part India played in the war, because really so very little of it is known, and it has never been appreciated at its true value by the people of this country—the mass of the people, I mean. There has only been one jarring note about it, and that is that some of those Indian gentlemen who have shouted the loudest about the help India gives to the Empire, and who have never lost an opportunity of rubbing it in, are those who themselves never moved hand or foot to help the Empire, while those Indians who did the work and made the sacrifices say very little or nothing at all about it.

There is one last thing I would like to say. Sir Philip Chetwode said that the relations between the British officers and the Indian officers and men was an example of one of the finest military partnerships in the world. I feel sure that other old Indian Army officers who are present will have felt the same as I did: that is, a feeling of pride and gratitude to Sir Philip for those words, because that comradeship, that mutual confidence, is one of the happiest, one of the most satisfying, one of the most abiding memories that remain with us since the day that we said good-bye for the last time to "The Land of Regrets."

Sir ABDUL QADIR: I think we are very fortunate in having this opportunity of hearing an address on the subject of the defence of India from one who has filled with such distinction the position of the Commander-in-Chief in India, and who has had direct control of the defence of India for the last five years. Sir Philip has thrown light on this question from various points

of view. It is not possible for me to refer to all the points dealt with in the very instructive lecture to which we have listened. I will deal with one aspect of it on this occasion, and that is the question of the Indianization of the Army. In that connection I am specially interested in the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun or the Indian Sandhurst, because I have sent two of my sons there, and one of them has now gone out for service in the Army. I must say in the first place that the experiment, new as it is, has had a promising start. It was fortunate that the Government secured a good staff for this institution headed by Brigadier Collins, who has just retired from the headship of that institution. He and his wife were very popular with the cadets, who came in contact with them. They treated the cadets as if they were their own children, and the cadets felt a filial respect towards them.

I know, for instance, that when one of the cadets fell ill and had to be placed in a hospital at a distance from the institution itself, because there was no hospital inside the institution ready at that time, Mrs. Collins used to go out to take care of that boy and to make him feel happy and less lonely. Treatment of this kind was appreciated very much by the students. In other respects the students were treated in a way befitting the position they were going to fill, and the batches that have gone out have benefited very much by the training they have received. I understand the present commandant is an equally good and distinguished officer.

I was present on the occasion of the first opening of the institution, only about three months after its start, when Sir Philip Chetwode went to open it. The students, in spite of the brief training they had had, made a good impression on the head of the Army. I understand that comparatively recently His Excellency the Viceroy (Lord Willingdon) and the Commander-in-Chief visited the Academy and were favourably impressed by the work done by the cadets there.

Sir Philip has remarked that in some respects sufficiently promising men were not forthcoming for Dehra Dun, and he has asked for the co-operation of the people of India in supplying better material. I think that is a question which can be looked at from two points of view, and help from both sides is necessary—*i.e.*, help by the people of the country and help by the officials.

Those who are going to join the Indian Army as officers should look at the question not so much from the point of view of the emoluments they get, compared with some more lucrative careers that may be open to men of the same qualifications, but from the standpoint of entering a great profession, which was not open to them before, and of taking part in the defence of their own country. If they look at it from that point of view they will not attach great importance to the disadvanages that they may feel in comparison with men in other walks of life.

On the other hand, in view of the fact that the experiment is at its initial stages, when it cannot be expected to yield all the results that it is capable of, the officials should take steps to give the future officers of the Army the amount of encouragement which is required to make a success of an experiment like this in its initial stages.

The Army, so far as the Indian officers of the old type were concerned, was

mostly derived from the agriculturist classes. Generally the poorer people went to the Army as they had to rise from the ranks. Boys of this class are not often educated to the standard now required for admission into the Academy. On the other hand, boys with better education have not got the martial traditions behind them, but we can expect to draw better material from both sources in due course, when those who were not well advanced in education take to modern education and the educated classes learn to appreciate better the value of an active and manly career. I think then the right type of people will be forthcoming in sufficient numbers to fill the positions that are open to them.

Reference has been made in the lecture to the Air Force and the Navy. As we all know, these two limbs of the defence are, so far as India is concerned, yet in their infancy. Let us hope that there will be greater and greater encouragement given to Indians entering the Air Force and the Navy, and greater facilities provided for them, so that Indians may take their proper share in all the activities required for the defence of their country.

Mr. R. A. BUTLER (Under-Secretary for India): I had intended to come here for my own edification and not to trouble you with any remarks of my own. May I say how very much I have appreciated the experience of hearing Sir Philip Chetwode and our other speakers this afternoon and improving my own knowledge of that most important question, the defence of India. I would only, therefore, add one or two remarks of my own.

The first arises out of the question which was asked, and that is, how much did we consider the defence of India when we were shaping the new Constitution for India. The answer is that this question of defence was always present in the mind of the late Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, and the present Secretary of State, and we have had the very great privilege of having as the Commander-in-Chief in India during this time of Constitution-building Sir Philip Chetwode, who spoke to us this afternoon. If it had not been for his help we should not have been so very well informed upon the question of defence as we undoubtedly were.

I should like to pay a tribute on behalf of the Secretary of State to the work Sir Philip did during his term of office as Commander-in-Chief. It was perhaps unfortunate that his brilliant gifts should have coincided with a period when retrenchment was the order of the day and not expansion. But if I may paraphrase the old saying, "Retrenchment hath her victories no less renowned than war," and it must be attributed to the genius of Sir Philip that he was able to achieve so much in that sphere and to make the Indian Army so efficient a unit.

The sea defences of India have been referred to this afternoon. I speak subject to correction by Sir Philip himself, who is more qualified to speak on this subject than I am. I had to represent India on the Naval Conference, and I want to disabuse any of your minds of the idea that India has not a very adequate Navy. I have been explaining to the other members of the Empire and to foreign nations what a very excellent historical Navy India, in fact, has. We have just added a new sloop, the *Indus*, to the Indian Navy. It is a very efficient little force, which, I am convinced, has a great future.

It is not to be ranked with the great navies of the world, but historically it is one of the oldest navies. It is a bigger navy than I think two of the component parts of the British Empire have. There is at least more in the Indian Navy than in South Africa or the Irish Free State. Furthermore, this efficient little force, I am convinced, will grow. I am sure it has a good future.

The defence of the shores of India is undertaken by the Imperial Government in exactly the same way that the defence of the rest of the units of the Empire is undertaken. I am convinced those questions are duly considered by the powers that be. I do not want you to feel anxious about the safety of India at sea. I am sure the Indian Navy has as great a future as she has a historic past. I am certain Sir Philip will corroborate this.

Mr. K. K. LALKAKA: It is very satisfactory to have listened to so brilliant and clear an address as that delivered this afternoon by Sir Philip Chetwode. The Field Marshal has faced reality, and it was very encouraging to find that even he, one of "the men on the spot"—to use the one-time phrase of our Prime Minister—had certain affairs perhaps at the back of his mind which made him say that, should Dominion status be reached in India, there will be a greater necessity for a very efficient Indian Army. The people who talk most about Indianization of the Indian Army are, as Sir George Barrow very rightly pointed out, the people who have not the foggiest notion of the responsibility that a defence force carries, and they did very little in the way of war services during the last war.

But there are, on the other hand, many others who from long, personal experience, realize that no matter how you may theorize about what the centre of an Empire should do regarding relinquishing the hold on the circumference and all that, after all, certain facts will persist, and if your defences are weakened, or if you have unnecessarily reduced your expenditure on your defence, as it has been reduced from Rs. 60 to Rs. 45 crores, merely for the luxury of indulging in political experiments, sooner or later the people residing in the territory where these experiments are made will come to grief. This is especially so in a country like India bristling with strife and sore problems.

Sir Philip Chetwode has pointed out how cautiously, and at the same time with a great measure of sympathy and utter sincerity, he and his officers have done a great deal for the Indianization of the Indian Army. I think it is now up to Indians to make an equally magnificent response. The whole thing is wrapped up in the psychology of the Indian people. I know very many well-to-do Indians whose sons need not, as it were, put their nose to the grindstone to earn a living. But immediately you suggest to them that they should take up an academic career, be a professor or a research worker, the first thing in their mind is, "Where is the money in it? You might get perhaps £500 year, if that. What is the good of it?" Our Indian friends have still to learn to do a thing for the love of doing it.

The first thing we have to do is to realize that an Army career is no well-paid sinecure; that merely putting a young man in a shiny Sam Browne belt with a couple of stars does not make him an officer. The qualities of initiative and leadership have to be developed. Who can develop them? Only the Indians themselves can do it. In India there is this tendency to depend too much on Government. "Why does not Government do this or that?" is the childish cry heard in every quarter, day in and day out.

There are certain things to be done in this matter of Indianization of the Army, as, for instance, producing the right type of men, men who will take risks and face the music, men who will have leadership and have a big backbone. These are the things in which nobody can help, none except those persons who are directly concerned about it. There is no power either on earth or in heaven that can help India in this matter unless she stirs in right earnest to help herself. I say, "in heaven," because Divine Providence can help Indians only so far as to get wisdom to knock at their door; but whether they will listen or not is entirely another matter.

Sir PHILIP CHETWODE: I should like to thank you, my Lord, and the audience, for listening to me so kindly, and especially for the very nice things some of the speakers said. But I do not want to talk about anything now except one matter which the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State has alluded to.

If Lord Winterton had not been obliged to leave, I intended to jump up and say it was not my intention to convey that Indian coast defence was non-existent. What I intended to convey was that the coast defences were not what they should be and require modernization. That is in process of being carried out by the Government now. We must see that it is not possible for the Empire fleet to be engaged elsewhere, and those vastly important ports of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Karachi, to say nothing of Colombo and Rangoon, should not be defended in the most modern manner. It is essential that we should work up to that before long.

Lord LAMINGTON: I think we should extend a very hearty vote of thanks to the Field Marshal for coming here this afternoon. He said at the beginning of his paper that people at home had not the haziest idea of what the defence in India means and what it entails. I think he put it very clearly before us.

Not so very many years ago Mr. Gandhi on one occasion said that all Indians could defend themselves, and not only produce order and discipline in their own country, but also against any hostile enemy. Within ten days there were appeals from Kashmir for British troops to be sent out to guard that State. Therefore not everyone in India realizes the necessity of defence.

This will be a very valuable address when duly published in our Proceedings. We are all very grateful to the Field Marshal for having prepared it, for he has given us very great help in understanding these great Imperial problems. I now ask you by acclamation to express your thanks to the Field Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode. (Cheers.)

THE INDIAN VICEROYALTY: FAREWELLS TO LORD AND LADY LINLITHGOW

BEFORE leaving London on April 2 to take office as Viceroy and Governor-General of India in succession to Lord Willingdon, Lord Linlithgow, with Lady Linlithgow, was given two memorable farewells—the first on March 25 a dinner arranged by a number of Empire organizations, including the East India Association, in combination; and the second an afternoon conversazione of the Association. These two functions constituted the largest and most representative "send off" given to a Viceroy-designate of India near the time of his departure.

The dinner held at the Hotel Victoria, Northumberland Avenue, on March 25, under the chairmanship of Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, was promoted by seven societies—the East India Association, the Royal Empire Society, the British Empire League, the Victoria League, the Overseas League, the School Empire Tour Committee, and the British Women's Hospitality Committee. No less than 550 covers were laid, and a distinguished gathering included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor and other Cabinet Ministers and colleagues of Lord Linlithgow on the Joint Select Committee on Constitutional Reforms. The arrangements were under the direction of a Joint Hospitality Committee. The principal speeches were heard on the Empire broadcast.

After the loyal toasts had been honoured the Chairman, in giving the toast of the Viceroy-designate and Lady Linlithgow, spoke of the appropriateness of such a gathering being held under the auspices of the combined Empire societies to one about to assume charge of one of the greatest and most responsible of all the offices which the Empire has to offer. He continued:

> From days long passed even before the overlordship of India was assumed directly by the Crown right up to the present time, the Viceroyalty of that vast and glittering sub-continent has proved a charge capable of firing the imagination and of appealing to the highest instinct for service of a long line of the most distinguished public servants of our race. And those of us who know Lord Linlithgow, or have observed with profit and admiration the manner of his discharge of the public duties which have hitherto fallen to his lot, are happy in our knowledge that he will bear worthily the torch with which the long succession of his predecessors have illumined the pages of Indo-British history. Not only are the laurels which the Viceroyalty of India holds out such as to gratify the highest ambition of any man desirous of dedicating his abilities to the service of the State, but the responsibilities are such as to exercise a sobering influence upon the spirits even of the most exuberant of men. Some there may be amongst you who are present this evening who can recall the spirit of humility, akin almost to reverence, with which the late Lord Curzon, not usually regarded as a person of humble mien, approached the task which awaited him on his appointment to this great office. On just such an occasion as this, he uttered words which are worthy, surely, of being recalled. Addressing himself to those who were familiar with the East and had caught the fascination of its mysterious surroundings, he described it as a university in which the scholar never takes his degree.

After quoting the passage, the Chairman continued:

> It is, I doubt not, in a similar spirit of humility and faith that our guest tonight will set forth on the voyage of adventure that lies before him.

A CHANGED INDIA

> And what of the land to which he is about to travel? It is not the India to which Lord Curzon went forth with such high hopes nearly forty years ago. In no part of the world, perhaps, has change been so marked as it has been in India during the past quarter of a century. Yet in one respect India has not changed—in the strength of the abiding loyalty of its peoples to the Crown. The display of their attachment to the throne at the time of the Silver Jubilee was surpassed only by the expression of their grief at the death of their Sovereign in January last. In the widespread and quite spontaneous mourning of the whole population all differences of creed and race, all controversy on political issues were laid aside. With the falling of the blow the voice of discord died in a solemn hush.

After giving some striking examples of this grief, Lord Zetland continued:

> Throughout the land on the day of the funeral all business was spontaneously suspended. Whatever else may be in doubt this at least is certain, that it is to a loyal India that our distinguished guest will go.
>
> In many other respects it is a changed India over whose destinies he will preside. Lord Curzon may be said to have been the last of the great autocratic rulers of the land. With his successor, Lord Minto, a new order was ushered in. The India Councils Act of 1909 associated with his name and with that of Lord Morley, then Secretary of State, gave a new orientation to the political aspirations of her public men, and from that time onwards

under a succession of distinguished Viceroys, Lord Hardinge, Lord Chelmsford, Lord Reading, Lord Halifax, and Lord Willingdon, India has been moving with ever-increasing momentum towards a new constitutional relationship with Great and Greater Britain—a relationship consonant, surely, with the genius of her peoples and worthy of the annals of her long and variegated history.

The Viceroy's Task

To our guest of this evening it will fall to guide her through a crucial stage of her development. With consummate tact, with imperturbable patience, and with unwavering courage he guided throughout the long and exacting period of its deliberations the committee entrusted by Parliament with the task of filling in the framework of India's new and elaborate constitution, planned by a host of earlier architects and workers. And we may look with confidence to his employment of these same qualities in the task which now awaits him of constructing the edifice in accordance with the plans which have been laid.

It does not detract from the spirit of goodwill in which this great advance along the road towards self-government is commended to the peoples of India by the people of this country, to say that there are many who have viewed the planning of the scheme with feelings of anxiety and even of apprehension. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? To plan for the 350 millions of a vast sub-continent, a mosaic of races, of religions, of languages and of civilizations, a uniform system of representative self-government, is to undertake a task unparalleled in the annals of the human race. Yet for that very reason it behoves us to go forward with courage and with faith. What of the prospects? I put my trust in the vision and the wisdom of those upon whose shoulders these new responsibilities will fall and in an ever-increasing spirit of collaboration between the Indian and the British peoples; indeed, it is only if fortified by such trust that I could hope to discharge the duties of the office which I hold.

India's Response

As the hour approaches for the people in the provinces in India to assume these great responsibilities, I seem to notice a steadily increasing realization on their part of the magnitude and the worthiness of the task which they are so soon to be called upon to discharge. In the circumstances of India the duty of preserving public order and vindicating the law, the foremost duty of any Government, is necessarily at all times a difficult and arduous one, often an unpopular one. Is it not significant that during the past twelve months the legislatures in five of the major provinces have enacted Public Security Acts, conferring upon the Executive wide and drastic powers affecting the liberty of the subject, and that in not one of these cases has the Governor been called upon to make use of his powers of certification? That fact alone bears striking tribute to the sobriety and courage of those about to assume these great responsibilities.

From the days of Warren Hastings onwards we have been given from time to time intimate glimpses of the manner in which men bearing the burden of

exalted office in India have been encouraged and sustained by the sympathy and devotion of the women who have stood by their side. It was of Hastings that the late Lord Curzon once said that if "his overpowering sense of civic duty carried him unscarred through the hurricanes of his public career, it was to Marian Imhoff, his consort, that he owed all the happiness of his life." What Curzon said of Hastings was but a reflection of his own experience. May it be also a forecast of what is in store for our guest tonight. Upon Lady Linlithgow no less than upon Lord Linlithgow will rest the burden of an exalted office; to Lady Linlithgow as to Lord Linlithgow we offer our sincere and our warm good wishes.

Lord Linlithgow's Reply

The Marquess of Linlithgow was warmly cheered on rising to reply. After expressing his gratitude and that of his wife to the combined societies for their hospitality, he said:

It is probably true that few of those who have held the office of Governor-General of India can have enjoyed, before assuming charge of office, a better opportunity than I have had of measuring the nature and scope of the work of that office.

Certainly that work is going in the future to be neither less difficult nor less arduous than in the past, and when I contemplate the labours and anxieties that lie before me, and the weight of responsibility that must always rest upon the shoulders of a Viceroy, my heart is indeed humbled. Yet I am sustained and encouraged by the kindness of my friends here and in India; and by the belief that I enjoy for this great task the confidence of my countrymen and—I dare hope—that of the Princes and peoples of India.

From none of our friends have my wife and I received more help and kindness than from the present Viceroy and Lady Willingdon, whose long and distinguished services to India, in Madras, in Bombay, and finally in Delhi, have endeared them to all. Lord Willingdon is about to complete a period of no less than twenty years as a representative of the Crown overseas, a record of which he and Lady Willingdon may well feel proud and by which he has earned the gratitude of his countrymen. May I take this opportunity of saying—and I am sure that Sir Samuel Hoare, whom we are all delighted to see here this evening, and you yourself, my Lord Chairman, will agree with me—that the members of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Indian Reforms had cause to be profoundly grateful to Lord Willingdon personally as well as to Governments in India, for his constant and invaluable help throughout that prolonged and laborious inquiry.

A Precedent

Lord Linlithgow went on to recall the fact that thirty-six years ago a similar banquet was held in London to bid farewell to his father, Australia's first Governor-General, then about to take up

his duties as the representative of the Crown in the newly constituted Federation. He described it as an extraordinary coincidence that they should be entertaining his son on the eve of his departure for India there to see inaugurated those constitutional developments which include the setting up of an all-India Federation.

It would not be profitable (he continued), to discuss in any detail the plan of constitutional advance, as this is now inscribed upon the Statute Book. In truth I have in the past had my fair share of that topic, and it would appear that such appetite as remains to me is destined to be fully satisfied in the not distant future. What I am at this time far more concerned with is the spirit in which men and women will approach the task of clothing the bare bones of the new Constitution with the flesh and blood of living and growing institutions. For, believe me, this is going to be a matter of the heart as much as of the head.

I am well aware that there are those who, holding them over-bold, regard those Reforms with anxiety, while others express disappointment on the quite opposite ground that they are in nature over-cautious. I know well that upon either hand those views are held with sincerity, both in this country and in India. Nevertheless, now that the Reforms are upon the Statute Book, I hope most earnestly that all may be prepared to do their utmost to make them work—and to make them work well.

The Call for Co-operation

For my part, I am persuaded that the British people and Parliament desire ardently that the people of India may find, within the four corners of this new Constitution, political contentment and full opportunity to serve their motherland; and that in the outcome India may prove to the world that she knows how to make a success of self-government within the British Empire. That is at once the faith in which I approach my task and my highest hope. Like you, Lord Zetland, I rely confidently upon the wisdom and public spirit of those in India who will shortly be called upon to shoulder new and greater responsibilities in the autonomous Provinces. Many of those Provinces are comparable, as regards both their areas and their population, with such countries as Great Britain, France, and Italy. In those immense areas Indian statesmen will find wide scope for the exercise of their ability and the satisfaction of their rightful ambition to serve their country.

When I was last in India eight years ago I was in the happy position of looking on while others applied themselves to constitutional problems which, since those days, have claimed so much of our attention. Yet the subject upon which my colleagues and I worked for two years lies at the very heart of India's being. For we were concerned with the improvement of agriculture and the welfare of the peasant. Let me say here how much I owed to my colleagues, European and Indian, who worked with me during those long months. Each gave of the best that was in him, and we produced a

unanimous Report of which we were and are proud. Today I value more than I can say the experience of those two years, which enables me to understand not only the technical aspect of farming in India, but also, and what is far more important, something of the life and mind of the cultivator, his hopes, his anxieties, his joys, his sorrows. I can say with truth that in many a moment of difficulty I have been sustained and encouraged by a great wish to give real and substantial help and benefit to the farmers of India whose quiet and patient courage I had come to understand and greatly to admire.

The Economic Depression

The years since the Agricultural Commission reported have been years of economic depression in which farmers the world over have faced hardship and want. They have also been times of financial stringency in which governments have had little cash with which to finance schemes of agricultural improvement, however meritorious. Remembering this, I should like to say that it has seemed to me that the Government of India and Provincial Governments have on the whole been generous towards our recommendations. Nor do I forget the very substantial and most welcome support afforded by certain Indian States. But I have been reading again our Report, lest I should in due course discover that there are those in India who are more familiar with that document than I, and I notice with interest that there remain certain substantial projects amongst those advocated by us, that still await fulfilment.

But if it be true that we might have wished to see these matters advanced more rapidly than has in experience been found practicable, there is this at least to encourage those who have at heart the interests of the peasant, that at no time, so I am told, has there been evident throughout the community a more general appreciation of the pressing need to promote and press forward every useful scheme for rural betterment.

The ill-effects of world-wide depression have by no means been confined to the case of primary producers, and I am, of course, well aware of the extent to which all forms of industry in India have suffered from these same causes. I know, too, how pressing is the anxious problem of unemployment, particularly that form of unemployment which bears with peculiar harshness upon educated youth. This is not the moment when I could appropriately touch upon questions of policy. Indeed, you will readily understand my wish to examine and discuss these matters on the spot before attempting any contribution towards the solution of those vital problems. But this I will allow myself to say tonight, that I shall grudge no effort, however, arduous or long sustained, which may in any degree contribute towards bettering the lot of those weighed down by want or sickness, whether they be dwellers in the countryside or in the towns.

I am grateful, too, for the opportunity given me during the tours of the Agricultural Commission to learn at first hand something of the work of the Civil Services in India. I regarded it as a privilege to work side by side with the members of those services, and in truth no man could desire more loyal, more zealous or more efficient colleagues. I look forward with the

utmost satisfaction to a renewal of that association. My work upon the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Reforms has given me some understanding of questions relating to conditions of service, which questions affect so materially the contentment and the peace of mind of members of the Services. Let me say at once that I can think of nothing more directly prejudicial to good government in India than that her public servants should feel themselves unfairly treated or deprived of that sense of reasonable security for the future without which no man can do full justice to himself and to his work.

It is, I feel sure, as important today as it ever was to attract the best men, whether British or Indian, to the Indian Civil Service, and I greatly hope that it may be found possible in the near future to take steps to consider any adjustment of the existing system of recruitment that may be needed to secure in this country the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service of candidates of the best type, sufficient in number to maintain in the Service the appropriate British element. May I say, too, that I trust that young men, and the parents of young men, who are attracted by the prospect of an active and most useful career in India may favourably consider the advantages that the Service offers, and the openings for work of real value to India and to the Empire.

Indian Loyalty

My Lord Chairman, we have all listened with pride and thankfulness to the eloquent words in which you have described the intense and continuing loyalty of the Princes and people of India towards the Imperial Throne and the person of the King-Emperor; a loyalty enshrined in the very hearts of the people, a loyalty founded, as India and we ourselves were reminded only the other day in His Majesty's most gracious message, upon the long and honourable association of the two countries, both in peace and in war.

In conclusion I would say this to my friends here and in India: Let us look forward rather than back. Let ancient differences and time-worn quarrels be put behind us and forgotten in a common effort to secure a happier future. It is, alas! but too true that over the world today there lie dark and menacing clouds of fear and suspicion. Yet I think it is also true that in all countries there are at this moment more men and women than ever before who long for peace and goodwill among the peoples of the world. Before the eyes of numberless folk in all lands there dawns the incomparable and blessed vision of that which life upon this planet may offer if only men can conquer the fears and suspicions that have their roots in old unhappy memories.

The chapter that is now about to open in India is fraught, I am convinced, with possibilities far transcending in importance the issue of political evolution in the sub-continent. Here indeed is nothing less than an opportunity to effect a great and lasting contribution towards the solution of one of the major problems of the world: an honourable and equitable adjustment in the relations between the peoples of the West and those of the East. May God grant strength and guidance to those into whose hands is placed the fulfilling of this matchless project.

Toast of the Societies

Lord Halifax (Lord Privy Seal) proposed the toast of the Empire societies, coupled with the name of Lord Lamington. He expressed the thanks of the assembly to the Empire societies for their kindness in giving that opportunity of meeting to do honour to those who were on the threshold of such new and such great responsibilities. He added that he thought the best place in the United Kingdom was Yorkshire, and that after that came Scotland. He could not but hold it an exceptional good fortune for India that her destinies at this time should be guided by a Yorkshireman in London, in the shape of Lord Zetland, and by a Scot in India—reinforced, he was tempted to think, by the presence of a wife who was more than three-quarters Yorkshire.

The main object of the Empire societies (he continued) is to afford an opportunity to men and women of no doubt very differing points of view to record together their belief, their continued belief, in the value of the British Empire. There are those today who are tempted to apologize for the British Empire, and are sometimes tempted to give away parts of it to other people. I must confess that I do not belong to any of those groups. At the same time I do admit to myself that the British Empire is the strangest phenomenon on which the eyes of men have ever rested, and if any of us were to try to translate into language the terms in which, in our mind's eye, we visualize the British Empire, we should no doubt do it very differently. It is perhaps the greatest compliment to the British Empire as a whole that it is able to act, as it were, as a focus of different and various loyalties and gather them all together in a single point of allegiance, to which we are all proud to give our faith and our service.

I am told that the British Empire is a continual bewilderment to men and women of foreign lands. They have never, I believe, been able to understand whether the British Empire is to be more truly conceived of as an alliance between independent states or a unitary state, or something akin to a federation. It is, in truth, none of these things, and it is more than all of them; and to say that is perhaps not to say more than that the British mind works differently from the foreign mind. And in that, perhaps, lies one of the fairest hopes of the future of the world. And it is, I think, also significant that this strange British Empire's pre-eminent characteristic, from another angle, is that it is founded upon the most successful reconciliation of unity and diversity, through the alchemy of liberty, that the world has ever seen. And the result is that we of the British Empire are one, not because we must, but because we will. It is sometimes said that there is no future hope for the world unless it can erect some super-state, invested with independent sovereignty and independent force to compel

allegiance to that sovereignty; and yet in myself, when I hear such gospel preached I am tempted to feel that if that be the only hope of the world, hope is indeed far off, and I am tempted to despair. And then I fall back myself upon the reflection that nearer home, in the British Empire itself, we have at our doors an example of how men, differing in nearly everything that concerns the foundations of life—race, culture, religion, traditions, colour, and so on—have yet managed to do a thing that 150 years ago would have seemed inconceivable—namely, to decide insensibly and yet irrevocably that they will never summon force as a solvent of any disputes or differences that may arise between them. I wonder, when one ponders upon how great has been the passage of thought in that last 150 years, whether it is in fact as inconceivable as some today would be tempted to think, to look forward to the future where men with all the differences that persist in the British Empire, belonging to different nations, may yet come in the fulness of time and under the guidance of Providence to learn the same lesson that the British Empire has learnt, that reason based on liberty is the greatest solvent of human difference and disputes that arise between different sections of the human race.

It is with some such vision as that that I would ask you this evening to rise and to drink to the health of the Empire societies, feeling, as I do feel, that in the five years to which Lord Linlithgow is now dedicating himself, he will be able to count continuously upon the support of all that is comprised within those societies, and that they will follow his doings with close interest and with warm sympathy, and will extend to him and to Lady Linlithgow continuously all the support that it is in their power to give. I have the honour to couple this toast with the name of one, Lord Lamington, no stranger to these societies, who has rendered long and distinguished service in more capacities than one, and who sets an example to those of us who have the good or the ill fortune to be younger in years than him today, of a service that we in our time shall hope to be able to emulate and to prove ourselves not unworthy disciples.

The President's Reply

Lord Lamington, in the course of his response, said:

The honour of replying to the toast so aptly proposed by Lord Halifax is very great, but imposes a corresponding heavy responsibility to adequately express the thanks of the seven important societies who have had the privilege of entertaining tonight so distinguished a company. I would explain that it was due to the initiative of Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the various Empire societies decided to pool their energies in the organization of functions such as this. Formerly statesmen going out to some great post overseas were liable to be embarrassed by a flow of invitations from a number of societies.

The advantages of combination for a common end must be obvious to anyone who surveys this great gathering tonight. It is doubtful whether on any previous occasion a Viceroy-designate of India has been the chief guest at a farewell dinner on the present scale. It may be added that nothing could be more fitting than a "record" farewell when it is considered that Lord Linlithgow is to inaugurate a new epoch in the history of British and Indian relations, being charged with the tremendous responsibility of bringing into actual working the new Constitution authorized by the great Act of last year. He is taking up the mantle of his father, who was the first Governor-General of the Federal Government of Australia.

I am sure that I am speaking the mind of the other organizations as well as of the East India Association, of which I have the honour to be President, when I say that while we each co-operate in the effort, we owe a special debt of gratitude to the Royal Empire Society for undertaking the main responsibility for organizing this function. The task is a heavy one, and we have only to note the excellence of the arrangements made tonight to recognize how much we owe to the Chairman of the Royal Empire Society, Sir Archibald Weigall, and to Mr. Baily, the recently appointed Secretary of the Society.

The success of our function tonight makes it permissible to draw a parallel between the combination of Empire countries and the combination of the Empire societies: each pursuing an individual path, having an individual function, but all animated by a common aim and co-operating for a common ideal—viz., the unity of the peoples of the Empire so that their united influence will exercise the utmost weight in the counsels of the nations for the safety and progress of civilization and for the good of the world at large. These unofficial and voluntary associations are typical of the Empire, which was built up by traders and by the enterprise of individuals, the Governments being usually reluctant to give protection and security. Rarely has a Government embarked upon deliberate aggression. Even in the case of India it was trade that led to the subsequent establishment of our rule.

Before I sit down, and in the regretted absence through ill-health of Sir B. N. Mitra, the High Commissioner for India, I have the privilege to propose the toast of our Chairman. As a Scot, it is a matter of pride and satisfaction that my country supplies both the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy-designate. It is happy augury. None could more fittingly preside over this gathering than the Secretary of State for India. We are indeed fortunate that the India Office is in charge of a statesman who has given abundant proof not only when serving in India, but also in his political, literary, and general activities in this country of his profound interest in and affection for the Indian Empire. He has presided over this gathering with the courtesy and dignity which is associated with all his public activities; and in drinking his health we all have the heartfelt wish that the combined responsibilities of our Chairman and guest of the evening may contribute to the continued progress and happiness of the vast land whose fortunes are in so large measure committed to their care.

Lord Zetland, in his reply, read a letter from Sir John Simon expressing his great regret that, owing to unforeseen developments in the House of Commons, he was prevented from being present.

Sir JOHN wrote:

"I have very special reasons to retain a lifelong interest in everything that happens to India, and I am more than ever convinced, as we said in our Report which preceded these Constitutional changes, that it is by the co-operation of all that is best in this country with Indian statesmen that the future of the Indian continent will be best advanced. That is why Lord Linlithgow has been selected for this high task, and we will send him on his way with a message of confidence and goodwill."

Lord ZETLAND added:

Lord Halifax referred to me as a Yorkshireman. I have always myself rather prided myself on being a Scotchman, but if, as it is indeed a fact, I am a Scotchman by birth and by tradition and a Yorkshireman by adoption, that seems to me to be merely an illustration of an indisputable fact embodied in the phrase "a peaceful conquest of England by Scotland." I am most grateful to Lord Lamington, whose services to the Empire are so conspicuous and so well-known, for the kindly observations which he has made in proposing this toast. Let me only say that I look forward with feelings, not only of satisfaction, but of the greatest pleasure, to working, so long as the whim of the electorate and the complacence of the Prime Minister allow, in co-operation with our distinguished guest.

THE RECEPTION TO LORD AND LADY LINLITHGOW

THE reception given at Grosvenor House, London, on Thursday, March 26, in honour of the Marquess and Marchioness of Linlithgow, was attended by some 350 members and friends. The guests of honour shared with the President and Lady Lamington in receiving the other guests. After refreshments had been served

The PRESIDENT said: I have first to announce to you that, owing to an Indian Committee, Lord Zetland and Lord Goschen cannot be with us, as they had intended. Nor can Sir Samuel Hoare, who was to have spoken to us. I also have to announce to you that when His Highness the Maharaja of Bhavanagar learned through our old and esteemed friend Sir Prabashankar Pattani that Lord Linlithgow had accepted this invitation, he very kindly sent a cheque for £50 as a contribution to the expenses. (Cheers.) We are most grateful both to His Highness and his veteran Minister.

Last night Lord Linlithgow was entertained at a very remarkable dinner given by the seven Empire societies, who carry on, so to speak, the voluntary work of the Empire; and some might consider it superfluous to have this reception this afternoon: but we decided, I think rightly, that in view of our close connection with India we should carry out our previous usage and custom of inviting the Viceroy-designate to have some hospitality at our hands, and also give the opportunity to members of the East India Association—who are all more or less connected with India—to meet the Viceroy-to-be.

It is no light task that lies before Lord Linlithgow. We all realize that, and we therefore want to show our appreciation before he leaves this country, and our gratitude to him for having spared the time to come here. (Applause.) We realize that in going to India Lord and Lady Linlithgow are doing a great work, because they are sacrificing their own home ties and their charming country home in Scotland to take up this very onerous task.

I have held for some time that under the new Constitution of India anyone undertaking the office of Viceroy must necessarily have had some previous experience of Indian life and of Indian characteristics. Lord Linlithgow, who was two years in India as Chairman of the Royal Agricultural Commission there, and then again was for almost two years Chairman of the Joint Select Committee, surely has acquired a very intimate knowledge of India and also a great insight into what should be the future working of the new Constitution. I suppose nobody really is better able or more fitted to undertake this work of putting into form the various provisions under the new great India Act than is Lord Linlithgow. I have never heard his appointment questioned by a single voice, nor have I read a single opinion that was not favourable to the selection. (Applause.)

If Sir Samuel Hoare had been here he would have enlarged on these points. In his absence I will read to you from a summary of the new

Act given in *The Times* when it was passed of the manifold duties which lie before the Viceroy in connection with the new Constitution of India.

> "The Secretary of State will no longer be the primary administrative authority for the governing of India and the Governments in India will cease to be his agents. The result of these delegations of power is that the Government of India and the Provincial Governments become distinct political and constitutional entities. . . ."
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> "The duties of the Viceroy responsible for introducing the reforms will include the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, with all its legal and financial implications; the conduct of a transitory Centre, with the assistance of the existing Legislative Assembly; negotiations with the Princes to bring them into the Federation; and the inauguration of the Federation itself when the requisite number of Princes have signed the Instruments of Accession which imply their adherence to the new Government. With the ultimate establishment of the Federation envisaged in the Act the Governor-General will have to set up a new Central Government, with its dyarchical executive."

I can remember when the late Lord Curzon was Viceroy in India. Even he had no conception before going there of the tremendous personal responsibility put upon the Viceroy. In the House of Lords, when the vote of condolence was being passed, connected with the death of Lord Reading, some statement of his was read to the effect that he was quite unaccustomed, when he went to India, to have to face the personal responsibility thrust upon him day by day on matters of great moment. If those two great Viceroys had this responsibility in the past, what will be the position in the future? Lord Linlithgow will have to keep in touch with the Constitution as set up under the Act and will have to use discrimination as to when to give way. Therefore his responsibilities are increased.

I came home two days ago from Aden, that very interesting outpost of the Empire, and a fellow-passenger on board said to me, "We are expecting great things from Lord Linlithgow, and he will not fail us." That is our sentiment today. (Cheers.) Lord and Lady Linlithgow can leave these shores with the knowledge that they have the full confidence of all ranks of the East India Association, and that they carry our best wishes for their happiness and a successful term of office. They have every quality to make that success, and we believe it will be achieved. With those words I now ask you to show by acclamation your appreciation of the presence this afternoon here of Lord and Lady Linlithgow. (Prolonged applause.)

Lord LINLITHGOW said in reply: My Lord Chairman, Your Excellencies, my lords, ladies and gentlemen,—Let me at once say to our fellow-members and to our guests here today that my wife and I are profoundly grateful for the kind way in which you have received the recommendation of my old friend, Lord Lamington. I will confess to you, ladies and gentlemen, that both my wife and I are at this stage, though intensely happy, just a little jaded. I say to myself, Lord Lamington, that if this is the life of a Viceroy-designate, where indeed and when does the Viceroy lay his head? As I was moving out of my house on all fours, threading my way amongst the boxes,

arguing with the children, and making those other general preparations which are the proper approach to any voyage, I saw a servant of mine sticking a large notice on to a box, and on that notice were the words, "Not wanted for the voyage." Oh, happy box! (Laughter.)

I know well the work which your Chairman today, Lord Lamington, has done for this Association, and you and I know the good work that he has done for the Empire and for public matters in this country all his life. (Applause.) Therefore I will not say that I am sorry that Sir Samuel Hoare was not able to be with us this afternoon. I had hoped that he might be here, because as my old colleague on the Joint Select Committee, during which long and laborious enquiry he gave such a very masterly performance, I had meant to express in public my admiration for his work in guiding the scheme of constitutional reform of India through that Committee, and to say that I am sure you will agree with me that his name will for all time be honourably linked with that great work. I should have said this to his face, if he had been here, as I am not accustomed to saying things behind people's backs which I would not say to their faces:—Sir Samuel Hoare in the language of the stage is now "resting." But take it from me—I know the man—that before very long he will be back in a part even greater than that which he has played in the past. (Applause.)

I said a moment ago that I was a little weary. Please do not think that that means that I am not glad to be here this afternoon. I am glad to be here. I do not think that this afternoon's occasion was made unnecessary by reason of last night's hospitality. I was very careful what I consumed last night. I thoroughly enjoyed my dinner, though I do admit when I have to make a speech I would rather make it to my friends in the room than to a microphone about three feet below my head. (Laughter.) However, these are the penalties of modern invention. I think that these occasions are worth while, because I attach very great importance to an occasion which enables the man who is about to carry the weight to feel that his friends in both countries stand behind him. (Applause.)

I admire very much the work of the East India Association, and I am proud that my name is connected with it as a Vice-President. I wish it well in the future. Its prime service, as I see it, is to promote between our several peoples that human feeling of goodwill, of mutual regard and understanding, which must always form the essential foundations of healthy political growth, and without which, believe me, the most carefully constructed edifice will not for long stand.

Unless the captain and the purser of the steamer can persuade me to make a speech (which I think extraordinarily unlikely) I think this is the last that I shall be making before I reach India: at least the last I have heard of so far. Let me then, for my wife and myself and from the bottom of our hearts, thank all our good friends here and in India—because we recognize that we have good friends in India as well as here—for the kind way in which they received my appointment, for the encouragement which they have given me, and the promise which I hold from not a few of them, that they will do their utmost to assist me in carrying the great task which I go out to undertake to a happy conclusion. (Applause.)

RECEPTION TO LORD AND LADY WILLINGDON

SURVEY OF VICEROYALTY

THE Conversazione given by the Association at Grosvenor House on Friday, May 22, to meet the Marquess and Marchioness of Willingdon on their return from India was the largest and most representative reception in the annals of the Association. More than 450 guests were received by the President and Lady Lamington and, later, by Sir Louis and Lady Dane. Most of the guests were also greeted by the ex-Viceroy and Lady Willingdon, who found amongst them a very large number of old friends, from Cabinet Ministers downwards. The names of the principal guests were given in the newspapers, and the speeches, with their references to the great events of the past five years in India, attracted the more public attention since this was the first occasion on which Lord Willingdon had made any public speech since his arrival from India. After refreshments had been served Lord Lamington said:

Two months ago almost to the day this room was filled with guests of the Association assembled to bid God-speed to Lord and Lady Linlithgow on the eve of their departure for India. Today we are assembled in even larger numbers to welcome home Lord and Lady Willingdon after their memorable and successful tenure of office in India. There are many present who served under Lord Willingdon in Bombay and in Madras, and many who have been in the service of the Crown in India during his great Vice-royalty.

It should be mentioned that the giving of a Conversazione on the present scale so soon after the previous one is due in large measure to the generosity of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda in making an annual contribution of £50 for the purposes of hospitality. (Cheers.) I would here also express our satisfaction that we have with us the King's Indian Orderly Officers with Major Goddard. (Cheers.)

I may say that to Lady Lamington and myself this gathering has particular interest in reviving old memories. It is now some forty years ago since we met the two guests of this afternoon, when my friend here was serving on the staff of his father-in-law, the first Lord Brassey, then Governor of Victoria.

It would have been marvellous foresight on our part had we then forecasted that we should meet again in forty years' time on an occasion like this, to celebrate the return of Lord Willingdon after his brilliant Viceroyalty of India—a Viceroyalty which has been marked by devotion to duty, courage, and a desire to understand and to meet the aspirations of the Indian people. I am not going to say more on this theme, because happily we have here the Secretary of State for India, who has undertaken to convey to our distinguished guests our feelings of gratitude and admiration.

There is just one point, not strictly political, that I might mention, which I have always laid great stress on—the unfortunate way in which in time past there was a tendency on the part of the English to hold aloof socially from their Indian friends. One of the most valuable steps taken by our honoured guests in Bombay was to inaugurate the Willingdon Club to bring Indians and British into a common bond of friendship, and all through their term of office in India this has been their great aim. I read how only last year Lady Willingdon greeted the late Miss Beck, a lady who had done a lot of service in trying to help Indian students in this country, "as a reconciler of peoples." I think that is a very good title for Lord and Lady Willingdon, as they have done their best to be reconcilers of peoples.

There is nothing further except to congratulate Lord and Lady Willingdon on the high honour bestowed on them last week by His Majesty, and to express our gratitude that they have been able to come here this afternoon to be entertained by us; also on behalf of the East India Association I should like to say how proud we are that Lord Willingdon has consented to be one of our Vice-Presidents. (Cheers.)

Lord ZETLAND, Secretary of State for India, who was cheered on rising, said: It is, if I may say so, very appropriate that the East India Association should have organized this gathering in honour of Lord and Lady Willingdon, for I suppose there is no corporate body of men and women in this country which has followed with greater interest or with closer attention Lord Willingdon's solution of the many problems which have confronted him during the past five years. During that time the East India Association provided a platform for the views of all those who were interested in these great problems, and it is not perhaps too much to say that without the educational work which the East India Association did in that connection, it would hardly have been possible to have secured with that measure of assent which it ultimately received the passage of the Government of India Act of last year. (Applause.)

We are not here this afternoon as members of this Association, however, to blow our own trumpet. We are here rather to give expression to our feelings of admiration and gratitude to Lord and Lady Willingdon—and I purposely include Lady Willingdon (applause), for we are all conscious of the great part which she has played in the joint activities of their lives—for the great services which they have rendered to the Empire. (Applause.)

I suppose that the services in far-flung parts of our Empire discharged by Lord and Lady Willingdon have certainly never been surpassed; I doubt myself whether they have ever been equalled by any among that great line of distinguished administrators which this country has sent forth from these

shores throughout its history. Five years in Bombay; an equal period in Madras; a long period of distinguished service in Canada, where the name of Willingdon still runs (as I can testify from personal experience) from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean; and, finally, as a crown to this great career of Imperial service, five years as representative of His Majesty and Governor-General of the greatest dependency of our Empire, the Indian Empire. (Applause.)

My Lords and Gentlemen, it is not for me on this occasion to give you any detailed history of the past five years, but may I make one or two observations in order that we may appreciate to the full the nature of the services which Lord and Lady Willingdon have rendered. Immediately prior to their assumption of the office of the Viceroyalty, a great gesture had been made by the Government of this country to the Indian peoples of every political school of thought. That gesture was intended to make it clear to ourselves, to the peoples of India, and to the world at large, that what His Majesty's Government desired above all things was a solution of the constitutional problem of India, worked out in collaboration with representatives of every school of thought in that country. In view of the circumstances which had preceded that gesture, it was quite obviously accompanied by great risks. I need not remind you of the disturbances of 1930. Suffice it to say that after the meeting of the first Round-Table Conference an invitation was extended once more to the leaders of the Congress Party in India to play their part in the second Round-Table Conference, and it was in those circumstances that the negotiations which are familiar to all of you took place between the former Viceroy, Lord Irwin, and Mr. Gandhi.

I have always regarded, and I have always publicly stated that I have so regarded, that phase of our relations with the peoples of India as an essential phase in our relations. It was essential that we should make it clear to all the peoples of India and to our own people in this country that what we desired was friendly co-operation. I think perhaps it was only as I listened to the last speech made by Mr. Gandhi at the end of the second Round-Table Conference—a day whose prolonged and dolorous hours is deeply impressed upon my memory—that I realized that our gesture had been rejected and that our offers of collaboration to the Congress had not borne fruit.

It was in these circumstances that Lord Willingdon had to discharge his duties as Viceroy. His task was an extraordinarily delicate, a very arduous, and a very difficult one. He had to carry out the first function of any Government—that is to say, to restore the order which had for some time past been not only threatened but destroyed. He discharged that duty with extraordinary courage and with extraordinary tact. (Applause.) If I were to select the outstanding characteristics of his Viceroyalty, they would be these: Firmness in maintaining the law of the land, and sympathy with the legitimate and the constitutionally expressed aspirations of the Indian people. (Applause.)

My Lords and Gentlemen, his successor is in the happy position of assuming office in an India more peaceful, I think, than India has been for many years past, and, moreover, an India which is gradually returning to what I hope will be a prolonged era of economic prosperity. Without that

atmosphere of peace and order, a return to prosperity would have been beyond the bounds of possibility.

As a result of that returning prosperity, we are now able to visualize the possibility of the first part, at any rate, of the great constitutional scheme which was passed by Parliament last year being brought into operation within less than a year from the present time. As the great structure of provincial autonomy in India is gradually brought into being, all those of us who are concerned with the raising of that structure will look back with feelings of the deepest gratitude to Lord Willingdon and to Lady Willingdon in that they have rendered possible the practical application of the Act of last year.

It is not often given to one family to ascend the whole ladder of the peerage in the course of the lifetime of a single member of it. The fact that Lord Willingdon has so ascended the ladder is merely a recognition of the gratitude which the people of this country and the monarchy of this country owe to him and to Lady Willingdon for their services to the Empire. (Applause.)

The Marquess of Willingdon, who was enthusiastically received, said: I need hardly say what a pleasure it is both to my wife and myself to come here and find this delightful greeting from many old friends, and to see you all sitting around us welcoming us home, back to our own homeland once more. May I thank you most cordially for your greeting this afternoon, and may I thank you, Lord Lamington, most gratefully for the charming things you have said about our labours in outside parts of the British Empire.

I almost feel that an apology is due from me to my noble friend Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, for it seems to me that it is beginning to become almost a habit with him to have to appear at gatherings of this sort and say charming things about Lord and Lady Willingdon! I hope he will not have to do much more of it, but I gratefully and sincerely thank him this afternoon for all the charming things he has said, and perhaps this gives me an opportunity this afternoon to thank him for what I sincerely feel. I wish to thank him most gratefully for the consideration he always showed me, the help and co-operation he always gave me all the time we were associated together in the governance of India, he as Secretary of State and I as Viceroy of India.

I am often asked, and I am always being asked since I came home, "Are you glad you have come home again?" My answer always is, "Well, any Britisher who has been away from his homeland and from his relations and friends for twenty-three or so years almost continually is glad to come to his homeland once more, delighted to see his friends and relations, delighted and grateful for the wonderful welcome we have received on our return, and filled with gratitude and delight at the expressions of appreciation that we have received with regard to such humble services as we have done during those years in outside parts of the British Empire."

May I say, Lord Zetland, I am delighted that you have linked my wife's name with mine in all our work during all these years, for I know very well indeed how little I could have done without her. (Applause.) But I can

only say that we have always in all our work done our best, and if our best has satisfied our countrymen, then indeed the labour has been well worth while.

I have also been asked very often another question: "Are you sorry you have left India?" Well, for many reasons I am extremely sorry I left India. After all, it is no small thing when you have lived in a country for sixteen years, and your roots have got down very deep, to dig up those roots; when you have been engaged in what to me has been an occupation of the most engrossing and interesting kind, to leave all those official ties, to leave all those associations and friendships, to leave a country which I have often called, and I call again this afternoon, my second Empire home. (Applause.)

But I leave it with this feeling. India has been no land of regrets to us two, for we received nothing but kindness, courtesy and friendship, except in a very few instances, from all the princes and people of India throughout the whole of that country. I talk about our second Empire home, and that recalls to my mind the various homes we have lived in in India during the past sixteen years. I recall that delightful house at Malabar Point in Bombay. I recall that wonderful hill station—not even second to Kashmir—in Madras, Ootacamund. But I recall above all that wonderful palace at Delhi, the triumph of the genius of my old friend Sir Edwin Lutyens. I confess that when I first drove up to that house and saw this enormous palace confronting me, I felt rather alarmed at the thought that a humble person like myself should be going to reside in so vast a home. But it is—and perhaps my wife made it so—and has been to us all those five years the most delightful home: and the garden on the opposite side of the house is one of the most beautiful things I have ever seen.

So I regret leaving India for many reasons, but I assure you of this, that my regret is tempered by the feeling that I have left India in good hands, for I feel that my distinguished successor, with all his knowledge of the Reforms, with his previous knowledge of India itself, will safely guide the destinies of India and will overcome all difficulties with regard to the future (and there may be many, as there generally are in that country) during the five years of his tenure of office of his appointment.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you may have heard many or you may have read of many threatening speeches that have been made in India of late by members of the Congress Party at the meeting that they held just before I left, when they had their new President, Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru—speeches which threatened to do the most terrible things when the Reforms came into being and to upset the whole constitution if they possibly could do so.

May I say with all sincerity that my feeling and instinct in this matter is this, that when the toil and trouble and possibly some turmoil of the General Elections for the first Provincial Chambers are over, when the Ministries are formed, when Ministers are settled down in their places and with the help of their Secretaries are getting to work, that they will one and all work and strive for the good of the people who are put under their charge. (Applause.)

At least I can say with some gratification that I have left to my successor

a peaceful India, and an India where I honestly think that the relations between our two races are better than they have been for many long years. It is perfectly true that there are a good many Indians in India who insist on fostering that feeling of distrust with regard to everything that we British do out there, who seem to have an idea that we have a Machiavellian desire for some, as they call it, Imperial purpose to do something which is going to help us and not particularly India, who have no belief, or say they have no belief, in the sincerity of our purpose with regard to our wish to lead them on to responsible government. But I am glad to feel, and I think it is perfectly certain, that these people are decreasing in numbers.

I am sorry to say too there are some of my own fellow-countrymen—and you have referred to the matter this afternoon, my lord chairman—some of my own countrymen who still endeavour to keep up that artificial system of superiority of the British over the Indian which I have always so deeply deplored and which I have always fought against with the utmost of my power. (Applause.) But I think those difficulties again are becoming less, and I hope and trust that they will soon entirely pass away.

When I look back upon the last five years of my life in India, when I recall the condition of things which existed when I arrived there, and which my noble friend, Lord Zetland, has very faithfully expressed to you this afternoon, I should like to give you a list of the various preoccupations that we had to undergo and take part in—I am talking about the Central and the Provincial Governments during the first eighteen months of my life in India.

After I had been there only five months there came the financial crisis, when this country went off gold on to sterling, which created a very serious situation, as you may imagine, in India. I should like to express to you all very clearly my grateful thanks to my Finance Minister then, Sir George Schuster, for the sound judgment and care he took as Finance Member to guide us through those very troublesome days. Then again we shared as much as anybody in the terrible world depression; and then we had a recrudescence of terrorism in Bengal. We had the Red Shirt movement in the North-West Frontier Province. We had a serious outbreak of civil disturbance and non-payment of rent in the United Provinces. We had a rebellion in Burma which necessitated sending out a brigade to that country. We had serious trouble in the State of Kashmir, and at the request of the Maharaja we had to send troops in to help him.

These were some of the preoccupations we had to undergo during the first eighteen months of my life in that country, and as I look back I say that I am filled with the utmost and deepest gratitude, and always shall be, for the wonderful way that once they knew what the policy of Government was going to be, and that it was going to be firm, sure and consistent, the services rapidly restored the position of Government from end to end of India.

I have left a peaceful India, and I believe I have left a more contented India, for, as my noble friend has said, I believe that their economic condition is slowly and steadily improving. I honestly believe that if our administration in the future, as I am sure it will be, is firm, is sympathetic,

and is consistent, India will remain absolutely loyal; so long as our Sovereign is King-Emperor of India, India will become more and more a helpful partner in working out the destinies of the British Empire.

That is all I have to say to you this evening, beyond this, that I have always been and I hope always shall be, even at this age of my life, an incorrigible optimist. My optimism today is greater than it was when I left this country five years ago. I remember at a dinner that I was given shortly before I left, that I said I went out with hope and confidence. I come back with complete hope and confidence, and I feel sure of this, that India in the future will be as sure and sound a member of the British Empire as any other part of the British Empire is at the present time.

Ladies and gentlemen, once again let me thank you most gratefully for the cordial reception you have given my wife and myself. It is a pleasure to come home again and meet you all, and while I must admit that the temperature and the climate do not appeal to me at the present moment, I hope very sincerely that I shall be able to reconcile myself to it shortly and become as hardy a Britisher as I used to be many years ago. (Cheers and laughter.)

The Marchioness of Willingdon, in response to repeated calls for a speech, said: I have always had a perfectly firm principle in my life, and that is when my husband is present I never say a word. But I should like to thank you very sincerely. You have been so perfectly delightful to us. My husband says he is glad to come home. I hated leaving India, but I am very grateful to you for being so nice to me now that I have come home.

GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: UNITED PROVINCES EXPERIMENTS

By Sir Edward Blunt, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.

The economic depression which began in 1930 hit the Government of the United Provinces very hard. From the second half of the year 1930-31, the amount of revenue remitted annually on account of the fall in agricultural prices has been Rs. 112 lakhs; and though there has been some recovery, the effects of the depression were cumulative, and this figure has not yet been reduced. The scale of remissions for crop damage has also been made more liberal, and as many crops have suffered damage since 1930-31 the remissions on this account have also been unusually large. I put the total loss of land revenue up to the end of 1935-36 at not less than Rs. $8\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Accordingly, there has been little money to spare for rural development.

In 1927, certain co-operative welfare societies had been started in three districts, Partabgarh, Fyzabad and Benares, which proved successful; and as they cost little and provided useful experience, Government has kept them going. In 1928, Government took up an important hydro-electric scheme in the western districts, which is rural development on the largest scale, and has been of immense value to the cultivator during the depression itself; and as it was being financed out of capital, and is already earning enough income to cover all its charges, Government has not only carried it on, but has speeded up construction. Finally, in 1932, Government set on foot a Publicity Department, which has always devoted a large part of its energy to the preaching of rural reconstruction, and is still doing so. But in all other directions it became necessary to curtail expenditure on rural development till the end of 1934-35, when the Government of India's generous gift of a crore made a fresh start possible. And the main object of this lecture is to describe how the United Provinces'

share of that gift will be spent: and also to give some account of the hydro-electric system.

The Psychological Problem

As Mr. Moreland long ago pointed out, no rural development will be real or permanent unless the villager himself approves of it and is willing to keep it working once it is initiated. Just as a gardener, before he plants his seed, must prepare the soil for its reception, so must Government, before it introduces improved standards of living, instil in the villager himself the desire to live better. The task, indeed, is likely to prove less difficult than it would have been twenty years ago.

Firstly, the villager's mentality has changed. He is no longer a despondent fatalist, demoralized by his ceaseless struggle "to extort a bare livelihood from an insufficient holding," and without interest in affairs outside those of his own narrow circle. The war and the reforms between them had already widened his mental horizon, and he was not only taking an interest but playing a part in affairs to which he was formerly indifferent; and the depression finally shook him out of his old conservatism. He had never met trouble of that kind before; and though he met it with all his old patient courage, and a new and remarkable resourcefulness, it puzzled him, it filled him with apprehension, and made him ready to listen to anybody who could suggest a way out. At first, he was inclined to take the short cuts proposed by Congress demagogues, such as refusing to pay his rent. But when, largely through the activities of the Publicity Department, he realized what Government and his own landlords were actually doing for him, he soon decided that their performances were preferable to Congress promises. He now knows exactly what he wants, and under the new constitution will see that he gets it. In respect of rural welfare, he is still relatively indifferent to sanitary or educational improvements. One can hardly expect a man with his economic troubles to display much enthusiasm about a soakage pit or a lending library. But, as he has already shown, he will welcome any change that will put more money in his pocket.

The Publicity Department

Secondly, the Publicity Department by its methods of propaganda has already done much to teach the villager the desirability of improving his standards of comfort. During the four years of its existence, it has built up a remarkably efficient organization. Each district has its chain of committees—district, tahsil, pargana, and village—composed of persons, both official and non-official, who are willing to work for rural reconstruction. The administration is in the hands of a Publicity Officer, who is a member of the district staff: the supervision is in the hands of the district officer. He commands the services of honorary publicity workers; in 1934 there were over 1,200 of these in the provinces, 850 of whom were non-officials. These workers are constantly holding meetings up and down the district, at which lectures are delivered on topics connected with rural welfare; the number of such meetings in the three years 1932 to 1934 was nearly 300,000, and the attendance nearly 20 millions.

The Department also maintains five demonstration motor-vans, all of which have been presented by private donors. They carry exhibits of improved seeds, manures, ploughs, and other agricultural implements; models, charts, posters, and pictures relating to public health; samples of the products of village industries; and simple medicines. They are all equipped with a radio receiving-set, a cinema, a loud-speaker, a gramophone, a magic lantern, and an episcope. The films, records, slides, and pictures relate mainly to rural life, both as it is and as it should be; but there are also others of a more general kind, so that amusement can be combined with instruction. A number of the films were made by a member of the I.C.S., some of which I myself saw.

These vans are always on the move, visiting the towns, the larger villages, the fairs, and various departmental exhibitions; the local publicity workers take advantage of their arrival to hold meetings and give lectures, whilst games and competitions of various kinds take place at the same time. Each van is in charge of a technical officer, who looks after and works the different machines which the van carries. For more distant tracts, where

motor vehicles cannot go, there are bullock carts, similarly equipped; in 1934, when these were first started, eighteen districts acquired them, but there must now be many more. A new type of cart, with increased accommodation and a pneumatic wheel equipment has been designed by the Indian branch of the Dunlop Rubber Company. I may also mention that some districts possess cinemas and films of their own, whilst every district has a gramophone and a set of twelve special records, of which a hundred sets were made; the surplus not required in the province have been purchased by other provinces and also by States.

The department also publishes a small fortnightly review, chiefly devoted to rural welfare. It has a circulation of over 31,000 copies in vernacular, and 3,500 in English. The department also brings out a large number of leaflets, pamphlets, and reprints, whilst some district organizations have prepared others of their own. All this literature is distributed free.

These are the main activities of the Publicity Department, though it has others of minor importance. It holds competitions —athletic, literary, agricultural, and industrial. It has, I believe, also invented games. It has disseminated information for the technical departments, and assisted them in their demonstrations. And now it is turning its attention to broadcasting. One station, at Allahabad, is already working on an experimental basis. Another, at Dehra Dun, which is being financed locally, has just begun to work. But broadcasting is expensive, and this cripples a department which can justly boast that it achieves maximum results at a minimum cost—Rs. 32,000 per annum is the figure, though considerable subscriptions have also been raised in the districts for local needs.

The Rural Development Scheme

Much has already been done, therefore, to attune the villager's mind to better living. But much still remains to be done; and this Government has recognized in its new scheme of rural development. It falls into two parts. The first of these, which is called the "main scheme," is in the hands of the district authorities. It

is based on the experience derived from those co-operative welfare societies which I have mentioned, and may be described as being chiefly a scheme of psychological propaganda. The second part consists of various projects of rural improvement, which are in the hands of the technical departments. At headquarters there is a central board, of which the heads of these departments are members; its duties are to consider matters of policy, and to collect, co-ordinate, and disseminate information. It is kept in touch with the districts by a Rural Development Officer, who is under its orders and acts as its secretary.

The "main scheme" (which might better be called the district scheme) falls into four parts, as follows:

(1) The District Rural Development Association.—The district officer is directed to give his personal attention to all matters connected with rural development, though he may, if he sees fit, entrust its administration to one of his staff. The first step that he must take is to constitute a rural development association for the district. The members of it are to be the senior local officer of each technical department, leading landholders, and others who hold a prominent position in rural areas. This association, to the district officer, is an advisory body; but it also serves to co-ordinate the activities of the technical departments, to bring expert knowledge in touch with local knowledge, and it affords a means of exchanging ideas and pooling experience. The local members are also to act as publicity agents of rural welfare in the district. From time to time the Commissioner is to hold a conference of the district associations in his division.

(2) Selection of Villages.—The total amount which is being allotted to rural development for the two years 1935-36 and 1936-37 is about 19 lakhs, of which 15 are the United Provinces' share of the Government of India's crore, and the rest is being provided out of other provincial resources. This is not enough to make large-scale operations possible; in fact, had the programme actually proposed been extended to the whole province, the sum required for the two years would have been nearly five crores. Government must, therefore, be content to deal with a relatively small number of villages, which has been fixed at 72 in each of

the 45 plains districts, or 3,240 in all—about 3¼ per cent. of the total number. The problems of the hill districts are entirely different, and for them a sum of half a lakh has been separately allotted.

The first duty of the district officer is to select these villages, with the advice of his district association. They are to be such as afford the best chance of success—villages under the Court of Wards, or whose landlords or natural leaders take an interest in the movement; which are not subject to political influences; and which are not situated in backward or precarious areas. They are to be in groups or circles of twelve villages each, at first; though in course of time it may be possible to extend the circles so as to cover 25 to 30 villages each. Each circle will thus serve as a sort of working model for its neighbourhood—a means of instruction, and, if all goes well, an incentive to imitation.

(3) The Village Organizer.—The district officer is next to select a staff of "village organizers," one to each circle. These men are in no sense officials; they have no power or authority, and must achieve their results by persuasion and personal influence. They must be tactful and patient: not men "on the look-out for jobs," but imbued with the "spirit of service"; local men, not necessarily highly educated—the vernacular final examination is a sufficient standard—but with a rural upbringing, who will "understand the tastes and impulses of the peasant," and who have "learned to speak his speech and to grasp the hidden meaning behind his words." Their pay, including a fixed travelling allowance, is to be Rs. 35 per mensem.

Their duties are stated in very fluid terms. The organizer's primary object is to win the confidence of the villager, and for that purpose he will make himself the link between the villager and the technical departments, and the mouthpiece of both of them—studying the villager's needs, stating them to the officer concerned, obtaining his advice, explaining it to his clients, and helping them to carry it out. To develop the "community spirit" he will organize games and entertainments of various kinds, with scouting amongst the younger men. He will try the villagers, at first, with simple and inexpensive improvements, such as manure

pits and demonstration seed-plots. And in all his efforts he will try to enlist the support of the village leaders—landlords, members of the *panchayat*, high-caste residents—who, *ex-hypothesi*, will be favourable to rural development.

The administrative link between these organizations and the district officer is the "inspector," whose duties are sufficiently indicated by his name. He must be a man with some expert knowledge of either agriculture or sanitation, and before appointment will receive a training in the second of these two subjects, and also in co-operation. He will draw a consolidated pay of Rs. 100 per mensem: at which price, as I know myself, it is possible to obtain young men with a M.A. degree and a sound practical training in economics.

(4) The Village Rural Development Association.—Lastly, when the organizer has done his preliminary work, when he has won the esteem of the villagers, and aroused in them a desire for better things, there will follow the most important step—the organization of a village association to look after the welfare of its inhabitants. It is to consist of as many adults of both sexes as can be persuaded to join. Each member must sign a register of members, and pledge himself to carry out the objects of the association—of which there is a long list, ranging from the use of good seed to the discouragement of avoidable litigation, and amounting, in general terms, to the promotion of the health, wealth, and happiness of the village. Once created, these associations will be charged with all measures relating to rural welfare, and deal direct with the technical officers, explaining to them their needs, and seeing that the villagers carry out their directions. The executive body of such an association will vary with circumstances; it will naturally be the village *panchayat* where one exists, and elsewhere will consist of one or more of the village leaders. Generally, the association itself will have a voice in the constitution of its executive body, and in the choice of its personnel. The organizer will then either disappear, being replaced by an honorary successor, or remain in an advisory capacity.

Cost of the Main Scheme

The cost of the main scheme, as I have described it, is put at Rs. 3½ lakhs in two years. To this must be added a sum of Rs. 4½ lakhs, representing an annual grant of Rs. 5,000 to each district officer, which he is to spend in subsidizing such objects as the purchase of medicine chests, the training of *dais*, the filling up of insanitary hollows, or the purchase of materials for games and entertainments. A lakh is being held in reserve; the total cost of the main scheme, therefore, is Rs. 9 lakhs in two years.

Mr. Strickland, in a lecture entitled "Rural Welfare in India and China," which he delivered to this Association last November,* laid down four main principles for any scheme of rural welfare. These were the use of a local agency; cheap personnel; co-ordination both of departmental activities and of official and private effort; and a permanent association in each village or circle of villages. It seems to me that the United Provinces scheme conforms in theory to these principles. Of its practical results, it is yet too soon to speak: but we can form an estimate of these by examining the results actually achieved in one of those districts where rural welfare societies have been working for some years. Let me repeat that the main scheme just described is only the older experimental scheme writ large. The one important difference is that the village association of the one scheme is a co-operative society in the other.

The Partabgarh Experiment

I will now describe the results which have been achieved in Partabgarh, which I choose partly because it is the oldest of the three experiments, partly because it is the most rural of the three districts. The Partabgarh experiment was started in 1927 with three rural welfare societies, which were to serve as centres of expansion. There are now nine centres, covering 171 villages. The cost is about Rs. 8,000 per annum.

The agricultural improvements already effected are as follows. Improved seeds have been introduced for cane, wheat, barley, grain, maize, early *arhar*, groundnuts, and potatoes. The societies

* See Asiatic Review, January, 1936.

maintain four seed stores of their own, which distributed 26,000 maunds in 1934-35. A considerable number of the improved (Meston) ploughs and of three-roller cane-mills have been brought into use, both of which were formerly unknown. The societies or their members have made 250 new wells, and bored out 200 old wells. There are about 5,000 improved manure pits. Finally, the societies own 25 stud-bulls of superior breed, whose progeny already exceeds 900. In the domain of sanitation and medical aid, there have been the following changes. Parapets have been built for some 200 drinking wells. In 133 villages there are now no manure heaps within the inhabited site. There are 150 trained *dais* at work. There are 34 first-aid dispensaries and one ayurvedic dispensary, managed by the societies, which in 1934-35 treated 12,000 patients and vaccinated or inoculated 3,000 more. (I had better explain that dispensary is a grandiloquent name for a medicine-chest.) Finally, soakage pits have been built in many places.

Other improvements may be indicated briefly. There are 53 adult schools (of which two are for women), and three girls' schools. The total enrolment is over 1,500, of whom 600 have passed the preparatory standard, and 200 the primary standard. After three years an adult school is turned into a reading club, of which there are now 20, with a dozen circulating libraries. The schools also run physical culture classes, games, songs, and plays. There are 350 Boy Scouts, who have done useful work for rural development. Attempts have also been made to reduce ceremonial family expenditure, with some success: the total saving is put at Rs. 30,000, though some of this is probably due to the depression. There are 21 thrift societies, and 671 members have saved Rs. 7,042; whilst some 700 disputes have been amicably settled by the *panchayats*.

Finally, co-operative welfare has reacted on co-operative credit. There are 220 societies in 1934, as against 147 in 1926, with an average membership of 28, against a provincial average of 21. The percentage of collections to demand is 52, against a provincial figure of 24: and the percentage of overdue to total outstandings is 40, against a provincial figure of 68.

Remember that of the period of nine years covered by these figures, six were years of severe economic distress, during which the cultivator could only make ends meet with the greatest difficulty; and I think you will agree that this is a satisfactory record, and that the omens for the success of the main scheme are favourable.

I have seen two reports in the *Pioneer* regarding rural development under the main scheme itself, both dated in last March. The first relates to Hardoi, and describes an agricultural and industrial fair which was held in one of the centres, at which the Governor was present. There were all the usual exhibits; there were also games of various kinds; and there was a ploughing competition. The attendance was about 10,000. The second relates to Bijnor, and describes what had been done in the first six months of the working of the scheme. I need merely say, in general, that progress is satisfactory: but in particular I must mention the fact that two landlords have started additional rural development centres in their own estates. One of them is under the Court of Wards; the other is a Rani who has the distinction of being the first lady in the United Provinces to be elected Chairman of a District Board.

Departmental Schemes

To an audience well acquainted with India, the mere mention of the various schemes of improvement to be carried out by the technical departments will generally suffice to indicate their nature, and I need only describe some of the more interesting. In this case, too, the figures are for two years. Schemes in the Department of Agriculture are being financed to the sum of Rs. 3,28,000, as follows:

(1) Subsidizing the boring of 2,250 old wells to the extent of one-third of the cost of each case.

(2) Subsidizing, to the same extent, the construction of embankments to prevent erosion or to retain moisture.

(3) The purchase and maintenance of a tractor for making such embankments.

(4) The development of fruit orchards in about 800 villages under the main scheme by supplying plants, grafts, and seed, and employing trained staff.

(5) The substitution of new for old seed, and the subsidizing of 75 private seed-stores.

(6) The starting of a demonstration poultry farm, and of a farm for improving the breed of goats.

In the department of public health and medical relief there are two schemes costing Rs. 3,16,000. One consists in supplying a medicine-chest to each of the villagers under the main scheme, so that the villager may have the means to cure his own minor ailments; presumably the local medical staff will first teach him to recognize both the ailment and the drug which cures it. The second scheme is to place in eleven districts a "health unit," whose object will be to teach and demonstrate methods of sanitation. Each unit will consist of a medical officer, six trained midwives, six *dais*, three sanitary inspectors, and a health visitor; it will operate in a compact area of some 50 villages with a population of about 30,000. When a health unit has done its work in one area it will move on to another.

A sum of Rs. 70,000 has been allotted for advertising and marketing the products of village and cottage industries, and also *ghee*. Half a lakh is allotted for various schemes in Kumaun; and a sum of Rs. 36,000 is set apart to provide every village under the main scheme with newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets which make a feature of rural welfare, and for preparing 200 gramophone records dealing with the same subject.

Sugarcane Schemes

Finally, two schemes are being undertaken for the development of sugarcane cultivation, which are being financed from the provincial share of the sugar excise duty. Since the Government of India, some years ago, imposed a prohibitive duty on imported sugar, there has been a great increase in the area under cane, many large-scale sugar factories have been started, and in some parts there has been an amazing improvement in the quality of the cane that is grown. The old *desi* cane was the thickness of a thumb, and six feet high; the new cane is the thickness of a wrist, and twelve feet high.

Though cane is already the most profitable crop in the province,

the cultivator has still much to learn if he is to get full value out of it. Better manuring and better irrigation will increase the sucrose content. The factories require a regular delivery throughout the season, and the cultivator must grow not one variety of cane, but three—early, mid-season, and late cane—so as to supply the factories' requirements. He must also be taught to grow the types best suited to his particular soil. And, finally, he must learn to combat those insect pests which cause such damage. And both schemes are designed to provide the cane-grower with the knowledge that he requires.

The first scheme involves the co-operation of a factory. An area of 2,000 to 2,400 acres will be taken up in its immediate vicinity and handed over to co-operative societies who will grow cane in it under the direction of a trained staff. A central co-operative society will act as contractors for the supply of cane from that area to the factory. Each factory will thus stand in the midst of its own cane area: it is an adaptation of the plantation system to the peculiar circumstances of India.

The second scheme is related to the hydro-electric system in the western districts, which I shall shortly describe. One of its most important features is the building of tube-wells driven by electricity. Many of these have been sited in areas which, though otherwise suitable for cane, have so far grown none for want of water. It is now proposed to place in such areas a trained staff to teach the cultivator the whole art of cane cultivation by the free use of demonstration plots, to organize co-operative marketing, and to stabilize the demand for water in the interests both of the crop and the tube-well itself.

The Hydro-Electric System

I now come to the hydro-electric system, usually known as the Ganges grid. The Upper Ganges Canal between Hardwar and Aligarh passes over thirteen falls, averaging ten feet each, of which ten are suitable for generating electricity by water-power. Power houses have already been built at four of these, Bahadrabad, Bhola, Palra, and Sumera; and are now being built at Chhitaura and Salawa. At the present rate of increase in the demand, the other four falls will be electrified by 1940-41. The power now available is 8,900 kw. Chhitaura and Salawa will provide 6,000 kw. more. The total supply, when all falls are in use, will be 28,000 kw. The various power houses are linked to each other, so that if a turbine should break down at one place, another turbine at another place, many miles away, can be set to carry the load till the fault is rectified—the change is a matter of seconds. And standby steam plant of 4,300 kw. is in existence, or being erected during the present year.

The transmission system consists of a network of H.T. lines of various voltages—66,000, 37,000, and 11,000—which already exceed 2,000 miles in length, and are being rapidly extended through the ten districts of Moradabad, Bijnor, Budaun, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Etah, Muttra, and Agra.

As regards the supply of power to urban areas, I need only say that electricity is available for domestic and industrial purposes in 88 towns in these ten districts, many of them with less than 10,000 inhabitants. In this case, Government supplies in bulk to two distributing companies; the charge to the consumer is 5 annas for domestic and $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas for industrial power per unit. These rates are lower than most similar rates in the province.

In the rural areas, Government supplies direct to the consumer. The power is chiefly used to increase the facilities for irrigation. The possibilities of irrigation from high-level streams, suitable to feed gravity canals, are now exhausted. The construction of storage reservoirs in the Himalayas is also impracticable, because of the instability of the hillsides. There are, however, a number of streams, flowing at a level too low to feed gravity canals, from which water can be pumped to supply canals on a higher level; and there is a widespread and apparently inexhaustible supply of subsoil water under the greater part of the Gangetic plain. This water is derived partly from percolation of the local rainfall, partly by underground flow from the sub-Himalayan belt of heavy rainfall, partly from seepage in the irrigated areas. The last source is important, for much of the water used for irrigation returns to the underground reservoir or low-level stream

whence it came, and is available for use a second time. The grid's power is being used to increase the supply of water both from low-level streams and from underground reservoirs.

On the grid, water is pumped up from low-level streams at three places. Two of these, Sumera and Nadrai, are on the Kali Nadi; the former is near the Bulandshahr-Aligarh border, the latter in Etah. At Sumera, the water is raised out of the river into a channel, which discharges into the Ganges canal close by. At Nadrai, a branch of the canal actually crosses the river on an aqueduct, and the water is pumped up from the river into the canal direct. The third scheme, which is connected with the Ramganga, is of a different kind. The water is raised in two stages and by two pumping stations, to feed a small canal system of its own. The three works between them provide 390 cusecs, enough to irrigate 90,000 acres. Further projects of the same kind can be carried out in other parts of the province.

The State Tube-Wells

The use of subsoil water means wells, of which there are already some 800,000 in the United Provinces. Irrigation from an open well is expensive, since it involves the use either of bullock-power, or man-power, or both. The ordinary tube-well, operated by steam or oil power, is also expensive; and though a number have been built by wealthy landlords, both the capital and the running costs put them beyond the reach of smaller men. And if subsoil water is to be made generally available, two things are needed—a capitalist to build the well, and cheap power to work it. The grid can supply the latter: but the only capitalist that would not profiteer at the cultivator's expense is Government itself. Accordingly, in 1930-31 sixteen State tube-wells were made as an experiment. They were a success: though, at that time payment had to be made in cash, and at the height of the depression there was little cash to spare, I myself saw cultivators lined up in a queue to secure their turn at the well. And I only heard two complaints—one from a man who wanted water to flow uphill, and one from a man whose fields were beyond the reach of the well.

The demand for these wells, both in the districts and in Council, has been so insistent that Government has decided to build on a large scale. About 300 wells are already at work; and by 1938 there will be 1,400. Practically the whole culturable area in Moradabad, Bijnor, Budaun, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, and Bulandshahr will then be protected either by canals or by tube-wells. The additional irrigable area will be 1,400,000 acres, of which 210,000 acres will usually be under cane and 350,000 acres under wheat. And besides the State wells, there will be about 400 others, owned by landlords.

The price of the water is based on the current required to pump it: it is 2 annas a unit for the first 1,500 hours during which a well is working in each year, and 1½ annas thereafter. After 1,500 hours a well has earned enough revenue to pay for all its charges, including debt and depreciation, for the year: the earnings of any further period are all profit, and the rate is then dropped so as to give the cultivator a share of it. As most wells work for 2,000 hours in their first year, and 3,000 hours at least in subsequent years, the benefit is considerable. Even at the higher rate of 2 annas, the cost of tube-well irrigation compares favourably with that of canal irrigation, though those rates are also low. The original method of prepayment was abandoned when it was discovered that cultivators were borrowing to pay for their water. Sales are now on credit, and the tube-well dues are recovered by the collector at the same time as the canal dues.

Substitution of Tube-Wells for Canals

In Muttra and Agra there are tracts where canal water, though available, cannot be supplied in sufficient quantity; whilst the cost of irrigation from open wells by bullock-power is almost prohibitive because of their depth (of 70 feet or so); and for geological reasons tube-wells cannot be made. The engineers, however, have devised some ingenious remedies for this trouble. Firstly, there are areas in Meerut and Bulandshahr already protected by canal distributaries where tube-wells can also be sunk. These distributaries, accordingly, are severed from the canal system, and tube-wells are sunk to take their place.

This scheme takes two forms. In one form, some twenty-six large tube-wells (of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cusecs) have been built along the distributary, and discharge into it; the irrigation remains of the canal type, though the area commanded is larger than it was. In the other form, the distributary has been closed altogether, and ordinary tube-wells (of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cusecs) have been substituted to command the same area. These two projects release 106 cusecs of canal water to increase the supply in Muttra and Agra. They are at present in an experimental stage; but if they prove successful, other similar changes can be made, and the total amount of canal water released for less fortunate districts will be 1,000 cusecs.

The second scheme for the benefit of Muttra and Agra consists in placing thirty-three tube-wells of 3 cusecs each along the main canal in the Meerut district, into which they discharge. The result of this is that Muttra and Agra will receive 100 cusecs annually of Meerut's subsoil water. A feature of this scheme is that the tube-wells only work during the period technically known as "off peak," when power is surplus to normal requirements.

The third scheme consists in the installation of electric pumps in the deep open wells of these districts. At least one landlord had already tried such an experiment, but as he worked his well in the "peak" period, he could not make it cover its charges. According to the present scheme, the pumps will only work in the off peak period, during which power is being generated but ordinarily remains unused, so that it can be sold much below the normal rate.

From the first, a certain amount of power was used for working small cane-crushers; in 1933, for instance, I saw one which was installed in a disused cowshed in a Meerut village. The use of power for processing the crops is extending: cotton-gins, oil-crushing plant, chaff-cutters are being gradually introduced, as well as cane-crushers. These are usually erected near a tube-well, where there is always open space available, and the tube-well operator can look after them. The price of such power is 1 anna per unit.

An interesting experiment is now being made with a liquid fertilizer. A small tank filled with it is erected near, and discharges into, the water-course leading from a tube-well; the mixture can be varied to suit the soil to be treated. The cultivator can thus irrigate and fertilize in one operation. The process, of course, is capable of almost indefinite extension. Negotiations are also in progress with manufacturers of chemical manures for the production of their wares at the power-houses; here again the incentive is a supply of cheap power at times of the year when the demand for agricultural power is small—another instance of the "off peak period."

Minor Operations

There are many tracts which grow excellent cane but are so remote that no large-scale factory could conveniently be built there; for such factories must always be near a railway. Such cane is usually made into *gur*—a waste of good material. Two experiments are being tried to solve this difficulty. One is a small-scale factory, with a capacity of 60 to 80 tons a day, which is situated on the Ganges in Bijnor district. This factory belongs to a landlord, and if, as seems probable, it proves financially successful, its owner may find imitators in other equally remote tracts. The other experiment consists of a steam tramway, some 28 miles long, which carries cane from a remote tract in Meerut district to the main railway. The question of laying tramlines on the roads which are being made to connect the tube-wells is also being considered.

The department in charge has many other activities. It assists the department of agriculture in introducing improved seeds. It disseminates information about cultivation and irrigation, about the prices and rates of produce; and for this purpose is installing loud-speakers at the tube-wells. It provides facilities for drinking and bathing, both for men and for cattle, at all its wells. It takes over private tube-wells from their owners on lease, and runs them on a profit-sharing basis. It advises purchasers on all sorts of machinery, from cane-crushers to electric kettles. Finally, it has built one large bridge, over the Hindan, for the Meerut district

board, and has been asked to build four more by other boards—to facilitate the transport of cane.

The hydro-electric system is managed by the Irrigation Branch, which now has a special division of electrical experts. For this arrangement there are three reasons. Firstly, the whole system depends on canal falls, of which the Irrigation engineers must retain full control. Secondly, the most important activities of the system are connected with irrigation. And, thirdly, the scheme was devised, nursed through its early stages, and brought to maturity by one of their officers—Sir William Stampe, the present Chief Engineer. The provinces have good cause to be grateful to Sir William and his men.

Sir William has openly said that his object is to make the State well "the focal point for real village uplift." If, from what I have told you, you can make for yourselves a mental picture of a State tube-well, I think that you will admit that he is likely to achieve his object. An ample supply of cheap water. A cheap fertilizer, and a labour-saving device for using it. Cheap power to process the crops. Pure drinking water, and sanitary arrangements for bathing. A loud-speaker to give the news of the day and the market prices. Experts in agriculture, irrigation, and electricity to give help and advice. That is what the cultivator finds at a State tube-well.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, May 13, 1936, when a paper entitled "Government and Rural Development: United Provinces Experiments" was read by Sir Edward Blunt, K.C.I.E., O.B.E. Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Selwyn Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Miles Irving, C.I.E., O.B.E., and Lady Irving, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Sir Cusack Walton, Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Lady (James) Walker, Lady Hailey, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mohan Singh, Mr. Stanley Rice, Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Bishop Eyre Chatterton, Mr. A. M. Macmillan, C.I.E., Mr. F. C. Strickland, C.I.E., the Hon. Emily Kinnaird, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. F. S. Tabor, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Miss C. K. Cumming, Miss E. R. Bichard, Mrs. Foden, Mr. Harold Dunning, Mrs. Houston, Mr. and Mrs. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. B. Chatterji, Dr. L. M. Joshi, Miss A. R. Caton, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Mrs. and Miss Berry, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, Mr. T. Swaminathan, Mr. S. Jagannathar, Mrs. Damry, Mr. Syed M. Syedulla, Mr. B. K. Wadia, Rev. Dr. H. W. Stanton, Major Persse, Mr. J. E. C. Blunt, Mr. N. V. Mehta, Mrs. Roberts, Rev. T. Hunter Boyd, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mrs. Rina Khan, Mr. J. H. Waddington, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I feel it a very great honour as well as a great pleasure to introduce to you the lecturer of the evening, my very old friend and colleague Sir Edward Blunt. I really do not know how to describe Sir Edward Blunt, because in his time in the United Provinces he has done practically everything that an Indian Civil Service official may have to do. He has done district work; he has been in the Secretariat; he has run the census; he has been a settlement officer; he has looked after the supplies of food to the population during the War; and for almost a whole generation he was the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the Province. I think I may say in his presence that, unlike many other Chancellors of Exchequer, he not only thought of raking in the money which was immediately available, but he always took a very long-sighted view of the situation, and he did his very best to devise means by which the income of the Province could be increased in the near and distant future and the position of the inhabitants of the Province could be improved. As an illustration of that you have today's lecture, which I am sure you will all find extremely interesting.

Sir EDWARD BLUNT then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: I think you will all agree with me when I say that Sir Edward Blunt has given us a very vivid description, and an extremely

interesting description, of the valuable work that has been going on in my old Province and his old Province in the matter of rural development. We all owe a deep debt of gratitude to him for giving us this lecture and telling us what is being done. There are various experts here, and I will not take up too much of your time with my own criticisms or observations. But I should like to congratulate Sir Edward Blunt on summarizing his address so well. The paper itself is more detailed, and I hope that all who are present and also all who are interested in the welfare of the United Provinces and, indeed, in the welfare of the people in all parts of India will read the full paper when it is published in the Proceedings of the Association.

It is not possible for me, not having watched these experiments personally, to criticize any matters which Sir Edward has described, but I feel that I wish I were a very young man again, going out to work in the United Provinces, which I loved and still love, and to take an active part in the work that Sir Edward has described to us. In our time we tried to do our bit, but it was not organized, nor did we always receive the countenance or the help of other people in the district or of the persons in authority, and it is extremely gratifying to men like myself to feel that the whole thing is being put on a firm and stable basis. The United Provinces, although it has a larger number of cities and towns than probably any other province in India, is still mainly rural, and depends for its solvency as well as for the happiness of its people on the welfare of the inhabitants of the rural parts. I think the Government as well as the people are entirely right in giving every possible attention to these aspects of development and administration.

There are one or two points on which I wish Sir Edward had given us rather more information. I know that he had a very limited time at his disposal, and perhaps the matters to which I am referring are not absolutely relevant to the topic with which he has been dealing.

The first point I wish to know a little more about is how this experiment in co-operative cultivation is going to be managed. It is a most interesting experiment. He has told us that a large area is being made over to co-operative societies, who will grow cane in it under the direction of a trained staff. Co-operative cultivation, I feel I am right in saying, has always been a very difficult experiment, and I should like to have known a little more of the details of this effort.

The other point is a comparatively small one. It arises from what Sir Edward has told us about the salaries of the men who are being employed as organizers or inspectors. He has said that the district inspector is being employed at Rs. 100 a month, and I see from the full report that he is to be a M.A. I am always afraid of giving very small pay to men in India who will be in any position of authority. I hope the experiment will turn out well.

There are two other points on which I should like to have information It is evident that with all that is being done the produce which the cultivators and the peasants will be able to dispose of will be very much larger comparatively speaking, than what was available hitherto. My own impression always was that even when the cultivator is able to sell the surplus produce, it does not bring him the amount of money or other necessities of life that he might get if there were proper methods of marketing. I do not know if in these experiments attention is being given to the subject of the marketing of the produce.

The other point which has struck me is that all this purports to be done for the villagers and by the villagers. That is quite right. But in India it is important—and I think it is important in every country—that there should be no absolute barrier between the town and the country. The villages cannot subsist without the co-operation of the towns, and the towns cannot subsist without the co-operation of the villages. The trouble in India in past ages was the barrier between the village and the town. My impression has been that that barrier is being gradually removed. Men, young men, particularly in the towns, have been seized with a new spirit of social service, and feel that they ought to devote some of their time and attention to village work.

Is anything being done to rope in these young men from the towns with a great deal of patriotism and the spirit of service for the good of the villages? I should like to know whether anything is being done in that direction, and, if not, I hope this point will not be lost sight of by those who are actually doing the field work.

The other question which is troubling me, and I believe many others like me, is this: It is quite right that we should try and do what we can—everybody should—to enable our peasants and our workers to get better results from their work and to secure a larger surplus of produce. But many of us have been frightened, almost staggered, by the very rapid increase of population not only in the United Provinces but all over India. The United Provinces and North Behar in certain districts have perhaps the most congested areas in the whole world. I wonder whether by merely providing the peasants and the workers with a larger surplus of produce you will help to increase the rapidity with which the population is increased? How are they going to get a better standard of living then? The whole question resolves itself into social changes, and I do hope that that aspect of the work will not be lost sight of. However much you may increase the surplus produce of the peasant, if his family increases in the next one or two generations the surplus will always be swallowed up and nothing will be left for a better standard of living. I do hope that for those who are working in the Provinces and in India this will be a live question.

I think I have exhausted your patience. I have no criticisms to make on the details given to us by Sir Edward, and I should again like to express my personal thanks to him for the picture he has given to us of a most fascinating work that is going on in the Provinces.

Sir MILES IRVING: It is a very great privilege to me to speak on Sir Edward's paper. I met him last at a Conference at Delhi when we were both Provincial secretaries engaged in a fierce internecine warfare as to our shares of the Meston settlement.

It is rather tragic to reflect that whatever we do to improve the produce

of the soil in India the whole fruit of our labours may be taken away from us by monetary movements. If we could only get back to three rupees a maund we should have done more for the peasants than by any amount of improved seed. At the same time our efforts have to continue, because probably in the Punjab, and I think in the United Provinces also, prices being at their present level, the great problem is to find some substitute for wheat and possibly for cotton as the main crop of the two principal harvests, because there is no sign whatever that India is going to return to being a wheat exporting country, and while the cotton prospects are better they are by no means safe.

A point I want to make is that rural development has always been going on, because there is nothing in it which has not been in the hands of a department—public health, education, sanitation, agriculture, the co-operative movement, all these things have always been in the hands of a department which has expert knowledge. The great defect is that it cannot get across to the people. One had the agricultural officer wandering about one's district rather disconsolately, finding that no one would listen to him at all. On the other hand, you had the Deputy Commissioner who thought he could invent a plough suitable for the people, often with disastrous results. There was one District Commissioner made a plough which he said was the best in the world, and distributed it to the people against large advances. When he had gone, they said, "Please let us off the rest of our debt and take these things back." My *tahsils* were full of these ploughs; and at the same time, while he was distributing them, the Agricultural Departments were selling a very different kind.

Therefore the whole point of the rural development movement is to get these various things together and to get them across to the people. While we have been doing many things for many years with agriculture and the other subjects I have mentioned, it is only in the recent movement, for which I think Mr. Brayne is very greatly responsible, that we got the idea of doing all these things at once, and getting them together, and introducing what the lecturer has called the psychological element.

We have always to remember we are dealing with the peasant, who is a man who works on a very small margin. He is very shrewd. He cannot afford to take any risks. It is not a new thing for the peasant to adopt new means of agriculture. He adopted the iron cane crushing machine at least fifty years ago, if not longer. He does not want any propaganda to induce him to buy a Singer sewing machine. You will find the Singer agent going into every village. But he dare not take risks with anything which has not been thoroughly proved. Therefore that is the advantage of the organization both to the departments and to the civic welfare organization; it enabled him to get the results of experiments.

There is one minor point. I was interested in one detail of organization, and I shall be interested to see if it is a success. We did try the village guide. He was a young man on about Rs. 35 a month, and he did not get across with the villager at all. They treated him very much as the Yorkshire farmer would treat a young London pupil teacher sent up to teach him his business.

We have to find in India something to take the place of the educated man in the village. The gap between the village and the towns at present is very real. There was a man in my service who was very efficient. He assured me that up to the age of twelve he thought wheat grew on a tree! The Indian boy in the town in those times was never taught to go out into the country and understand the country.

Finally, I want to emphasize my agreement with what the lecturer has said about the changed outlook of the peasant. The change in my time certainly was enormous, largely from the fact of the Great War. A great number of troops came back from the front. They had seen the advantages of education and of sanitation and all that civilization could bring, and they were determined to have it in their villages. I quite agree that the peasant understands what he wants and is determined that he will get it through his representatives.

I believe that the general movement, which is only really kept back by want of money, has a very great future before it. I am sure of it in the United Provinces from what the lecturer has said, and from my own recollections in the Punjab, although they are now two years old and I do not know what the new organization is. And I am sure it is so in the other Provinces of India.

I sometimes wish that young men who were looking out for a career would realize what an extraordinarily interesting thing life in the Civil Service is likely to be for the next generation.

Mr. C. F. STRICKLAND: I should like to express my very high appreciation of what Sir Edward has told us. It does seem to me that for nearly the first time a Province has attempted to tackle the question of rural development systematically from the top to the bottom. The idea of having a central board, then a district association, and if possible under that a smaller institution in the village, is just what should be the co-ordinated scheme for a sustained effort providing for the improvement of the whole rural population, so long as such an organization from the top to the bottom does not allow itself to be split up into the work of several departments all running side by side, but continues, as Sir Edward represents to us it will, to press for all the benefits that it can confer on the villager at the same time. That does seem to me the great possibility, distinguishing this new scheme from the independent work of the departments in the past.

The village association is perhaps a little bit nebulous as represented to us. It is to have as its executive body a *panchayat*, which is a legal and registered body. It is possible that if you have in a village association an unregistered body without a legal basis, it will be unable conveniently to use a registered legal body as its instrument.

I was immensely tickled by the picture of the tube well being the centre of the life of the people. It is apparently a substitute for the village school, which has been looked upon hitherto as the natural agency for inspiring people. The irrigation officers will find it a little difficult to co-ordinate the various activities that have been proposed as operating through the well.

Would it be possible—I am a little shy of using any mention of Co-operation, because I may be suspect as having been connected with the movement—but would it be possible to use in the village, not instead of the tube well, but side by side with it and the school, the Co-operative Welfare Societies mentioned by Sir Edward Blunt, which elsewhere have been called Co-operative Better Living Societies, and which have very little compulsory power but do inspire and put pressure on the villagers to do the things which the technical officers are teaching them to do? Sir Edward spoke of certain such societies in the United Provinces. I think they have not spread very far. These bodies might be voluntarily created by the people and organized by co-operative officers. But I hold no brief for co-operative societies as the only agency. It may be done better by other means.

A feature that appeals to me very much is that the work is to be concentrated in groups of villages in each district instead of being scattered wherever it happens that the organizer finds a person who accepts his proposals. It is very much better to work in groups of villages as here proposed. When an idea has been accepted in a circle of villages the people will more probably go on working on that idea than if you have a number of temporarily enthusiastic villages scattered all over the Province.

On the other hand, may I ask a question about the cost? Sir Edward referred to the four standards of rural welfare work which I tried to lay down in an address to this Association last year. One of them was the cost. I was not quite clear how many inspectors, how many organizers, and how many rural development officers there were to be. Temporarily a large grant has been made by the Government of India to help rural work. It is presumably not to recur. Can sir Edward assure us that when the full scheme, as now outlined by him, has come into work in the United Provinces, the cost of the inspectors and organizers from year to year can be permanently borne by the provincial budget? Do not let us see a number of institutions started, enthusiastically welcomed by the people, and then failing owing to financial stringency or the inability to find all the M.A.s required as Inspectors who will also be zealous and intelligent and honest on 100 rupees. Let it not happen that through lack of such persons the scheme eventually has to be contracted. Nothing is better than to go slowly; nothing is worse than to have to contract.

A question was raised by the Chairman with regard to the co-operative tenure of land by co-operative societies working sugar factories. In China the same thing is being done as Sir Edward suggested. There they are proposing to hand the cane-growing land over in blocks to the people for independent cultivation, but on the condition that the ownership will remain in the factory or the Government. They have free tenure without rent so long as they carry out the conditions. On those lines the Chinese are making a tentative effort, and I think they may succeed; but success in such a scheme is only possible if you keep a certain amount of Government control.

Two final points. Broadcasting is apparently to be one of the functions of the tube well. I do feel the first point is to make the people understand the necessity of improvements. They are being offered material benefits which will probably require cordial collaboration on their part, and in any case will require intelligence and a proper use of what you give them. In order to secure such collaboration and understanding, surely a wireless receiver in the village, whether paid for by the village or Government, will be a very great economy? I would have a receiver fixed to receive one single wave length, which is going to give continuous and repeated instruction, saying the same thing over and over again from the same transmitter to the same people sitting night after night—put a song in between—then you will make your schemes for economic improvement familiar to them. But begin with the broadcasting.

Secondly, I wonder whether the United Provinces has thought of the value of training men for the specific duties described, especially as they are of a psychological and sociological type, by giving them knowledge of what has been done in other countries and sending them to those countries to see.

For instance, in England there are Rural Community Councils very similar to the organizations proposed for the United Provinces. There is a National Council of Social Service similar to the Central Board. In the villages there are village community councils and village hall committees. Would it not be worth while studying them in great detail, sending high-grade officers to study this work in England, in Belgium, and perhaps in Japan? That I offer as a final suggestion.

Sir SELWYN FREMANTLE: I want to congratulate the Association that they have taken up this subject of rural development, and especially that they have given us the opportunity of hearing Sir Edward Blunt, who no doubt has been very closely concerned with the actual organization of which he speaks and what has actually been done in what is also my old Province.

I do not think that the improvement of rural development is even now sufficiently appreciated. I saw recently the Report of the Sapru Commission, which was appointed to go into the state of unemployment of educated youths in the United Provinces and to suggest ways and means for remedying it. It is a long report, and there were many proposals for widening or in some way altering the doors of admission to the professional work of various types and some recommendations for the reforms in the educational system.

But there was nothing about the development of the economic condition of the country until we come to a note by Mr. Gavin Jones at the end of the Report. He says that in the uplift of the rural masses lies the solution of all our economic troubles. And I think he is right, for the industrial development of the country and the application of science to agriculture, which are the kind of things that are going to give employment to educated youths, will follow automatically and naturally on the improvement of the standard of living of the masses.

In the efforts that are now being made for the rural development of the United Provinces, I think the account that we have heard of the performance and promise of the hydro-electric scheme is of the most absorbing

interest. The fact that it is anticipated that by 1938 practically the whole culturable area will be provided with canals or tube wells absolutely astounds me.

I left India more than ten years ago, but there was no canal irrigation in Moradabad or Budaun at that time, and very little irrigation even from pucka wells. Practically the whole irrigation of those districts was from holes in the ground, which filled up in the rains. Those who have, as I have, pursued the wily pig over the sandy wastes of a large portion of these two districts will be surprised at the prospect of turning those sandy wastes into well-watered tracts of sugar and wheat. The new irrigable area of 1,400,000 acres is considerably more than the cultivated area of an average district of the United Provinces, and the conversion of such a large area to a tract of wheat and sugar by the application of full irrigation facilities would mean an agricultural revolution.

In other districts which I know—one is Jalaun and the other is Bareilly—there are large tracts of country which, owing to the sudden introduction of irrigation, have caused very great difficulties because the people had not either the manure or the man-power to change their cultivation to the more intensive type that was rendered necessary, and a large area fell out of cultivation. I want to sound a note of warning in that and to advise *festina lente* in the less fertile portions which have been referred to.

A word about the organizers of village improvement. In the same way as the success of the school depends on the quality of the teacher, it seems to me these village associations will depend very largely on the quality of the organizer, and I do not know where we are going to get men with the spirit of service at Rs. 35 a month. Men of some education with a rural outlook are very rare. Sir Edward has not told us anything about the training that these organizers are going to get, but I saw recently in the report of the co-operative societies of the United Provinces that there were three centres of training under the management of the co-operative department officers in which the department and technical officers also took part. I think a three months' training was given to these would-be village organizers at three places.

The co-operative department has had very considerable experience in the technique of training their own supervisors, and no doubt they have evolved a suitable method of doing so, but they have had the very greatest difficulty in finding men of a good type as supervisors in the co-operative department, and I think there will be any amount of difficulty in finding really suitable men for village organizers at the pay mentioned. What the solution of that is I cannot say, because you cannot afford to give them really good pay.

The chief job of the village organizer is to organize these associations, and it is said that "the executive body of such an association will vary with circumstances; it will naturally be the village *panchayat* where one exists, and elsewhere will consist of one or more of the village leaders." I have before advocated the organization of village *panchayats*, not universally perhaps, but to a very much greater extent than has been done up to the present time. I am not alone in that opinion. Mr. Strickland said in the paper he read before the Association not long ago that the biggest loss in India in the last hundred and thirty years had been the slow, inevitable decay of the *panchayats*.

I do maintain that it is of the greatest importance to have a body such as the *panchayats*. It is a body representative of the village, to hold it together; a body invested with some authority, and also in the possession of some funds directly charged with the duty of village improvement. It seems to me that in these elected villages one of the first steps to be taken should be the constitution of a *panchayat*. After all, if you can constitute a village association, surely you can also constitute a *panchayat* and give it certain powers. That is, I think, what ought to be done.

Just one word more, and that is regarding the village well as the centre of rural welfare. I believe I saw in this same report of the co-operative societies that there is a scheme by which teachers also are trained at various centres to be the leaders in village welfare, and then, of course, it is the school that would be the centre. It would be very interesting if Sir Edward Blunt could give us some account of that scheme and say how it is fitted in with the other scheme of rural development of which he has spoken.

Mr. V. N. Mehta, I.C.S.: As I am an official still in active service, my mouth is shut as regards any criticism that could be uttered on the remarks that have been made today. My task, therefore, simplifies itself into this, that being an officer employed in the United Provinces, and having taken to rural reconstruction work with a great deal of zeal, I may be able to give some information about the work that was done in the United Provinces which may be regarded as supplementary to what Sir Edward had said.

We started reconstruction work in 1926. The method we adopted was that we wanted to revive in the countryside Indian civilization at its best. We wanted to revive the *panchayat* system. We started *panchayats*, and we took the villager in hand. The villager's position was very prosperous after the War, but suddenly he found himself in difficulties. It was found he was in debt; he was improvident, and to be in debt was to be in hospital. Several economic doctors collected round him and prescribed certain medicines. Previously that individual was a useful member of an organization. We again tried to put him in that position. We began to start societies, keeping in the background the purely credit aspect of the co-operative movement.

We then took up the question of the training of the staff. We got very good material for that purpose. It is forgotten that it is not only the English-trained men that are available for this purpose. Excellent men trained in the vernacular are better qualified to do work in the villages. That individual is available at a small cost. He is very much attuned to the village conditions. We started a training class in Benares as well as in Partabgarh. There was a six months' course. We got in teachers as well as non-officials to attend that course. We had the co-operation of several district boards. The aim in the eastern province was to make the teacher the secretary of the organization and the school the centre of community activity. We got the teacher trained to do this work, and one of his principal duties was to

have an evening class where the adults went and were taught how to read and write. Having once appreciated the benefits of education, they wanted to send their children to school. We got the co-operation of the Education Department. It recognized that good work done by a teacher in a village would be considered for the annual promotions.

The Chairman asked what is to be done about the individual—up to now the villager has marketed his produce individually and done everything individually. Being a member of this society, he was able to substitute for his individual effort the effort of the society. In the villages where we had these societies working satisfactorily they were able to market their garden produce and the produce of their hand-loom in a much more satisfactory manner than was the case in the local market. This organization took up the individual, gave him an alchemy bath, and made him a proper co-operator.

The third point that the Chairman raised was whether we were going to change the outlook of the individual or not. If we were not going to change the outlook of the villager, the surplus would be swallowed up in the multiplication of the existing inefficients. We tried to make him feel that there was joy of life for him, that he should take part in all community activities like singing, village dramas, and so on, and the individual felt he was a better neighbour, and that he had some duty to discharge, and this was to be a good neighbour to others. He must not fritter away what he had in a large family. So there was concentration on the better upbringing of the children rather than the production of a large number of children. Rural betterment is a subject which has fascinated me from 1926 onwards, when I tried this experiment in Benares.

Mr. R. K. Sorabji: It would have been too much to ask of human nature to expect me not to speak when the matter is one connected with the United Provinces. Candidates for the Indian Civil Service and Government have always recognized the superiority of the Provinces. Government has always sent the best possible governors to the United Provinces. When I first went there Sir Anthony MacDonnell was in power. He afterwards did great service in Ireland, a country which greatly resembles India, and was made a Peer. I have known Sir Harcourt Butler, Lord Meston, Sir John Hewett, Sir Malcolm Hailey as Governors—all picked men of a brilliant service—and now they have Sir Harry Haig.

Sir Atul Chatterjee expressed regret that he was not a young man now in the United Provinces, but let me remind Sir Atul that if men like him had not been in the United Provinces years ago, the Provinces would not have reached their present state of efficiency. As in England, so in India, agriculture is of the utmost importance. Keep the agriculturalist happy and you have internal peace and plenty. But the average man in India takes little stock of agriculture. An Indian student once said, "In our young days we sow seeds, in our old age we cut corns." (Laughter.) I know those corns. They irritate the owner, and do not feed the multitude.

I knew Sir Edward Blunt when he first went out to India as a slim civilian, but he now manifests the excellent climate and abundant harvest

of the United Provinces. I wish he had told us something of the work of Sam Higginbottom the American. He went out to India, years ago, as a professor of philosophy, I think it was. He went in a famine year. When he noticed the evils of the famine, he said to himself, "This ought not to be in a country with so vast an area." He went back to America, studied agriculture, and came back and started an agricultural institute. He taught the peasant, as the peasant, slow and conservative, must be laboriously taught, modern methods. He first tried elaborate machinery, and found the peasant could not work it and the village blacksmith could not mend it. So he worked out simple implements which anyone could understand. He taught the peasant not to waste, but to conserve all the greenstuff available in the rains. He had this greenstuff filled into silos, where it spontaneously cooked, and the cattle fed on this silo produce gave 50 per cent. better milk than other cattle.

No one knows how the reforms will succeed, but I am glad Lord Linlithgow, who believes in them, has the shouldering of the responsibility of their introduction. I am glad, too, of the new method of selection for the Civil Service. Personality tells in India. We have to cultivate not only the soil, but the soul of the people.

Sir Edward Blunt: I should like to thank the members for the kind way in which they received this effort of mine. There are some points I should like to reply to now. If I do not reply to all, I hope they will understand it is merely for lack of time.

Firstly, as regards these unfortunate organizers. Some years ago, when Mr. Mehta was starting his schemes in Benares and elsewhere, he put up a note demanding a certain amount of money for guides. The work of the guide was precisely the work of the organizer, and he described him in very much the same terms that I have described him. When this came before the Finance Committee one of the members asked him whether he had been able to effect any liaison with the angels, because he did not see where else he would be able to get his guides, with all their various qualifications.

It is a criticism I should have made myself if I had not carefully abstained from making any criticisms whatever, for the very good reason that I have been very largely connected with some of these various measures myself. The answer is simply that we *can* get these men; we have already got them. In those districts—Benares, Partabgarh, and Fyzabad—where they have been running the co-operative welfare societies which are the basis of this main scheme, for the last seven or eight years, these guides have materialized. You have only to look at the results of these societies to see that the men must be of the right type.

There is another point I should like to make. It looks to me as if one was going to get, in some places at all events, an organizer of a very much higher class. We have already offers from two retired deputy collectors to take on the work of honorary organizer. One of those men is of such standing and experience that he would probably be the best man to run the whole scheme for the whole province but for his age.

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As to the salaries of the inspectors, a point which Mr. Strickland raised,

I have myself been able to employ men with a M.A. degree at Rs. 62 for clerical work. The answer lies in the phrase "educated unemployment." You can get a good graduate now for a very small figure indeed; and that is the reason why the recent enquiry was made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's committee. There is no question that we can get such men. If I had any doubt at all, it would be about the Rs. 35 men, lower down.

Mr. Strickland raised a point about the village association and the village *panchayat*. I possibly expressed myself too loosely there. The idea is not that you put the village *panchayat* as such in charge of the village association, but the members of the village *panchayat* also become members of the *panchayat* of the association. That is, until the law is changed to make it possible for the village *panchayat* to run the association itself. Personally, I wish there were far more *panchayats* than there are in the United Provinces, but the difficulty is the question of caste. It is very difficult to get a *panchayat* really representative of the village when there are so many castes in it, whose members will not even meet together.

As regards the cost of the scheme, the total cost of the organizers and inspectors is Rs. 1,68,000 per annum. I think we shall be able to find that even if the Government of India does not repeat its generous gift. As a matter of fact, I understand it is doing so once again, so that ought to put us right for at least four years. But I think we shall be able to find the cost of the staff without much difficulty.

Mr. Strickland was rather unkind to my picture of the tube well as a focus for rural uplift. I can only repeat that if he had seen a tube well, he might realize that there is such a possibility. And, of course, it is not a substitute for the village school. It is a supplement to the village school. School-teachers are also being used in this scheme.

Marketing, again, is a feature of the scheme, both generally, as an ordinary item in rural development, and also in connection with several special schemes; for instance, the sugar schemes involve co-operative marketing with a special society to do it.

The Chairman referred to the use of young townsmen. There the reply again is "educated unemployment." The young men are there and only too keen to be employed. The difficulty is that until they have been trained they are not likely to be of very much value. However, they are not being forgotten. It is from them that the inspectors will come; and there is no doubt that good men of that type are available.

The Chairman also referred to the rapid increase of population, and asked how that is to be coped with. Well, I wish he could tell me. I cannot tell him.

Sir Selwyn Fremantle mentioned the necessity for industrial organization. That again has not been forgotten. The furthering of cottage industries is one of the big items in the main scheme. Sir Selwyn doubted whether the area commanded by tube wells could possibly be as large as I said. That area, however, is spread over six districts. Nor will it include the sandy tracts to which he referred. And I think the wily pig will be as safe as ever—much safer than he was when Sir Selwyn was about.

I was asked to say something about Mr. Higginbottom. He is going very strong indeed on his own lines. He is one of the most important agriculturists in the Province. I have reason to believe that he approves of this scheme.

I am very grateful to Mr. Mehta for telling us all about the welfare experiments which he started, as he has saved me the trouble of describing them.

I thank you all.

Sir Louis Dane: I can only say I have the very pleasant duty of proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and lecturer.

I belonged to a daughter province of the United Provinces. In the old days we used to listen to the utterances of the United Provinces Government with awe, but, like the young ladies of the present day, the Punjab has cut itself adrift from its mother's apron-strings, and in some respects has even given her a lead. Sir Edward Blunt's paper was especially interesting to me, as I can claim to be a pioneer of the hydro-electric power in North-Western India . As far back as 1898 I suggested a scheme for hydro-electric power and water from the Nauti Khad for Simla, and afterwards as Governor to Kabal had the pleasure of carrying it out. I was asked for an opinion, as Settlements officer of Peshawar, on the Sorab Canal, and suggested that, instead of a long winding step-down channel as designed, the canal should be dropped into a ravine below the Malakand. Money would be saved and a hydro-electric power site secured. This was done, and I am glad to say that at long last that Fall is being utilized for lighting the Peshawar district. I am glad to think my Fall has come into use after so many years. A similar arrangement was made in 1911 for the Upper Jhelumn Canal near Rasulpur. In the Punjab we have several sites for storage capacity, and I spent much time investigating these. One is now, I think, being seriously considered. The Bhakhra Dam on the Satlaj above Ruysar is a big work 500 feet high, and will hold up a lake 50 miles in length and irrigate two million acres, and secure the supply of all the Satlaj canals besides providing about 200,000 kilowatts of electric power. It was the largest project of the kind, but has recently been eclipsed by the Great Boulder Dam on the Rio Colorado in the U.S.A., which is 724 feet high and will hold up a lake 100 miles long. There are eleven other similar dams on that river. It would have come off a long time ago but for the War. I left $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores balance there, but the War swept it away. The Uhl River hydro-electric scheme in the Mandi State was taken up as a cheaper project, and has recently been completed, but it does not provide for any irrigation.

We also contemplated utilizing the falls on the upper course of the Bara-Doab Canal, and Amritsar was given a supply in this way in 1912, and part of the power was used for subsoil pumping in a swamped area.

With the valuable help of that great engineer, Sir Ganga Ram, pumping from the Chenab Canal to irrigate areas not commanded by flow and on the Lower Bari-Doab Canal, the head fall was used for an electrical power plant. Tube wells for irrigation and town water supply were taken up where possible, but the Punjab is not so suited for well irrigation as the

United Provinces. Except in the submontane the rainfall is scanty and the wells too deep, while the water is also saline. That is why the Province has been so successful in its irrigated colonies schemes, and has now over 10,000,000 acres of irrigation from canals. In this matter we have therefore rather led the mother province, but the limit of snow-fed supply has now also been reached in the Punjab, and we shall have to take up some of the rainfall storage schemes. Some swamping did occur at first, but by lining the canals, realignment, and pumping, the trouble is not serious.

Our Chairman has pointed out the varied activities of an Indian civilian, and I have ventured to add some further illustrations. There is also sometimes political and even diplomatic work. The future I.C.S. men may not have such great opportunities for development of the country on a grand scale, but I am sure that a good officer will always find plenty to do in India for and with the people, and no part of his work is so interesting and satisfactory as what he can do in this way.

I ask you to join me in a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and to Sir Edward for his extremely interesting lecture. (Cheers.)

HINDU SOCIETY AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION*

By K. M. Panikkar

The Constitution established by the Government of India Act, 1935, raises for the Hindu community fundamental problems of social reorganization. Whatever may be the safeguards and limitations contained in the new Constitution, for the first time in Indian history it creates a legislative machinery, composed, so far as the British Indian people is concerned, entirely of elected representatives. Both at the centre and in the Provinces the power to legislate in social matters is, under the Act, absolute and unqualified. The Hindu community, so long accustomed to virtual non-interference in social matters, is now faced for the first time with the organized modern State willing, and in fact anxious, by the reason of its composition, to embark on measures of social reform. It is proposed to examine in the following paper the probable reactions of this political change on the social conceptions and institutions of Hinduism.

The outstanding characteristic of Hindu life is that society as it is understood in other countries—the complex of forces in a community purposefully directed towards its own betterment—does not exist in India. Hindu institutions are organized outside the State and recognize no conception of an organic whole. The two fundamental institutions of the Hindus, caste and the joint family, are the Hindu equivalents of society and state, and till recently they exacted full social obedience and conformity from individuals and groups. The laws and customs on which these institutions were based claimed to be above the laws of the secular Government, a position willingly conceded by Hindu and Mohammedan monarchs and acquiesced in partially as the line of least resistance by the British Government. The legislative authority of the State in India was therefore never till recent times—and in recent times

* Address delivered at a meeting of the Association at Rubens Hotel on May 8, 1936, with Sir Francis Younghusband in the Chair.

only in extreme practices like *sati*, infanticide and child marriage—used to direct social evolution. Consequently the Hindu community has lived practically without legislative guidance in their social institutions.

The Joint Family

The two characteristically Hindu institutions I have named, though in theory unconnected, are in practice interlocked to an extent which makes them in effect a single institution. The unit of the Hindu community is not the individual, but the joint family. Its widest expression is the "sub-caste," which consists of a few joint families which are permitted to inter-marry and "inter-dine." Beyond this extended joint family, the Hindu theorists recognized no society or community. That is the widest social group the Hindus evolved. The joint family is, therefore, the rock on which the Hindu social organization is built. The modern pseudo-sociologists of India have claimed many virtues for it and some Hindu and other writers have seen in it the essence of Hindu culture. They argue that the joint family suppresses the selfishness of individualism by regulating rigidly the conduct of individuals in relation to a wider community; that it modifies the evils of private property, by vesting proprietorship in a group; that it renders the essential social services, such as old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, etc., to the importance of which Europe has awakened only recently, and so on. It is unnecessary to go into these arguments. Every primitive institution is based on communal welfare. The whole theory of primitive tribalism is that: but it cannot therefore be argued that it is better to live in a state of totemic tribalism than to evolve higher social organizations.

The joint family is nothing more than the survival of the primitive familial community, which before the conception of society had dawned on man, created around itself walls of blood relationship and economic identity. It subordinated the individual to the group (family), provided him with a code of morals, with duties and obligations and modified his "enlightened selfishness" by the ties of the family. That it was a great step from primitive life to

civilization will easily be conceded. It provided an organized life, by establishing a principle of social obedience. At all times, the central difficulty of civilization has been the establishment of a principle of obedience receiving universal acceptance as just and natural and to which men will subordinate their wills. In primitive and "savage" communities, this was provided by the loyalty to the tribe which was enforced by tabus and *manas*. But it is essential to remember that the totemic tribe is a family united together in blood relationship with the totem. Thus the members of the Eagle Tribe are blood relations through the common ancestor. As Longfellow says in *Hiawatha*:

> From what ancestral totem
> Be it eagle, bear or beaver
> They descended, this we know not.

No doubt the relationship is fictitious, but the important point is that the primitive mind could trace the principles of loyalty and obedience only through blood.

The change from the fictitious family to the real family as the unit is an important one in social growth. The patriarchal (or the matriarchal) family, in which the *pater-familias* is the undisputed master and exacts obedience from the rest, is a known state in the history of civilization. But outside India, in time, it led to a further broadening of the social bases, mainly by two processes, first by the limitation of the family from the wide community of all blood relations that it originally was, to the strictly individualistic conception of it; and secondly by the gradual evolution of a conception of obligations and duties, transcending the family and extending to the whole community.

In India the system of the joint family not only persisted but grew in strength as a result of the absence of these two processes. The absence of a unified secular authority to suit legislation to social needs tended to crystallize customs and strengthen institutions which had the blessings of old lawgivers. The laws of the Hindus, though originally secular, came to be mixed up with the religious customs. They became "revealed" codes. The fact that the Hindus had neither a supreme pontiff nor a *curia* made it worse as there was no religious authority competent to change the

smritis or the old codes. Neither State nor Church existed, and the result was that institutions which had the authority of the ancient lawgivers could not be changed except by *Desachara* or *Kulachara* —that is, local or family customs.

The Hindu Codes

It is, however, necessary to emphasize that the Hindu legal codes, as Buhler points out in his introduction to *Manusmriti*, were not originally claimed to be "anything more than the composition of ordinary mortals based on the teachings of the Vedas, on the decisions of those who were acquainted with the law and the customs of virtuous Aryas." Besides, it would seem that originally what are now accepted as the great codes were no more than manuals "written by the teachers of Vedic schools for their pupils."

How a general code was evolved out of these is a matter of historical research which is not of special importance to our enquiry. The two significant factors are that the *Dharmasutras*, and generally, the laws of the Hindus were not the result of legislation by the State, and secondly that without state intervention they came to have unquestioned validity in the entire Hindu community, modified no doubt by local customs and by special variations. In course of time, especially with changing political conditions and the break-up of Hindu kingdoms, the law became the only unifying factor in Hindu social life. Religion was cut up into sects, kingdoms became petty principalities, the crystallization of the caste system divided the community up into fragments. The unity of Hindu life in the circumstances was preserved only by the legal codes, and naturally the people clung to them with exaggerated veneration, and attached to them the qualities of a revealed code. The States and kingdoms that came into existence in the fight against Islam, like the Vigayanajar Empire in the south and the Maharatta Confederacy, were, even in their political theory, champions of Hindu orthodoxy, and instead of reforming the law, they also clung to it as their one source of strength. Like every society on the defence and fighting for its life, it began to attach undue veneration to custom and practice.

Thus, Hindu society, at no time except in the earliest stages of its evolution, had the guidance of law towards progress. If, as an American observer has declared, law is the enshrined morality of yesterday, social ideas being perforce in advance of it, then Hindu society today is governed by the laws of three thousand years ago. The approximation of social ideals to law which is the main legislative function of the State was never conceded even in principle by Hinduism.

After Hindu law and with it Hindu institutions had become crystallized, even the idea of the universal Hindu empire vanished. Hindu India became split up into small States, but as Hindu Dharma and the caste system dominated all political entities, as an empire of the mind, the growth of any principle of social obligation—beyond paying taxes and abiding by the orders of the King —was found to be impossible. It is well to recall here that the growth of the ideas of State and society began in Europe with the conflict between the universal Church and the universal State. It was the Guelph and the Ghibelline in their prolonged warfare of words that evolved the theory of society. Gregory VII. and Innocent III., hurling anathemas and the Hohenstaufens issuing manifestos, were both claiming the undivided obedience of men. The Indian had neither a universal emperor nor a supreme pontiff who claimed dominion over all. The Hindu religion recognized no organization as authoritative and entitled to obedience, and it denied equally the rights of pontiffs to bind the conscience and of kings to alter the "eternal laws" and religious customs—the *Sanatana Dharma*. The conception of the State consequently was not an ethical one, involving a voluntarily accepted principle of obedience, with its corollary of duties or obligations.

This is where the Aristotelian State differed from the Kautalyan. To Aristotle and the rest of the Greek theorists the State is an ethical entity, and man's obedience to and his life through it were in the natural order of things. To Kautalya and the Indian thinkers, the State is merely an organization of force. The Aristotelian State being "natural" was all-powerful, and in Europe became transformed into the Leviathan of Hobbes and the Nation

State of today. The Hindu State being based on force was rigidly limited by the unalterable laws which the King had to enforce. To the European theorist of the Hegelian school the State is divine and all-powerful: to the Hindu, while the ruler is divine, the *Rastra* or the State had to be based on *Dharma*, which was beyond the authority of the ruler and his institutions.

With the Muslim conquest in Northern India the Hindu community became more of a non-territorial State than ever before. The Muslim rulers did not pretend to legislate for their Hindu subjects. In fact the conception of legislation for the community was equally foreign to the Muslim mind, whose laws, based as they are on the *Koran*, were also held to be immutable.

It is only with the introduction of English common law and the gradual change of the English authority in India from an administrative machinery to a legislating State that the basis of Hindu customs and law came to be questioned. But, until now, the British Government in India has been particularly anxious not to undertake social legislation, especially when the customs and institutions which such legislation would affect were claimed to be semi-religious. Moreover, the British Courts, following the principle of common law in this country, gave legal effect to customs whose existence were proved before them, thereby crystallizing and strengthening their hold on the community. Thus, except incidentally, the main body of Hindu institutions, like caste and the joint family, has been left untouched.

But the new Constitution completely changes the position. What a Government, however well-meaning, but alien in composition, can never undertake with success, the new legislatures, composed entirely of elected representatives, will be forced by the pressure of political opinion to take up. Hindu orthodoxy was right in apprehending that the creation of such a machinery is the greatest challenge it has ever had to face. Never before has there been an authority in India which claimed power to change the old social institutions of the Hindus. Now the *smritis* could not only be questioned but a completely modern *smriti* could be created and promulgated without the intervention of Manus and Yajna Valkyas. Not only could they be promulgated but enforced with

all the authority of the leviathan State enjoying the *plenitudo potestas* which no secular authority in India ever claimed before.

The problem which the new State in India is faced with is how to remodel Hindu society; how to change it from a static community governed by unchanging customs and under the grip of a personal law which in spite of modifications still remains the work of ancient lawgivers; how to incorporate in our life the rich and ever-widening experience of today when intellectual life is moulded not only by national ideals but by the co-operative thinking of the entire world; how to adjust the growth of new social and political conceptions to our inherited culture—in short, to reshape our national ideals in terms of the awakening of mind resulting from the contact with Europe.

A Threefold Problem

The crisis which orthodoxy has to face is threefold; it relates to the re-thinking of social values, to the reorganization of social institutions and the divorce between social customs and religion. This threefold problem is inter-connected because the orthodox section of the Hindu community holds that every institution or custom however abhorrent to humanity (like untouchability), however unreasonable (like caste), and however anachronistic (like the joint family) has the sanction of religion and cannot be touched by secular legislation without offending the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus. If that were so, then the Hindu community cannot put forward any claim to share in the political power of the State. But the vast majority of educated and politically minded Hindus reject these obscurantist pretensions and have, at least since the time of Ram Mohan Roy, increasingly asserted the right and duty of the State to change social institutions and customs by secular legislation.

That the conception of caste based on irremovable inequality and of the democratic State based on the right of the individual to partake in government cannot go together is obvious. The caste system which constitutes the social organization of Hinduism is in essence a division and not a unification of society. It divides the community into small groups related by marriage, and keeps

them exclusive of each other. The division goes on to such an extent that the community as a whole has no being, except as a very unreal abstraction. By its very organization, the Hindu society represents, not the principle of unity, but of division and the natural result is that the community has no social conscience.

The most marked feature of Hindu life in India is the utter indifference of the community as a whole to the vast problems before it. The position of the depressed classes, the misery of widows, the degradation of *devadasis* (temple women) and the numerous other questions which concern the community do not stir the Hindu conscience. It is true that the problem of the depressed classes has of late attracted a great deal of attention, but that is due to no stirring of conscience, except in the case of a few individuals like Mahatma Gandhi, but to a cool calculation of political power. The difficulty that Mr. Gandhi has himself been experiencing is the impossibility of conveying his own moral indignation to the people. The social conscience cannot be stirred because it does not exist. Exceptional individuals have through ages felt their own moral personality outraged by these problems and the indifference of the community towards them. Their revolt has never had any wide appeal such as could transform the Hindu society. At the most, it has led to the formation of new sects, which in time themselves became stagnant and got merged in the Hindu community.

Reform Movements

During the nineteenth century there were two significant examples of this tendency. In Bengal, Ram Mohan Roy, probably the most massive intellect and the man with the greatest vision that India produced in that century, led a movement for the reorganization of Hindu life. Fired by the social injustice of the Hindu higher castes, and rebelling against the superstitions which bound down the community, he started the Brahmo Samaj. Its objects were to purify the Hindu religion, rationalize its social life, and create in general a conscience for the community. It found adherents among the educated public of Bengal and for a short time the movement met with success. But what has been the result?

In the matter of religion to the extent of repugnancy with the general Hindu beliefs it has become a separate sect; with regard to social reorganization, as soon as the momentum which the personalities of Ram Mohan Roy and his successor, Keshab Chunder Sen, gave thereto weakened, it began to approximate more and more to orthodox Hindu life so that at the present time it is scarcely distinguishable therefrom.

The other example is that of the Arya Samaj. Rishi Dayanand, who founded it in the Punjab in the eighties of last century, was a *sanyasin* (monk) who held that caste, the system of early marriage, enforced widowhood and other evil customs which weaken the Hindu community did not find sanction in the Vedas. He started a reform movement known as the Arya Samaj, which denounced these practices and organized his followers under a democratic system of local councils with a general council at the head. The basis of the organization was the repudiation of the system of caste along with the supremacy of the Brahmins and the entire theory of social gradation based on birth. The Samaj undertook the conversion of the untouchables and gave every evidence of the creation of a powerful social feeling among the Hindus. But, in the course of half a century of its existence, it has also become no more than a regional sect of Hinduism, and the deadening influence of orthodoxy is slowly but surely creeping on this movement.

The same process may be seen in all the other reform movements, both orthodox and heterodox, which have been a feature of the Hindu society since it came into contact with western conceptions. The Ramakrishna Mission, which created a Vedantist revival and attempted to reorganize the monastic orders, is now little more than a humanitarian society. The Prarthana Samaj, which the educated Hindu leaders of Bombay started, more or less as a reflection of the Brahmo Samaj movement of Bengal, is no longer active. The Satsanga Sabha is kept alive through the industrial activities of its head, while the Deva Samaj and the Radhaswamis have ceased to count even in their localities.

It is therefore clear that the protest of individuals, however distinguished, has no wide social effect. The conscience of Hindus remains unmoved, and with fatal facility, common to all whose

culture is borrowed, most educated men talk in terms of moral conceptions which may be little related to their own conduct.

This indifference to the problems of the community arises from the principle of division on which the system of caste is based. It is unnecessary for our purpose here to analyse the basic conceptions of caste. All that is necessary to emphasize here is the fact that the idea of community is based on the common interests of those adhering to it; that of caste, on the opposite principle of difference. Community unites, while caste divides. The process of union tends to be wider and wider, so that in the modern state the community and the state become identical. The process of division, on which caste is based, on the other hand, leads to fragmentization, so that the unit of caste is finally reduced to the joint family and its immediate relations. The social conscience of the Hindus affects only the sub-caste; in fact the sub-caste alone forms the community for them.

Social Legislation

The pressure on Indian legislatures even at the present time to enact measures for abolishing the civic inequalities based on caste is sufficient proof of the desire of the Hindu community for the exercise of the power of the State in social matters. In fact, the very prospect of political power has agitated the Hindu community beyond all previous experience. The widespread movements of the untouchables for the immediate removal of all social disabilities based on Hindu law and custom is one example. The demand of the Indian women's organizations for comprehensive legislation giving them equal rights with men is another. Both of these touch the basic conceptions of Hindu law. The disabilities of the untouchables are based on no less a legal authority than Manu, and it is interesting to note that the symbolic protest of meetings of the depressed classes is the burning of the Code of Manu. The acceptance of the claim of the untouchables, which the legislatures, constituted as they are, can neither resist nor delay, spells the final extinction of Caste-Society, though not of caste as a social institution.

The demand of educated women who also will find representation in the legislatures affects Hindu society even more fundamentally. The far-reaching effects of a legislative programme giving effect to the claims of women for equal status may be alluded to here merely to indicate the real nature of the crisis which the new Constitution has created in the Hindu society. Inheritance for women means the extinction of the joint family as an economic unit; freedom of divorce spells its extinction as a social institution. Civil marriage undermines the conceptions of caste. Attacked thus from inside by women and from outside by the depressed classes, the present social organization of Hinduism becomes the very first object of the legislative activity of the new State.

The point which I desire to emphasize is that the demand of the depressed classes on the one hand and of the women on the other arise mainly because it is realized that the legislatures have now the power to remodel society. The purpose behind the movements was to force the councils, even as they are constituted today, to enact social legislation. The support that the women's movement gave to the Sarda Bill for the raising of the marriageable age of girls, and the constant vigilance exercised by them for the proper enforcement of the legislation that resulted, should indicate to what object the activities of the women's organization will be directed under the new reforms. Thus, in the new legislatures the demand for social legislation will become irresistible. Representatives of Hindu orthodoxy who appeared before the Joint Parliamentary Committee were undoubtedly right in the alarm they expressed that the customs and institutions so long considered sacrosanct will not be safe with a democratic legislature functioning for the whole of India.

Of such institutions, the first to feel the effect of the new legislatures will be the joint family. How universal it is among the Hindus need not be pointed out. How it conflicts with the conception of State, which India is trying to evolve, is clear on examination. Those reformers who had hoped that by the mere permeation of ideas the joint family will break down underestimated its strength and perhaps its value to the individual in a non-legislating state. The Hindu society in theory is organized

outside the State, and of its organization the joint family is the basis. It cuts up Hindu life into so many fragments as to make the community a sociological fiction. It extinguishes the social sense, as the feeling of obligation to a social whole is impossible when there is no social unity.

From the point of view of the joint family, the Hindu community is nothing more than an inchoate mass of small units each unrelated to the other. The joint family is therefore incompatible not only with a State claiming plenary secular obedience, but with the conception of a unified Hindu society, and naturally every kind of social legislation which tends to unite the Hindus will mean the weakening of the joint family.

The continuance of the Hindu community in its present practically static state is based on a blind obedience to the extra-state laws—known as religious customs and institutions. Though these institutions are old, the problem that they face today is new. The social power in these institutions or customs has vanished with the growth of the legislating State and only the outer forms are left as a dead weight on the community. In primitive society custom and tradition mean the accumulated wisdom of generations. What differentiates civilized society from an uncivilized one is its attitude towards custom. In civilized societies, a custom in itself is not entitled to general acceptance, unless it has a clear social or moral purpose that justifies it. In primitive societies the validity of custom is that it has been so in other times. The mere fact that such was the habit of our ancestors is supposed to be a sufficient justification for even the most unreasonable practices.

Where the problem in India today differs from the problem as it has existed during the last 2,000 years is not that there is widespread protest against irrational customs, but that the motive force of the protest is different. In every age since the time of Buddha there have been vigorous movements of reform in Indian society. In fact, India's claim to civilization is not based so much on her social institutions as on her movements of protest. From Gautama Buddha to Mohandas Gandhi, India can claim to have produced an imposing array of men to combat the evils of her social institutions. But these great men, though they gave expression to the

protests of their individual conscience, did not have the machinery of organized State to give effect to their reforms. The principle of social obedience in India remained familial and local and Hinduism continued to live much in the same way as in prehistoric times, in spite of her great men. The difference today is that such a machinery has been created with the help of Indians themselves and is available for the radical reform of Hindu society.

Freedom and Reform

It is often said in India that without political freedom, social legislation cannot be undertaken, and that as the new Constitution grants only limited freedom the utilization of its machinery for social reorganization would be impolitic, as it may lead to a division in national ranks and a consequent weakening of effort in the fight for Swaraj. To argue that because a nation is not free, it should not devote its energy to the reorganization of its institutions which were, in the main, the cause of its own loss of freedom is to argue in a vicious circle. Besides, the experience of India itself disproves the contention that social reform is dependent upon and must await political freedom. Mr. Gandhi's extraordinary efforts in the cause of the *Harijans* and his free acceptance of the principle of legislation by the existing Assembly in this behalf, would show that the Mahatma does not accept the view that political freedom must precede social reform. Even assuming the argument to be true that a community which is not free has not the liberty to put its own house in order, I do not think that with the establishment of the new Constitution this argument could have even the shadow of validity. It may be that the power of the new Government is limited in a number of directions; but even its most determined opponents have never said that the legislatures under the Government of India Act are in any way restrained from putting into effect the most comprehensive social policy.

The real conflict between Hindu orthodoxy and the State will come when the legislature raises in some obscure form the question of divorce between religion and custom. Such a conflict was very nearly forced when the Sarda Act was under consideration.

But it is obvious to every observer that the Sarda Act is only the beginning of social legislation; how it will develop is the question. The Hindu community offers so wide a field that to forecast a scheme of social legislation is almost impossible. But a few of the more important questions may be indicated. The proper control of the religious endowments of the Hindus and their utilization for the good of the entire community; the education and control of Hindu priesthood; the equal economic and marital rights of women; the abolition of social inequalities of the untouchables; reform of inheritance laws—each one of these will directly affect the organization of the Hindu community and will, if properly directed, lead to its rationalization.

For the first time since the origin of Hindu society, the chance has now come to us to organize it on a purposeful and rational basis, to make it re-act to the ethical sense and social vision of the thinking section of the community. How the Hindus utilize this opportunity is the main problem of the next few years before India. The chance is given to the Indian leaders to sweep away the accumulations of ages which have marred the face of the Hindu community. Let us hope that those in whom the power of legislation will be vested will have the social vision and the ethical urge necessary for this glorious purpose.

WOMEN'S WORK IN INDIA: A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

By Dr. Ruth Young
(Principal, Lady Hardinge Women's Medical College, Delhi.)

A few months ago I happened to visit the town in the Punjab where I first started work in India, twenty-five years previously. There were various evidences of progress, but among them nothing was more striking than those connected with women and girls. I found a ladies' club which had been organized by the women of the town themselves. I may say that the place is not one where help is available from educated English women who are the wives of officials. The club boasted a tennis court, several badminton courts, and a small club house where social gatherings can be held. The money had been raised entirely by the women of the town, and the club is well patronized by them. They pay a subscription adequate to run the club and manage it themselves. Such a thing would have been quite unheard of twenty-five years ago. Indian women took no part in the social life of the place in those days. They had no opportunity for organizing any kind of social effort, and they did not demand it. Those now responsible for the effort are in part younger women who have had education, such as the wives of minor officials or professional men, but also in part members of a former generation who have emerged from the seclusion of their homes and are now willing to take their part in the life of the community.

Another indication of progress was that relating to the education of girls. Twenty-five years ago the middle school was the limit of education for girls, and the number attaining to that standard was very small. Now there is a large Government high school for girls, as well as several private high schools. The town has a degree college, where a few girls attend as day scholars. Many more go to women's colleges elsewhere for higher education and to fit themselves for professional life. For the past few

It is interesting to note that the education of *both* sexes is involved. Indian women have so far avoided the extreme feminist attitude. This is no doubt partly because the battle of the vote has been won for them in the West, but it is remarkable all the same when one considers the injustice of custom and law in many instances against women. Perhaps this is due to the fact that men and women are not pitted against one another as regards the reforms which are necessary, since many men have advocated them for years. Another factor doubtless is that the large class of single women existing in the West does not exist in India. However one may explain it, it is a fact, and a fact in which we may rejoice. Whether or no the sexes may become ranged against one another later in the development of modern India is a question which cannot be decided now, although one cannot help foreseeing that in certain instances this may arise.

The Women's Conference is not only a good thing in itself, but it has given Indian women the chance to organize themselves, a most valuable training. The working basis is one of constituent conferences of which there are twenty-four in British India and eight in States. These constituent conferences hold meetings in their own areas and elect delegates to represent them at the All-India Women's Conference, which is held at a different centre each year by invitation of one of the constituent conferences. There is thus opportunity to learn organization on a small scale and on an all-India basis. That the women have profited by this training is proved by the perfecting of methods and the increasingly practical scope of the discussions. I take here a quotation from an account given by a foreigner at the last Conference which was held in Travancore in December, 1935:

> "Among the signs of change and advance which impressed me most vividly were the following: The efficient organization of meetings, hospitality, social events, and transportation: the general feeling of accustomedness and usualness, in contrast to the sense of adventure that characterized early meetings of the Conference: the absence of many of the leading spirits of early days and the coming forward of new women to take their places: the excellent presiding officers provided: the increasing part played in the gathering by women lawyers: the lessening emphasis on education and the increasing interest in matters of social reform: the variety of activities reported by constituent conferences."

In a recent address to the Delhi Women's League the Maharani of Travancore, the present President of the Conference, gave a very wise lead for the future activities of the Conference. She said:

> "I feel very strongly that our best plan would not be to frame ambitious schemes, but for each locality to concentrate on some urgent problem, however small and local, concerning an aspect of social welfare or educational work. I am laying stress on this because our organization will never acquire power and influence unless we are in a position to study the problems affecting the masses of our country, each organization in its individual way endeavouring to find a solution for one or more of such questions."

And later:

> "My experience of similar institutions has brought home to me vividly that what is wanted in most cases is not an imposing building or ample finance so much as a band of devoted workers full of enterprise and zeal."

One should not press too deeply the question of the *practical* results of the work of the All-India Women's Conference. At this stage and after such a brief existence one should not expect to point to such and such a concrete accomplishment as the result of the Conference's work. That it has had results no one can doubt, but at present they are general rather than particular. I should say that some of them are as follows: It has resulted in the co-operation of women of all communities, castes, and shades of opinion, given them a feeling of unity and an opportunity for the expression of their united opinions by providing a platform; it has stimulated interest in educational and social problems, made women aware of their disabilities and anxious to remove them. I should say that the amount of franchise granted to women under the new Act, meagre as it is, would have been less had it not been for the presence of this body of united women. The fact that girls are pouring into schools and colleges in ever-increasing numbers is certainly due in part to the stimulus of the Conference. The opinions expressed on such problems as child marriage, the position of widows, the laws of inheritance and "purdah" must have influenced opinion in the country on these subjects. None of these effects are easy to assess or express on paper, but they are none the less considerable, and form a remarkable achievement.

The National Council of Women

The National Council of Women has been at work in India for a rather longer time than the Women's Conference. It has not been as popular an organization as the Women's Conference, though the aims of the two bodies are very similar. In my opinion this is due to two reasons. Firstly, the National Council was introduced from abroad and until recently has been largely under European leadership. Secondly, the Council sets out to be a co-ordinating body rather than a society which undertakes work of its own. That such a body has a large scope in Western countries, where there are multifarious societies working for women's interests, is obvious, but in a country like India its work must be limited by the number of such societies. In large towns like Calcutta and Bombay, where there is sufficient leadership and a variety of activities, it has a distinct scope. But in less advanced places this is not so, for the available leadership is small in numbers, and the number of problems which can be attacked correspondingly small.

The Council therefore finds itself in the position of originating work itself, which is not intended to be its function. The work it has done has been on sound lines, and it has attracted Indian women with academic qualifications into its fold.

Women and Politics

Neither of the two societies mentioned concerns itself with politics as such, but this may be a convenient place to make a note on the question of women in politics in India. In the days of non-co-operation women took part in the passive resistance offered. Mr. Gandhi has many ardent supporters among women. But, on the whole, one cannot say that Indian women as yet take an active part in political life. I think the women are genuinely much more interested in social reform than in politics, and at the present stage they can probably accomplish more in this sphere. There is no rush for women to enter Provincial Councils or to sit on local bodies. Those who do so are nominated, and one cannot say they have made a great mark so far. Personally, I do not think this pro-

can be hurried, however desirable it may be in theory. We have to remember that the proportion of educated among India's women is still pitifully small, and that political life requires long training and experience.

The outlook even of the educated is not wide as yet. When the Franchise Committee visited India they did not find women clamouring either for votes or representation. I well remember an incident in Delhi when Miss Eleanor Rathbone met an Indian lady who was a leader in social work as well as a person of great shrewdness. She was asked about the franchise, and confessed that she knew nothing about it and had not studied the question. This was at the very time when the Franchise Committee was touring India. I know from experience how difficult it is to get students to read the newspapers or to take an interest in questions of the day. The home background does not encourage it. "Father" does not sit at the head of the breakfast table and fulminate against, or purr over, the decisions of the Government; and the scraps of political news heard by children may be biased or misleading on one side or the other.

Women's Education

This brings me to what is the most important question of the present day and the one which shows the most striking change in the past twenty-five years—I mean education.

To an audience such as this I do not think that the mere fact needs to be enlarged upon, as I am sure every one of you knows it. Nor will figures be very instructive or interesting. I would prefer to dwell on some points which are in themselves interesting and which are likely to have interesting and perhaps unexpected results in the future.

In the first place, we have to remember that, although children are pouring into schools and girls into colleges, it is very difficult even so to reduce the illiteracy of women in India because of the phenomenal growth of population. I shall have to dwell on these effects of population increase elsewhere, but the fact may be noted in passing. In one community, that of the Christians, literacy is actually on the decrease because of the accession to the community

of poor and low-caste people in certain provinces. The literacy of women in this community has been in the past higher than that of any other community.

In the second place, it is very difficult for a poor country like India to supply education of a sufficiently high standard when faced with a sudden demand. I can speak of my own city, Delhi, for example. The pressure on girls' schools is becoming very great, and the municipality cannot provide adequate buildings and good teachers all at once to meet this demand. The result is that many of the schools are housed in unsuitable private houses without proper provision for playing grounds, and it is impossible to move the schools to the outskirts of the city owing to distances and difficulty of transport. Only those engaged or interested in education can understand the difficulty of providing such schools in cities of any size. Parents dislike their children to go unaccompanied to school; there is no network of buses or trams to transport the children, and small girls cannot walk long distances when the temperature is anything over 100 degrees, as it may be for several months of the school year. Landlords are frequently members of municipalities and try to secure schools as tenants for unsuitable houses. Without a previous generation of educated people, the supply of good teachers is inadequate. I do not say that there are not enough teachers, but I do say that they are poorly prepared for their work and have not sufficient previous education themselves to impart it to others. It must take several years to adjust this matter, and in the meantime one is caught in a vicious circle of poor teachers preparing pupils, some of whom will in their turn enter the training colleges for teachers. The actual cost of the education is also a difficulty when parents can pay so little. The primary schools are free, and in the middle schools parents who are poor are excused the payment of fees and can even be provided with books for the children, but that all increases the cost to the local bodies.

Thirdly, the provision of education for girls in rural areas is a problem of the first magnitude. It is bound up, of course, with that of rural development as a whole. In the case of villages, we have not only to face the difficulty of cost, but that of inducing teachers to accept life in villages and provide for their safety. The

single woman is in a position of real danger. The married one is apt to have a large family, in which case neither the school-children nor her own receive the attention they should.

Fourthly, there is the question of higher education. Though small in proportion to the population, the number of girls proceeding to higher education is high when compared with the total number under instruction. There are various reasons for this. One is, I am quite sure, real appreciation of education *per se* in the classes sending their girls into high schools and colleges. In addition there is a demand for educated girls as wives, and so their value is greater in the marriage market. The rise in the age of marriage, too, makes it necessary for girls to stay at school longer, because custom does not allow of young unmarried girls staying at home, and there is little to occupy them there. Then girls are desirous of entering professions, and their parents often desire them to do so. Some of these girls are anxious to put off the date of marriage, others have personal ambition, others are fired with a genuine desire to be of service to their country. All these factors are introducing great complications into the married life of the middle or upper classes. Girls as teachers and doctors earn far higher pay than men in similar positions. They become accustomed to a certain standard of living which they are reluctant to give up. There is a great deal of unemployment among men, and one very frequently sees families in which the woman is the bread-winner and the man sits idle at home. Ideal homes are not created by this means.

The pressure of girls into professions will in a few years tend to equalize the rates of pay as between men and women. It will also, it is hoped, lead to the opening up of fresh avenues of employment for women. There are signs that the two favourite professions, teaching and medicine, are becoming overcrowded. It is not that there are a greater number of medical women or teachers than India needs, but that the saturation point where they can be no longer employed will soon be reached. This is a distinction which people frequently fail to make, and as a result there is considerable confusion. It is common knowledge that India needs a far larger amount of medical aid than she has at present. But India's ability

to employ the requisite numbers of doctors is a totally different story.

The number of professions open to women is limited in India through social custom, but also because the opportunities do not exist. Girls do not work in offices or shops or find employment in the many ways possible to English girls of secondary education. In the future, however, no doubt other careers will open out for them.

Social Work

Anyone engaging in social work in India cannot fail to be struck by the absence of a common career for girls of the leisured classes in England—namely, unpaid social work. I have already remarked that the unmarried girl is not permitted by custom to remain at home, nor is there any occupation for her there. If one looks at the leaders in social movements one finds they are, to a much greater extent than in the West, married women. If not, they are middle-aged and engaged in a profession.

This is a convenient place to leave the subject of education and discuss the part which women are playing in social work. By this I mean specifically social work either paid or unpaid. With regard to the paid work, there are comparatively few openings as yet for women. Voluntary societies are poor, and, though yearly becoming more numerous, employ few paid workers. Local bodies, Government departments, and industry have either not realized the need for, or importance of, social work, or else they cannot afford to pay for it. I believe social work would be a popular career for young women if there were more openings for them, and there are new opportunities for training in such work. India needs an army of women for social work of all kinds, in labour and industry, for work among children in various forms, for social hygiene and police work, as almoners in hospitals, as psychological social workers and so on. But, again, we have to remember the capacity of India to employ such workers even if the army were ready. Progress in this direction is bound to be slow. What is different in this aspect of Indian women's life now as compared with former years is the interest of women themselves. This interest is a product mainly of the past twenty-five years, especially the last few years, and its volume and depth are attested by what I have mentioned in connection with the Women's Conference. The feelings of that body are reflected in all parts of India, and women are realizing more and more the need that exists for social work of all kinds.

In England, however, we had our social workers long before there were paid jobs for them, and we have them still. In India the unpaid or voluntary social worker is as yet, if not a *rara avis*, at any rate, not a common species. A good deal of the work of a social nature is as yet undertaken by English women. It is only right that English women in India should do such work; they have had privileges and opportunities which fit them for it. All honour to those who have striven early and late, often in season and out of season, in aiding all kinds of good causes. And, I must add, all shame to those who have been content to use India as a pleasure-ground, to take everything and give nothing, and not even to acquaint themselves with the people among whom they live. Voluntary social work on the part of Indian women must develop slowly. In large towns like Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, Madras, there are a fair number of such workers, but elsewhere they are few. It is not that Indian women do not sit on committees and even manage clubs such as the one I first mentioned. But the Indian voluntary worker, who will give faithful service in a perhaps somewhat tiresome job, is still not common. There are various reasons for this. Obviously it takes time to develop a tradition of this kind. People of middle age, family preoccupations, and perhaps not a great deal of education, will not find it easy to acquire such habits of work even if they wish to. Then the environment is against them. Such work is too new to be understood or welcomed among those for whom it is intended.

Most important perhaps is the fact that the leisured class of spinsters, who do so much of this type of work in the West, scarcely exists in India. Marriage is the rule, and I do not think it will cease to be the rule for a long time to come except in a very limited circle. The few prominent cases of such workers

among single women in India should not mislead us into thinking they are common.

Medical Work

The aspect of life affecting Indian women with the progress of which I have been most personally concerned is that affecting their health, and to that I now propose to turn. Some of you may notice that I have used the word health, instead of a phrase such as medical relief or hospital work. I used the word health on purpose, partly because I have concerned myself of later years more with health than with sickness, and partly because I think we all want a fresh orientation on the subject. For various reasons the relief of sickness has had and still has much greater official and popular attention than the promotion of health. One of these reasons is, of course, the vast amount of ill-health there is in India. Another is lack of ability to take the "long view," and lack of courage to act on the conviction that the long view is the best. The public health people are, however, gradually coming into their own. It is admitted, though not yet always acted upon, that prevention is cheaper and better than cure. India is full of preventable diseases, and to cure those suffering from such diseases will never eliminate them.

This, however, is a digression and only to justify my use of the word health, in spite of all the sickness surrounding one in India and in spite of the fact that I am at present in charge of a medical college. As in the case of education, there is no point in wearying you with figures, and I shall try by other means to show what has been the progress of 25 years.

It is a fact that there are many more medical women working in India now than there were twenty-five years ago, and also that there are many more hospitals, and a constant demand for more of both. It would be strange indeed if this were not the case, and the advance in this direction might be called a normal one not calling for special comment. But what is of interest and what has in the last resort led to this increase is the attitude of women themselves. It certainly has changed in a remarkable way. Fear and distrust have given way to a large extent to confidence, and the difficulty is to cope with the numbers who desire treatment.

This is specially noticeable in the willingness to undergo surgical treatment and in the desire to have better attendance at the time of child-birth. We tend in India to think of the cases which come too late and which have already been mishandled by dirty and unskilled attendants, and forget the numbers who are willing to be delivered by trained people.

In Bombay the numbers delivered in hospitals now number well over 50 per cent. of the births of the city. The position is less advanced elsewhere, but there is a great difference from the state of affairs in old days, as I can witness in the case of a city like Delhi. The problem of providing skilled attendants to rural India is in my opinion greater than that of getting the people to take advantage of such provision, and that statement in itself connotes a big advance. The same holds good of work directed towards improving the health of women and children. Where it is provided it is taken advantage of. The horse is willing to drink if the water is provided. So the biggest initial difficulty is largely overcome. The matter of providing the water is one of money and personnel.

With regard to personnel, the increase in the number of medical women has been very great in the past twenty-five years. There are signs that the number being trained as doctors is nearing the limit of India's ability to employ them. It may be that the aim should now be to improve quality rather than add to quantity. The medical profession has appealed to educated girls very strongly, in spite of the length and expense of the course of training. Much prestige attaches to the doctor, and most budding medical women, or their parents, have exaggerated ideas as to the financial gain which will accrue to them in the future. This has led to the influx of a large number of unsuitable candidates into colleges. Some of them succeed in qualifying, but do not supply the country with the type of doctor which is needed.

The lack of interest in, and knowledge of, preventive medicine is lamentable, but the students cannot be blamed for this if the colleges fail to give them the preventive outlook. This will no doubt come in time also, but in a country like India it is especially necessary and urgent. It is a regrettable fact that professions

allied to medicine, such as nursing and health visiting, have not made an appeal to educated girls. In this respect there are many more openings than there are candidates of the right type to fill the vacancies. In my opinion it is at the present moment far more urgent to get educated girls of good social position to take up nursing than to increase the opportunities for studying medicine. The standard of nursing is very low, and the existing hospitals are robbed of half their usefulness because proper treatment cannot be carried out owing to lack of nursing. It may be, however, that the pressure on other professions may lead to girls taking up nursing soon in greater numbers, and a really notable advance is the legislation about nursing which has been carried out in several provinces. These Acts are rather feeble at present and probably not capable of rigid application, but they are at least a step in the right direction, and full of possibilities.

The Growth of Population

In an earlier part of this paper I alluded to the difficulty of keeping progress in education in line with the increase in India's population. The same problem faces us in any attempt at amelioration of the lot of the people, whether it be medical or social. If a population increases by 10·6 per cent., as did the population of India between the Census of 1921 and 1931, it requires a very rich country to keep pace with the increase without even considering advance. When England's population increased so enormously in the last century, the country was at the same time on the crest of a wave of unexampled prosperity. India is not a rich country, and it is not passing through a phase of prosperity at the moment. Many thoughtful people who are earnest well-wishers of India are depressed by what they feel is an eternally losing fight against such circumstances, and say that unless this tide of population increase can be stemmed all their efforts will be stultified.

I am not prepared here to discuss the population question —indeed, I am not competent to do so—but I have introduced the subject in order to discuss another advance which is of recent growth in India. I refer to the interest which has been shown in

the last few years in the subject of birth control or contraception. It is significant that there has been very little opposition to the discussion of this question in the newspapers and on public platforms. The Women's Conference has repeatedly passed resolutions about it, and I believe it was only at the last Conference that the dissentient voices were at all loud. This may be accounted for by the fact that, the Conference being held in Travancore, a larger number than usual of Roman Catholics were present. Representatives of the Birth Control International Centre have visited India in the last two years. On these tours many successful meetings were held, both for the lay public and for the medical profession. The promoters have felt much encouraged over the success of these tours, and there are earnest intelligent workers in India who are trying to grapple with the problem of the practical application of birth control methods. In this, as in other things, however, the vast size and huge population of India dismay the thoughtful. If they have studied the question sincerely they realize that birth control as an effective method of checking population growth cannot operate for many years to come. That it will probably operate eventually one can scarcely doubt, but the process must be exceedingly slow. We are not, as in England after the Bradlaugh trial, making known ideas and methods to a people who are literate and who are in a large proportion of cases ripe for the ideas, mentally and emotionally. The situation in India is very different.

The successful reception of the propaganda among the intelligentsia is apt to create the impression that all that is required is enough money to flood the country with birth control clinics. I am afraid this is not so. I do not mean that there is either opposition to contraception or lack of desire on the part of women to escape from the endless round of pregnancies. But that the latter is a conscious desire with enough force behind it to lead to successful individual effort I do deny. In actual fact, the women of India themselves are not flocking for advice or clamouring for more birth control clinics, and before birth control can be successful on a large scale the mentality of the average woman in India must change. Such changes cannot, I believe, be accomplished in less than a generation, if then. We should certainly pro-

ceed with birth control propaganda, but it is quite useless to expect rapid results. The fact that the propaganda has begun and is so far successful is, however, one of the most interesting phenomena of recent years.

I am aware that I have failed to deal with many modern questions at present agitating the life of India's women. But one cannot hope to touch every subject, and in many cases these questions are such that progress cannot be reported as yet. They are present-day problems still awaiting solution, and the account of subsequent progress must wait for another twenty-five years. From my experience of educated Indian women I have faith that they will be tackled and solved. I would like to end by stating my conviction that English women in the future must be content to be friends and supporters rather than leaders and organizers. The day is over when leadership should come from the West. Let the women of the country get down to their own difficulties, and let us be content to help unobtrusively but loyally in the background when and where we are wanted. I am sure our help will be welcomed and accepted if given in this spirit.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, June 16, 1936, when a paper entitled "Women's Work in India: a Quarter of a Century of Progress" was read by Dr. Ruth Young (Principal, Lady Hardinge Women's Medical College, Delhi). Viscountess Halifax, C.I., was in the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, Sir Hubert Carr, K.C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Major-General Sir John Megaw, K.C.I.E., Sir Amberson and Lady Marten, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir Miles Irving, C.I.E., O.B.E., and Lady Irving, Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Lady Stokes, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Colonel A. J. H. Russell, C.B.E., and Mrs. Russell, Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., Dr. Margaret Balfour, C.B.E., Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., Miss Cornelia Sorabji, K.-i-H., Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Wilson, Mr. H. B. Holme, Mrs. Damry, Mrs. and Miss Berry, Mr. K. K. Lalkala, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. Harold Dunning, Mr. C. R. Corbett, Mr. Kenneth C. Keymer, Mrs. Roy, Mrs. Dewar, Mr. R. C. Lai, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Major G. H. J. Rooke, Mrs. B. Rama Rau, Mrs. A. C. Woolner, Miss Mary Sorabji, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mr. H. R. Wilson, Mr. G. Anderson, Miss Agnes C. Scott, Miss Edna R. Bichard, Mrs. H. M. Gray, Mr. and Mrs. H. K. Ghosh, Miss C. K. Cumming, Miss E. S. St. John Clarke, Miss M. Stephen, Mr. M. S. Young, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. T. T. Williams, Mr. Frederick Grub, Miss Margaret Young, Miss Speechley, Mrs. Lydall, Mr. R. C. Goffin, Mrs. Starr, Miss Blackett, Miss Loney, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Lord Lamington, ladies and gentlemen,—It was with very great pleasure that I accepted the kind invitation of the East India Association to preside this afternoon, for two reasons.

My first reason was because of my own great interest in India and in India's women. The five years that I spent in India were much too short a time to learn more than a very small amount about that country, but I did have special opportunities of seeing the workers and the work which was being done by women and for women up and down the country, and I had the privilege of talking to those people who were interested in the social progress of women and discussing, and often sharing with them, their ideals and aspirations. It was a very great privilege and a great interest, and it helps me now enormously to follow all the new problems and new developments which are continually taking place in India. All that I learnt in those five years by my own observation and all that I heard from the people with

whom I talked and worked, and whose wisdom and understanding I learnt to value so highly, have convinced me that the whole future of India is bound up with the welfare and progress of her women.

The desire for that progress, I think, most certainly exists among the women of India. There are a multitude of signs which prove this to us, as, for example, the ever-increasing interest in the All-India Women's Conference and the great keenness and desire for the extension of education for women. I was often told that a girls' school had only to be opened to be filled almost at once with its complement of scholars, probably with a waiting list as well; and even in the short time that I was in India I saw the great strides that were being made towards the development and the advancement of women.

I was often told that the civil disturbances resulted in the emergence of women in a most marked degree into taking a part in public life. There is no doubt, I think, that there is a growing consciousness and a widespread conviction that the social problems of India depend on the quality of her women and the part that they can take not only in family life, but in the life of the community.

The other reason for which I am so glad to be here on this platform is because I share it with Dr. Ruth Young, and we are looking forward to her address. Of course, she needs no introduction. Her splendid work is well known to everybody—intimately known, I have no doubt, to many in this room. There is no one who is more suited to speak of the social progress of women than Dr. Ruth Young, who has done so much to contribute so untiringly to that end.

I was fortunate when I was in India to be in close touch with Dr. Young's infant welfare work. I have a great many very pleasant memories of India, and one of my most vivid pictures and happiest recollections is a day spent with her in that wonderful Delhi Health Centre and seeing her among the mothers and babies there.

Now she has moved on to that very important position of Principal of the great Women's Medical College of India, a place where she has full scope for all her qualities, her personality, and her wonderful powers of organization and direction. I think it is characteristic of her that, although she is only here for a very short holiday—and I hope it is going to be a holiday and a rest—she has given up valuable time to come here today and to speak to us on the subject which she has so much at heart.

I know that I am doing what you would all wish me to do when I welcome her most warmly and gratefully and ask her to give us her address.

Dr. Ruth Young then read her paper on "Women's Work in India: A Quarter of a Century of Progress."

Mrs. Rama Rau: I would like to congratulate Dr. Ruth Young on the very comprehensive manner in which she has tried to deal with the question of Indian women's work. There are one or two statements, however, in this very able paper that I feel ought to be challenged. When I challenge them, I assure you, Dr. Young, that it is not done in a carping spirit, but with the greatest goodwill and good feeling, and in order to bring about a better understanding between British women and Indian.

First of all, there is the account of the All-India Women's Conference, about which she says that the results have been more general than particular. I do not know how it is that Dr. Ruth Young has omitted to mention the marvellous Education Fund Committee that was started as a committee of the Conference, which is responsible for the establishment of that first experimental college in New Delhi, the College of Domestic Science. After all, that in itself was a tremendous effort, for a committee of a conference to have to undertake the collection of fourteen lakhs of rupees for the starting of an institution which would exemplify the new ideals that women themselves were desiring to see established. In the education field that was one of the most practical results of that All-India Women's Conference.

Another very practical result of the Conference is that we were able to send our delegates all the way to England, that great distance, to give evidence before that very important body, the Joint Select Committee, on the question of the franchise. The question of the franchise at that time was a burning one in India. Although Dr. Young says that Indian women social workers are not particularly interested in the question of the franchise, or words to that effect, my connection with women's organizations in India has constantly impressed me by the keen interest taken in these discussions with regard to the franchise, not only now, but much earlier, even as far back as 1910, when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were under consideration. It was seen that the question of the franchise was going to affect the women social workers of that period. Again I have been glancing at Lord Lothian's Report on the franchise question. There again I found that women in every part of India came forward to give evidence, and that they gave very intelligent evidence with regard to the franchise question. I can assure you, since the number of educated women in India is only a small number, and all social workers are educated women, the question of the franchise is a more vital issue with those workers than Dr. Young seems to think.

Another statement Dr. Young makes is that "custom does not allow of young unmarried girls staying at home, and there is little to occupy them there"; and she repeats further on: "I have already remarked that the unmarried girl is not permitted by custom to remain at home, nor is there any occupation for her there." I would like emphatically to refute that statement. (Applause.) Especially the unmarried Indian girl must stay at home. In fact, more often there is difficulty for her to go out openly and take part in public work because of the fact that she is unmarried.

I can assure you that in the Indian home there is room not only for the Indian unmarried woman, but for all the women dependents. The work of the Indian home is endless. That is a fact we are trying to alter. So the lecturer's idea is mistaken. The unmarried Indian woman always has a place either in her father's home or her brother's home or in the home of some other relation.

Further—and this is a most important point—Dr. Young says that the Women's Medical Service is beginning to become overcrowded, and she

advises Indian women to dissuade girls from going in for the medical profession. Friends, you can realize that in a country like India, where we have got a few hundred medical women catering for the needs of 150,000,000 women, where it is a recognized thing that Indian women would rather go without medical treatment than be treated by men doctors, it seems incredible that an important authority should tell us that the medical profession is overcrowded. How is it possible that the Service has not room for Indian women doctors? It is essential that our women's organizations should insist on new Services being undertaken, new ways and means of employing medical women being opened up, because I put medical work far above even educational work. It is the health of the nation that must come first. In a country like England, where there is no prejudice against men doctors, there are 6,000 women practising in this tiny little island. You can imagine how many thousands we need in a country like India, where such a prejudice does exist. If the Government Services cannot provide for these medical women, I declare it is the duty of every Indian woman to clamour for the opening up of places where Indian medical women will find work. (Applause.)

Miss ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P. : I have read with great interest Dr. Young's paper. I was only able to hear her give part of it, but I have read it all, and it is really delightful for those of us who are interested ourselves in Indian women here at home to listen to a voice quite fresh from the front. I was particularly interested in what she said as to the growth of initiative among the Indian women themselves. I am delighted to know that it is so, although, of course, it is limited by the difficulties of numbers which she mentioned.

I have been particularly interested myself in an experiment which I think is a presage of many others—namely, a college at Nagpur for women, started by Miss Shanthi Ranga Rao, sister of Mrs. Subbarayan, which, I understand, is the only college of its kind in the whole of that great Province, the Central Provinces. She started it, I understand, very much on her own as a kind of enterprise, though now she is receiving a small amount of Government aid. Her staff are all working at practically pocket-money wages. Is that not a very fine effort, a college started by an Indian woman from another province, worked by Indian women, and carried on through their own effort and sacrifice? I feel this is one of the efforts which we in England ought to do anything we can to help. It is not well enough known how extraordinarily far money goes in India. When I heard that £20 a year was enough for board and lodging and teaching fees of a student for a year, and £25 would cover the whole thing, allowing £5 for extras, I felt indeed one was getting a very good bargain, when you think what it would cost to provide an English girl with a college education.

Dr. Young was delightfully diplomatic in that throughout her address she did not cast a word of criticism upon those in authority. May I just take the privilege of the outsider who can rush in where the expert fears to tread, and say that what strikes the outsider from England more than anything else is why, in view of this immense need which Dr. Young spoke about,

for health teaching, the authorities need take such an amazingly timid attitude about encouraging the giving of the kind of knowledge which is so vitally needed.

I may be out of date, but three and a half years ago during my brief visit to India one of the incidents that struck me most was when I went to see the manager of the broadcasting station at Calcutta. He was crying out for educational talks in the women's hour. He said, of course, there had to be limitations. You could not, for example, have anything on such a contentious subject as the Sarda Act. Considering that it had been the law for two years, it did seem a little extraordinary that it was far too controversial for anyone speaking in a broadcasting station even to explain that such an Act existed and what it required of the people.

On that same subject of child marriage, over and over again one was told that, although the Government gave every support to the passage of the Act, everything has been done since to hush down every effort to put it into effect. Prosecutions have been lamentably few, the penalties given terribly small, and now a little Bill is before the Assembly for amending that Act in just the three respects which has made it almost a dead letter. One is to allow the Court to proceed on private information. The other amendment is to allow an injunction to be given beforehand by the Court to prohibit an illegal marriage before it takes place, on the principle that prevention is better than cure. And the third is to enable the Court, where there has been a conviction, to require the husband or his family to make provision for the separate maintenance and custody of the child until she is of full age to be married. Could there be more completely reasonable provisions? Yet we hear that it is very unlikely the Government will give any support to them.

Especially what strikes the outsider is the lack of any encouragement to those who are working either under the health services or the educational services to do propaganda on the evils of child marriage, and show why such an Act is in existence and what its provisions are. I was particularly interested in hearing from the Director of Health in a very large district of India. He found, when he gave a little talk about the Act, that the servants of his own household gathered round and begged him to tell them more because hardly a creature in any of the villages round there knew the Act was on the Statute Book. Again, as to the question of birth control, must not public propaganda be needed? Above all, could not as far as possible the cinema and the broadcasting station be brought into play?

Mrs. H. M. GRAY: I want to do very little more than ask a question. Before I do so I should like to say what a very interesting hour Dr. Young has given us. For those of us who follow with close attention and eager interest the development of the women's movement in India, it has been a most informing and instructive afternoon.

The question I should like to ask is this. Dr. Young referred to the opportunities there now are for women to train for social work. I think the thing that struck me most about her paper was the emphasis which she laid upon the demand for skilled nursing and for better trained teachers. She speaks of the volume and depth of the demand for social services. It is

a very far cry from the days when it used to be said that female education was carried on in India in response to a demand which did not exist. Now the demand is very great and the Services are inadequate for what is wanted. The most notable sentence in her paper seemed to me the one in which she said that 70 per cent. of the births in Bombay now took place in hospitals. That is just what one would expect from a country so receptive to ideas as India. Perhaps Dr. Young could tell us how the people could train for social services, because that seems to me the crying need. If she knows where they could be trained, it would be very interesting for us to hear it.

Dr. MARGARET BALFOUR: I have listened with very great interest to Dr. Young's excellent address, and I found it particularly interesting because my recollections of Indian women's movements go back even further than Dr. Young's.

When I look back it seems to me a most amazing evolution to see the difference between the conditions then and now. Last year when the Dowager Lady Dufferin was speaking, on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Dufferin Fund, she said she thought the great success of her Fund was largely due to the unexpected way Indian women had come forward to study medicine, and she paid a very high tribute to their courage and determination. All those of us who have seen Indian women as students and doctors must agree with that very heartily, knowing, as we do, the difficulties they have had, and realizing the great success which they have attained.

In this connection I would just like to refer to something said by Mrs. Rama Rau about the question of the provision of more medical aid for Indian women. I do not think Dr. Young at all indicated that there was enough provision made. She said there was great need for more, but there is going to be a scarcity of paid posts. I should like to suggest that there are two ways in which that difficulty might be met. One is if Indian women doctors would take up posts with subsistence pay, in the same way as is done by missionaries. And the other, that great pressure should be put upon the Central and Provincial Governments and the local bodies to put aside more money in their budgets to provide for relief for women by medical women.

Dr. Young said that she did not think Indian women took a great interest in politics. I was in Bombay during the time of greatest political activity, and I was very much impressed by the interest taken by all classes of women. One did not, of course, always agree with the methods taken, but one could not help feeling very much impressed by the energy and courage which the women showed in coming forward to stand up for what they thought was the need of their country. They took part in the movement for boycotting foreign goods. Thousands of women came out—many of them women from sheltered homes who had never taken part in any public movement before—yet they came out and sat for long hours in front of the shops, urging their countrywomen not to go in and buy foreign goods. They took part also in many processions, although these things were not by any means devoid of physical danger. That impressed a good

many people in Bombay, who had not realized that Indian women would do this.

Dr. Young spoke of the great difficulty in getting social workers. That is a fact which we are very much up against in India. It is a pity because we know how in this country the voluntary workers laid the foundation of so many of the social services. Partly it is, as Dr. Young said, that there is no class of unmarried women to draw from; and partly because parents expect their educated daughters to help them with the family, and even married women feel that they have to contribute to the family income.

But one hopes that it might be possible that the energy heretofore shown in the political movement might now be diverted into social channels, and that those who have shown so much courage and initiative in working for politics might now turn the same talents into the line of social progress.

Lady IRVING: It is with very great pleasure that I should like to say how much I enjoyed the paper. I have left India two years, and it is always so interesting to know what has been happening. There are some points I would like to put to Dr. Young. First as to the progress of women in India in the last twenty-five years, which has been immensely more interesting and has gone much further than the progress of women in England, because we did our jump perhaps fifty years ago.

One of the things is the way Indian women are now working on committees and running all the different widows' homes. I speak especially of the Punjab, where the widows' homes committees used to be run first of all by Indian men helped sometimes by English women, but now are much more in the hands of Indian women. Besides the Hindu women's homes and the schools, you get the Muslim orphanages. In the orphanages run for Muslim boys and girls there are now women on the committee. That is a very practical piece of work, which would have been quite unthought of twenty-five years ago.

With regard to the question of doctors, there is a third way of providing more opportunities, and that is by having them—as we do in England—as general practitioners and paying for them. That all Indian women can do themselves. If they call in an Indian woman and have her as a practitioner there is no question of having to stampede the Government or do anything else.

The question of nursing is extraordinarily interesting. It is most vital, and it is one of the things that I think English people can help in very much, because again and again I have been told that in the other countries they can approach English doctors in skill, but up to date they have not been able to do anything with regard to nursing or getting a very high standard of nursing. If that tradition from England could be sent to India, and India could have a high standard of nursing, it would be of enormous help in all the questions of medical work.

It has been a most wonderful twenty years of progress that I have seen. Mrs. Rama Rau made the other point I wanted to mention about the Lady Irwin College at Delhi, in which we had the benefit of Lady Irwin herself working on the committee and giving us all the experience and skill that

she had gained in similar work at Leeds. So that we are connected from Leeds to Delhi. We had the benefit of a great mass of Indian interest. This college has been trying to work out an education on Indian lines especially adapted for Indian girls, and Indian girls as home-makers as well as professional people.

Another advance is the tremendous difference in the points of contact. If you go out to India now, there is a most amazing difference in that. There is a fellowship and friendship which has made an enormous difference to the life of English women in India. Now instead of going out and being very lonely, except in a few of the big stations and when their husbands are at home, in almost every place they will find a set of women with interests similar to their own. It has made an enormous difference to the whole interest of life in India.

Miss MARY SORABJI: I feel so grateful to Dr. Young for her very instructive and delightful paper. My experience goes back fifty-two years, to the beginning of the awakening of Indian womanhood, and I speak with regard to my own Presidency of Bombay. Fifty-two years ago the High School for Indian Girls was opened in Poona, and from that time onwards Indian women in the Bombay Presidency have made most extraordinary progress. When Sir John Simon went to India some years ago he was very much struck by the emergence of Indian women into national life. When he came back and published his very weighty Report, he said this: "The key to progress is in the women's movement." That filled every Indian woman's heart with great joy, because we know the future of our country is assured, if the women are allowed to play their part.

You have in India among the Indian woman an enormous scope and a fruitful field, because Indian women are by nature self-sacrificing, patient, full of those splendid characteristics which are so admired in India—gentleness, self-abnegation, capacity for love and self-sacrifice; so that in the new India that is to be, if they have their chance, they are going to play a very noble part.

I must pay my tribute to the Western women, missionary women especially, and the wives of the great proconsuls and governors, like our Lady-Chairman. We thank them for their love and interest in India's women. We thank them sincerely for people like Dr. Ruth Young, who have helped to save our babies' lives. What a grand thing that is! Through their help, and the education they are giving us, I think that very soon all these disabilities—such as needless ill-health, disease, illiteracy—will pass away. But give the Indian woman a chance! That is all I ask.

Sir ALBION BANERJI: At this late hour, after we have heard so many distinguished lady speakers offering their remarks and comments on this very interesting paper, I feel I am in the minority as a mere man following on with some of my humble observations. But I think I can claim indulgence and patience for the reason that I have not only family traditions which enable me to say something from a man's point of view, but also I had considerable administrative experience, which gives me some confidence to speak on some of the subjects dealt with in this paper.

We can view the women's question in India from two points of view; there is an inside point of view as well as the outside point of view. We Indians realize our difficulties, and also the troubles and sacrifices and the various stages through which the Indian social reform problems have been fought by us during the last fifty or more years. My own father brought my mother to England to interest our friends in women's education in the year 1871. He was the first among the workers for India as a high-class Brahmin to stem the tide of prejudice and opposition against imparting education to girls.

There is also the political point of view, and the social and educational. I congratulate the lecturer on the very able manner in which she has discussed points connected with the improvement of the women's position, social, political and educational, through the past twenty-five years. But her experience is confined to the Punjab and Northern India, and some of her observations might have been modified if her experience had been extended, for instance, to Madras, Bengal and some of the Indian States.

In many of the Indian States, as well as those premier Provinces, the state of affairs in regard to the various questions that have been discussed by the lecturer is somewhat different from what has been stated in the paper. I venture to say also that Dr. Young's views are somewhat pessimistic, in the sense that she has asked our Indian women to go slow. But it cannot be gainsaid that at the present stage of the development of the Indian women's question the momentum is so great and progress is becoming so rapid that it is rather difficult to follow her advice to go slow.

With regard to politics, I may mention one or two things. About twenty years ago I advised the Maharaja, an orthodox Hindu Prince, to give votes to women in Cochin long before the Provincial Governments thought of such a thing. And twenty years ago the women of Cochin took such a keen interest in their civic and social problems that it was impossible for the Maharaja to deny the privilege for which they asked such a long time ago. I think it is rather strange that the lecturer should say that the desire for the franchise amongst Indian women today is not so great as is sometimes imagined.

In regard to social problems, everyone knows what the condition is. Twenty-five years ago we gave a party in Cochin to the ladies, and one of the ladies politely wrote to my wife and said in reply: "My dear lady, you do not know Malayalum and I do not know English; when you know Malayalum and I learn English, I will come to your party." That was twenty years ago. Today, in every district headquarters in India, there are social clubs and social institutions, in which not only the different communities, including the European, are meeting together and exchanging social ideas, on the model of the great recreation club which Lady Willingdon started in Bombay, but also social and civic activities of every description in which the women take a prominent part.

All these evidences go to show that there is a tremendous stride in every direction. I do not wish to imply that the lecturer has shown any want of sympathy with the great progress Indian women are making, but I just

wish to point out that it is very necessary to recognize the great importance of the part that Indian women are taking today in every sphere of our national life.

I have recently humbly suggested that a scheme should be instituted for the higher training of Indian women in social, civic and political work, and I have had a very interesting letter from the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, approving of the scheme.

The Hon. Emily Kinnaird: I always think a meeting should be very practical. What are we going to do? I do find that the women of the educated classes, and what we should call the better class, are keenly interested, and I think we owe a debt to the men. It was the men of India who gave the suffrage to women, and they have never had to fight for it. That is a great thing to say of the commen sense of the men of India.

But the point is, our Indian girls do find it difficult to go into social work because many do not come from a very rich class, and the reason why they cannot go into social work is the want of money. Therefore I think we ought continually to move that the Government should not spend so much on armies, and should spend more on an army of women social workers. In several provinces health centres are being rapidly started, and money is continually needed from local government and municipalities for adequate equipment, and they are a splendid field for the help of voluntary workers.

Dr. Ruth Young in reply said: My most formidable critic was Mrs. Rama Rau. I am quite glad to be criticized; I expected it. As to the practical results of the Women's Conference, it was only through pure inadvertence that I did not mention the Lady Irwin College. I followed it from the very beginning with great interest, and I have too much admiration for Lady Halifax ever to forget it. But in general terms I still adhere to my statement that the results of the Women's Conference have been general rather than particular.

As regards the franchise, I think there again we are up against the difficulty that India is a continent. It is quite true that my experience is limited largely to the north. My experience of the north again leaves me unrepentant on the subject of the franchise. I do not think that many women in the north of India are very interested in the franchise question. It is quite true that people did come forward to give evidence before the Franchise Committe, but they were picked people. You did not have meetings of women clamouring to have interviews with the Franchise Committee beforehand.

The fact that India is a continent also means that there are differences of opinion about the unmarried girl at home. In North India I am sure I am right in saying that in the vast majority of cases the girl of the age of fourteen cannot sit down and do nothing at home. She either goes on with her education or she marries or she takes up a profession. There are very, very few women of marriageable age who can remain at home. I do not

mean to say they have nothing to do in their homes; they can cook, and sew, and gossip, but the kind of things that an unmarried girl would take up in England are not open to the vast majority of girls in North India. I will not say anything about the more advanced provinces, as they call themselves.

With regard to this question of medical women, Mrs. Rama Rau fell into the very trap which I imagined some of you would fall into, confusing the need for medical women with the ability to employ them. I am glad to see that others have backed me up in my statement. Dr. Balfour, who knows more about the provision of medical aid for women in India than anybody else in the world, has taken my viewpoint about it, only she is more courageous in trying to say how it can be cured. I never intended to say that I did not think there was need for more medical women in India. That would be utterly ridiculous to anyone who has been one year in the country, let alone twenty-five. All the work in the hospitals is stultified because we have not got good enough nursing. We ought to do both. But at the present moment I would, if I happened to be a millionaire, not found another medical college for women, but I would like to found a good nursing school and encourage Indian girls to go into it.

Sir Albion Banerji evidently thought I was extremely conservative. I am sorry for that, but I am getting old and that is the real truth. The policy of "go slow" is always attributed to the elderly, whose ranks I am now joining. It is a case of youth and age. The older people have the experience, but we cannot retain the impetus of youth to go forward and push away difficulties. One of the difficulties about getting old is that one gets too conscious of obstacles.

I would like to say that it is a little dangerous to quote Indian States too much. After all, you have to take a level throughout the country, and it is no good to say Cochin does this and that there are a good many other States which are far behind. So I feel that is rather a dangerous argument which could cut both ways.

Miss Rathbone thought I had been a little lacking in courage that I did not criticize Government more. It is not that I have not plenty of criticism of Government, but I think sometimes that Government is so very much criticized that perhaps we ought to stop kicking it and give it a few ha'pence instead. There is no doubt about it that officials are often in a tremendously difficult position. I am not defending the Government because I draw most of my salary from it, but in things like the Sarda Act, it is not always realized how difficult it is for officials.

With regard to doing propaganda for it on the part of individuals, in the health centre where I used to work there are people who want to marry their girls off very young. There was once a question of a woman who said she was going to marry the girls off, and we debated very much whether we should report this case. It was perhaps cowardly, but we did not, because we knew that if it happened we would lose our entire clientele. One has to weigh things one against the other, and we concluded it would stop our work for years if we took an action of that kind.

Lord LAMINGTON: We have listened to a remarkable and notable address this afternoon, and also we have had very interesting speeches made by ladies. Dr. Ruth Young mentioned twenty-five years ago. I have known India longer than that, and there has been a wonderful amount of development in women's work. Still I remember ladies like Chrisnabai and others doing medical work in Kolhapur and others carrying on philanthropic and educational agencies. I had always a great admiration for them.

I think what Dr. Ruth Young says is also very true, that English women might do more in becoming acquainted with the needs and wants of the social life of Indian women.

The other question about birth control is a very vexed topic. But to my mind life in itself is the greatest mystery of the world, and is independent of and superior to any material considerations or surroundings.

I only rise to thank Dr. Ruth Young—she has already been thanked by Lady Halifax—also Lady Halifax for being in the Chair, for having given such a charming opening address, and for her great self-sacrifice in giving up her time and devoting this afternoon to our benefit.

I beg you to show your appreciation of what Dr. Ruth Young has told us and also of Lady Halifax for presiding by your powerful applause. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Dr. Young asks me to thank you all on behalf of us both. I should also like to thank the meeting very much for making it so easy for me to preside, and the speakers for being so kind and keeping to their time, and all of you for showing so much interest. Thank you very much.

RUBBER IN INDO-CHINA

By OCTAVE HOMBERG

IT is, I think, a matter of fairly general knowledge in these days that rubber, which with the increasing general use of motor transport has become an indispensable substance of prime importance, is a product of the "latex" of the *Hevea brasiliensis*, a tree which originated in the vast Amazon valley. It is from incisions made in the bark of this tree that a liquid whitish gum is obtained, a kind of "milk," which when properly treated and congealed is transformed into a substance of remarkable elasticity.

In earlier days man used to go in search of rubber much as he went to hunt. The "seringueros," going further each year into the heart of the forests beside the Amazon, would return to the coast bringing with them roughly made balls of rubber. But South America was not the only part of the world which concealed this precious substance. Central Africa, too, in the tropical forests beside the Congo, had considerable layers of rubber trees. The negroes too would penetrate into the depths of the mysterious forest to collect the rubber and hand it over on their return either to Government officials—to pay their taxes, or to European traders—in exchange for those imported goods which were becoming more and more necessary to them as our so-called civilization was adding to their needs—and their vices.

But at the opening of the twentieth century, when the progress of motor transport was becoming more rapid, and the future growth of this new industry could already be foreseen, it became obvious that "wild rubber"—rubber merely gathered at random—would never satisfy a demand that was growing more and more insistent. Not only were the Brazilian *Heveas* and the Congo plants rapidly becoming exhausted, but (since journeys further and further into the depths of the jungle became necessary) the net cost on the American or African coast of the balls roughly made by "seringueros" or negroes was rapidly rising. It became clear that the time had now arrived to devise a means of producing, by some form of regular and renewable cultivation, what nature had hitherto provided. The chief credit for having transplanted the *Hevea brasiliensis* from the Amazon region to the semi-tropical parts of Asia must be given to the British planters of the Malay peninsula.

The first attempts were made during the last years of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries, and were carried out near Singapore and Penang. On my first visit to Indo-China

(in 1906) I had the good fortune to be able to visit these early "gardens." I was greatly struck by them, and found myself growing as enthusiastic as the pioneers themselves. Among them I found Father Couvreur, Procureur of the French Lazarists of Singapore. He was a man of powerful and strange personality—his sacred vocation did not quite conceal his business instincts. I shall never forget the excursion we made to a rubber plantation, whose "father" he said he was, and which he had founded on a piece of ground belonging to the Mission in the outskirts of Singapore. It was indeed with a truly paternal care that he measured the frail trunks of the young *Heveas*, and made with his penknife little incisions to watch the first drops of "milk" ooze out.

Enthusiasm such as this could not fail to be contageous, and feverish speculation was soon in full swing in financial circles in Shanghai, and from there spread to London. The first "rubber boom" was drawing near.

When I arrived in Indo-China I found "rubber pioneers" among the French colonists at Saigon. They were few in number, and had few resources at their disposal. They had formed themselves into a little syndicate, and set up a rubber plantation in the vicinity of the capital of Cochin-China. I was by no means as impressed by it as I had been by its "elder brothers." To begin with, it was overrun by weeds—the "clean weeding" method was still a matter for argument and not yet an unbreakable rule. In the second place the soil was too poor—grey earth, lacking in "humus," in which the deep-penetrating root of the *Hevea* could not find enough nourishment. However, I realized that the factors causing this relative lack of success could easily be corrected, and I returned from my first visit fully resolved to do all that I could to obtain for this French colony a source of wealth from which great returns could be anticipated.

Actually, on returning to France I had many difficulties to overcome, many objections to answer. I was reminded that what had succeeded in Malaya might easily be a failure in Indo-China: that whereas in Malaya the rains are constant throughout the year, Cochin-China has a "dry season" lasting two or three months, during which (said the prophets of evil) "your trees will wither, tapping will have to stop, and, when that happens, what will you do with your coolies? Additional expense and lost profits"!

My reply was that the original home of the *Hevea* was Brazil, where there is a "dry season" just as in Indo-China: but that in spite of this the tree had always prospered there. Why then should it be less successful in a land the climate of which resembled the country of its origin far more than that of Malaya? Again, I had noticed how, at Penang, the greatest worry of the planters was the liability of the *Hevea* to the type of fungous

plant disease, a liability obviously due to the continuous humidity of Malaya. Would not the short "dry season" of Indo-China be of great help in the struggle against these diseases?

Well, I admit I would have had great difficulty in collecting the capital required to start a large plantation in Cochin-China, had it not been for the support I received from two men, to whom I owe my heartfelt thanks. One was a Belgian planter—now gone from among us, but never to be forgotten by those who at the beginning of this century were interested in rubber and also oil-palm planting—M. Hallet, a man of infectious enthusiasm. The other was a French business man whose name is familiar to all, a man of weight, energy, and perseverance—I refer to M. Raymond Bergougnan. Both these men gave my plans vigorous backing, and a company was formed whose very name seems to show that we were the first in the field—"Societé des Caoutchoucs de l'Indochine." Two steps which I then took seemed at that time quite foolhardy. I asked for a concession of 10,000 hectares, and I chose a piece of land 80 kilometres north of Saigon, right in the jungle, on the edge of tribal country of the Moïs, hardly yet controlled by France.

I had decided to go well into the interior, in face of the fact that I should have to start absolutely from the beginning—to import, lodge, and feed all my employees—partly because I wished to find a large holding, and partly because I wanted to set up my plantation in what is called the "red earth" of Cochin-China. For in this region, and right along to Cambodia, there are upthrusts of "red soil," remarkable for their depth of "humus," which allows the greedy root of the *Hevea* to go down deep into the ground without ever meeting barren soil. Further, in their virgin state, these lands are covered with bamboos, a fact which greatly simplifies the operation of preparing the soil. There are only a few patches of forest, where some large trees have to be cut down. Elsewhere there are only bamboos, which can be burned—the ashes, too, mingling excellently with the rich red earth. The proof that my action was correct is given by the fact that when, some years later, M.M. de Rivaud, following my example, founded large plantations (excellent, I may add), they gave to their company the very name of "Terres Rouges," which indeed has become a kind of trade-mark of Indo-Chinese rubber.

The ups and downs of the rubber market in the past thirty years are a byword—rare must be the capitalist who has not, at some time or other been involved in the problem of rubber prices. There have been two colossal booms, apart from rises and falls of less importance. The enormous profits gained by the producers at certain periods naturally led to the starting of vast new plantations in Malaya, Dutch East Indies, and Indo-China. Even the

natives started them: in the depths of the jungle they made clearances and grew rubber trees, in many cases only discovered by aeroplane observation. When aviators began to fly over the vast forests of Sumatra, and saw beneath them regular and spaced-out lines, they realized that they were seeing plantations, the existence of which had never been suspected. It is hard to find in the history of cultivation anything to compare to the tremendous growth of rubber planting all over the world during the last thirty years, or to the enormous movements of capital that have resulted from it. To find anything that could be compared with this movement, one would have to go back to the riches resulting from the discovery of gold-mining.

Although the state of "overproduction" with which we are now confronted may be only a passing phase, it has been found necessary to safeguard the immense fortunes represented by all these rubber plantations in which millions of capital have been invested, by establishing and working (this time with more success than was met with during earlier attempts) a plan of "restriction." And yet, after a careful study of the question, I cannot help feeling that the real cause of our present troubles is to be found not so much in too great an extension of the area of cultivation as in a reduced consumption due to progress made on the industrial side, and the far greater life of the modern pneumatic tyre. For the development of motor transport has not only not failed to reach the stage envisaged by those who made the plans for extensive new plantations, but has even gone beyond their expectations. But the factor which has completely upset all calculations based on expected production and consumption and made them valueless, is the result of that advance in the technique of tyre manufacture which has substituted for a "life" of 3,000 to 4,000 kilometres one of 30,000 kilometres on the open road and of 40,000 or 50,000 in a city such as Paris. It was this factor that upset the planters' calculations, and it is only fair to admit how difficult it was for them to foresee that by improved methods of manufacture the life of a tyre could be so enormously prolonged by the use of solid, iron-shod or nailed outer covers. As regards "synthetic rubber," which has long seemed a dangerous possible rival for natural rubber, experiments which have been made (especially in Germany, where the making of such chemical compounds is a fine art) show that it is a very poor substitute. Not only have all attempts to bring its price down to that of the natural product failed, but it lacks the quality of elasticity possessed by the product of the bark of a living plant.

But another factor has come into play recently in all calculations of the production factor, and that is the greater amount produced per hectare owing to the process of systematic rejuvenation.

This process consists of using selected cuttings and grafting. In the vegetable world, as in the animal, inequality is the rule. The planters, after careful study, began to realize that their trees were either good "producers" or bad. By only using cuttings taken from "good producers," great progress could be made in increasing the average yield per hectare, and further progress still was made by the use of grafting. Anyone who thinks of the progress made in other forms of cultivation—roses, for instance—by grafting methods, will realize what a vast field of progress is open to the rubber planter. Credit is due to the Dutch planters for having been the first to consider the question of grafting, and to try all kinds of bold experiments, a task in which they have been much helped by the fine organization of the Java experimental plantation. Today the advantages of grafting are universally recognized, and the potential of production in plantations actually, or in process of being, "rejuvenated" has become so much greater that all possible future increases of consumption can be catered for without possible fear of shortage.

Now it was this new increase of production resulting from improved methods of cultivation which led to the imposing, nearly two years ago, of a new restriction plan to last up to 1938. Less than ten years ago the first restriction plan, known as the Stevenson Plan, was set up, but was ineffective owing to numerous frauds, lack of backing from the various Governments, and under-estimation of the importance of native-grown rubber. The new plan has been much better thought out: the British and Dutch colonial Governments—forced as they had been to give assistance to save existing plantations from reverting to jungle for lack of upkeep—have understood this time that it was to their own interest to see that the planters kept rigidly to the plan. In consequence, results are already apparent. The crisis has been averted, and planters, without of course getting profits on the former grand scale, are now able to earn a decent living. At the time when the Stevenson Plan held the field, the agreement was only one between the British and Dutch planters. Indo-China had been treated as negligible, and was not even invited to participate. For indeed, in 1929, when world production was estimated at 861,000 metric tons, and consumption at 807,000, Indo-China was still only able to produce 9,700 metric tons—a little more than 1 per cent. of the whole. But, in spite of the disdain with which they were treated, the planters of Indo-China showed their goodwill to the scheme, and I am proud to say that measures of restriction were adopted on the plantation of which I myself was in charge.

At the time when negotiations for the new plan were proceeding, Indo-China was invited to send representatives to the conference in London. For in the few years which had elapsed her

situation as a producer of rubber had completely changed by the entry into the field of production of a number of new plantations. At the moment rubber plantations comprise 125,000 hectares of Indo-Chinese soil, and of these 30 per cent. at least are plantations of "grafted" trees. And although the rubber production of Indo-China for 1935 is only estimated at 35,000 tons—just over half the total French consumption of 50,000 tons—it is estimated that future production may rise to 75,000. It is thus possible to hope that in a very few years the production of rubber in colonial France may equal the consumption of the homeland. As far as can be seen, Indo-China is bound to benefit from the international agreement now in force, which is generally realized as necessary to cope with a special emergency. Indo-China, however, whilst agreeing to certain restrictive measures, has been dispensed from observing others which are, for her, unnecessary.

It must, however, be realized that even if Indo-China can eventually attain to a maximum production of 75,000 tons, her total will still be less than that produced by Ceylon alone—which amounts to 79,000.

If quality is considered, Indo-Chinese rubber is inferior to none. At first its "make-up" left something to be desired, and brokers took advantage of this to put on exaggerated rebates: but this defect has long since disappeared. "Crepe" and "first latex," produced by the best Indo-Chinese plantations, obtain most favourable quotations on the markets of London and Paris alike.

In conclusion, I feel that I have been justified in the efforts I made to rescue Indo-China from the cultivation of rice to the exclusion of all else, and to endow its soil with a real source of riches. Places whose climate and soil are suitable for the growing of rubber are few in number. I felt that France, possessing a colony fully suitable for the purpose, should not neglect to develop there that form of cultivation which can answer the urgent need of our modern civilization—that need for rapid transport which never rests content, and always seeks to surpass its previous performances by the winning of new records.

(Translated.)

PERSONALITIES OF THE CONGRESS OF FAITHS

By Sir Francis Younghusband

Most varied personalities are now assembling in London to take part in the Congress of Faiths and discuss how the spirit of fellowship may best be promoted in face of those forces which are making for antagonism and war.

The President of the Congress, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, is already here. He is well-known for the liberal spirit in which he treats his subjects, the majority of whom are of his own religion, Hinduism, but many thousands of whom are Muslims and Parsis. During the recent celebration of his Diamond Jubilee he stressed the importance of religion as the foundation of society and spoke of the brotherhood of man and the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth as the greatest ideal of all. Rather than toleration he recommended co-operation in religion. He quoted an ancient Sanscrit adage commending the broadminded man who considered the whole world as his family. The same simple creed which Christ preached, he reminded his hearers, was fundamental in the teachings of Sri Krishna, the Buddha, Zoroaster, and Muhammad. Where we erred today was in our failure to apply to modern conditions a code of living truths which was as old as time.

Another Indian who has already arrived is Sir Radhakrishnan, who will probably make a very deep mark upon the Congress. He is a Southern Indian of penetrating insight and deep intensity of feeling. He may be regarded as the representative of Modern Hinduism, and he has just been appointed to the Spalding Chair of Eastern Religion and Ethics at Oxford University. One of his characteristics is the extreme speed with which he delivers his addresses. He can only keep his argument together if he speaks with lightning rapidity.

Another great Hindu philosopher who has just arrived from India is S. N. Das Gupta—not to be confused with Kedarnath Das Gupta, who organized the Congress in Chicago. Professor Das Gupta is Principal of the Sanscrit College in Calcutta, and is a man of great insight and learning. He has lectured in many parts of Europe and America, and is engaged in writing a monumental work on Indian Philosophy, two volumes of which have already been published, while two more are ready for the press, and the fifth and last has yet to be written.

Buddhism sprang from Hinduism, but left India and spread over

Eastern Asia. And from the furthest East is coming Professor Suzuki, the greatest exponent of Zen Buddhism in Japan. And from Ceylon Professor Malasekara, who has studied in the West as well as the East and who represents the modern phases of Buddhism.

To my great regret it was impossible to persuade Sir Mahomed Iqbal, the revered poet of modern Islam, to come to London. He has suffered much private trouble and is unable to leave his family. But otherwise Islam is well represented. From India come Sir Abdul Qadir, well-known in the sphere of politics, but also known as a fervent Muslim, and Mr. Yusaf Ali, who was for many years in the Indian Civil Service and is now Principal of the Islamic College at Lahore. And from Egypt, Sheikh-el-Maraghi, Rector of the Al Hazar University at Cairo, is sending a representative to read a paper he has written specially for the Congress.

From Syria, Shoghi Effendi, the Head of the Bahai Movement, is commissioning one of his adherents to represent him. And Dr. Magnes, President of the Hebrew University, is coming from Jerusalem.

From France some distinguished thinkers will be addressing the Congress: Nicholas Berdiaeff, of the Greek Orthodox Church, who has suffered much persecution in Russia, but from Paris has written several important books, some of which have been translated into English. M. Jean Schlumberger, author of *Sur les Frontières Religieuses*, will be speaking from the point of view of independent religious thought. Professor Louis Massignon, of the Collège de France and General Secretary of the Institut des Études Islamiques at the Sorbonne, will be speaking from the point of a Roman Catholic who has been closely in touch with the Muslim world.

Such are the principal speakers from outside England who will be delivering addresses to the Congress. They will not be expounding the doctrines of their various religions or comparing their own with others. But each as a representative spokesman of his own religion will be conveying to the Congress his views upon how the main problem before the Congress can best be solved. Their addresses have already been received and printed for circulation among members of the Congress; and the discussions on them should lead to most fruitful results. But the greatest benefit of all will be derived from personal contact with these distinguished persons from many lands and from the informal discussions which will follow the main debates.

THE CHIEF PROBLEMS OF THE WORKING-CLASS PEOPLE IN CHINA*

By Professor Chen Ta
(Professor of Sociology, Tsinghua University.)

1. The Nature of the Problem

In recent years there has been considerable social unrest in China. In the rural areas there have been frequent conflicts between the landlord and the tenant. In the cities labour disputes and strikes between the management and the employees have been fairly common. The direct and indirect causes underlying this unrest have been complex and deep-rooted. At the present moment it is still impracticable to analyze all the significant factors involved in the working-class problems in China. What is here proposed is an attempt to scrutinize certain social data which have served as motive power to concerted activities of the Chinese workmen.

Viewed from various angles, the problems of the Chinese labourers present different phases which demand careful consideration. To a student of sociology certain aspects attract more serious attention than others. Like other members of Chinese society, the workers should be considered in reference to the question whether or not they are primarily able to discharge their proper functions as citizens. This amounts to a study of the workers' material, cultural, and moral qualities: first as qualifications for producers in their respective occupations, and secondly as qualifications for citizens, especially in the multifarious relationships with their fellow-men. This is frankly a point of view which especially emphasizes social welfare and which considers in preference to other matters the socio-economic and cultural questions of the Chinese workmen.

In the first place, who should be included in the general category of the working-class people? In a broad sense this term should include the farmers, handicraftsmen, miners, and city workers who earn their living by means of physical or mental exertion, or both. They certainly constitute the most numerous groups in the Chinese population, though it is difficult to state precisely how many millions constitute their total numerical strength. It goes without saying that their material and moral well-being bears important and manifold relationship to that of

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the entire nation. Though the size of the Chinese proletariat is formidable, the significance of the problem does not lie with the labouring classes alone, but principally with the intimate connection which the working-class has with the whole country.

2. Unemployment and Under-Employment

Competent observers have repeatedly reminded us that both in rural areas and in the cities there is a vast number of people who are without employment or who are only partially employed. The seriousness of this problem varies in localities, in occupations, and in the degree of skill of the workmen. In the countryside a drought or a flood sometimes renders a large number of farmers homeless or deprives them of their work. In the cities poor business conditions may compel the management to reduce the number of employees in a factory or in a commercial establishment. Certain evil effects of the flood of 1931, which adversely affected about 130 counties in the Lower Yangtse Valley, are vividly seen today, especially in some devastated areas, where the farmers still find it impossible to resume farming on the scale to which they were formerly accustomed. During the period of depression certain Chinese industries are suffering heavy losses, such as cotton spinning and weaving, silk reeling and flour milling. In important industrial and commercial centres such as Shanghai and Wusi, where formerly large numbers of workmen made their living in these industries, unemployment or under-employment on a colossal scale exist to-day. Thousands of working men, women, and children in a number of Chinese cities are now without employment or are being employed only as part-time workers.

3. Insufficient Wages

Those workmen who are fortunate enough to have employment to-day are, in many cases, also living under unfavourable circumstances. Many of them are complaining of insufficient wages. During the last fifteen years or so there has been each year a fairly large number of labour disputes and strikes throughout China. Speaking of the strikes alone, the number varied from 25 in 1918 to 79 in 1933. In 1926, when social unrest seemed to have reached a climax, a total of 535 strikes was reported. About half of these strikes have arisen out of the controversies affecting wage payments—from demands either for the maintenance of the existing wages or for the increase of wages or against the reduction of wages. From these strikes one is led to believe that a vast number of Chinese workmen are receiving wages insufficient to keep themselves and their families in decency and health.

Allowing for local differences in sections of the country, farmers may be out of employment for one-fourth of the year, being ordinarily idle during the winter months. The average farming family is not able to earn more than $250 (Chinese currency) per year. In the cities, though the cost of living is generally higher, the annual earnings of the average factory worker's family are, perhaps, between $300 and $400 (Chinese currency). It is admittedly true that neither the ordinary farmer nor the city worker is able to earn a sufficient wage to keep a reasonable standard of life for themselves and their families.

4. Social Significance of Low Wages

The insufficiency of wages, coupled with an age-long tradition of family solidarity, has given rise to the widespread practice of woman and child labour on the farms, in the handicrafts, in certain mines, and among some modern industries. Female labour is chiefly employed in art, textiles, food, chemicals, and clothing establishments. Child labour is most commonly met with in art, textiles, furniture, and clothing establishments. The employment of woman and child labour has created serious health problems, with reference both to personal matters and also to working conditions. Owing to their delicate physical constitution, women and children do not stand the hardship of work nearly as well as adult men. Then, too, the unhygienic labour conditions in which women and children work frequently affect their health adversely.

The small earnings of the worker may in some cases force him to practise false economy in family expenditure. He and his family, by force of social usage and economic pressure, may choose to live in an insanitary house or eat unwholesome food, to the detriment of their health. Poor health lowers a man's resistance to disease and decreases his working efficiency. Lower efficiency brings him smaller wages, which, again, force him to economize on food and lodging, thus, again, exposing him and his family to the dangers of poor health. Thus multitudes of workmen in China are moving in this vicious circle.

If measured by calories the Chinese working-man's diet generally falls short of the conventional standard which is set up for the working classes in Europe or America. The chief defects of the Chinese diet seem to lie in the insufficiency of protein and in the over-supply of starch and carbo-hydrates. This defective diet is the combined result of social custom and economic necessity. A small income naturally compels the housewife to buy the cheapest foods available. She is further handicapped by ignorance of the nutritive value of foods, and is also bound by social tradition to

make certain choices of foods. As a rule the Chinese worker's diet is overwhelmingly dominated by grain and cereal, supplemented insufficiently by vegetables and fruits, and eggs, fish, and meat are inadequately represented.

The intricate problems of the Chinese workmen as above indicated are socio-economic in nature. They touch upon the economic life of the common man and woman, and are also in various ways related to the ways and customs of the different social classes. Though unemployment is their worst enemy, under-employment and irregular employment, together with insufficient income, compel a number of them to adopt a mode of life which is detrimental to health and which is chiefly responsible for general inefficiency in various occupations.

5. Governmental Attempts to Improve Socio-Economic Conditions of the Chinese Workmen

Noteworthy attempts which are calculated to improve the socio-economic status of the Chinese proletariat have recently been made. More comprehensive and more systematic efforts than are represented by the social service organizations and the example of public-spirited individuals represent the endeavours of the Chinese Government and the People's Party. From the beginning of its history the Kuomintang is pledged to ameliorate the lot of the common man in China. Relating to internal politics, the Party's platform has promised, in article 10, to reform village organizations, to improve the living conditions of the peasants, and in article 11 to enact labour laws to improve the life of the city workmen and to assist in their collective struggle for group welfare.

In pursuance of the Party's pronounced intentions, the Chinese Government has in recent years enacted social legislation and has announced ambitious programmes for the improvement of the life in the villages and in the cities. There are laws settling the rights and duties of the landlord and the tenant in the ownership and use of the land, as well as measures calculated to improve agricultural production and village organization, such as rural credit, scientific farming, irrigation and drainage, and road building. In modernized occupations, such as mining and industry, special laws are promulgated relating to the rights and duties of the employer or manager on the one hand and the worker on the other. Health and safety form part of the first protective labour legislation which the Chinese Government is seriously trying to enforce. Woman and child labour, minimum wages, housing, and the right of association among the workmen are among the questions uppermost in the minds of the legislators and the administrative officials of the Chinese Government.

The small income of the farmers is due to a great variety of factors, including the small acreage of the farm, high taxation, excessive rate of interest, and the impracticability of selling agricultural produce in a larger market than that represented by the local consumer. High rent to the Government or to the landlord, or high rate of interest to the moneylender, have been among the important causes of the disputes in the rural regions. With a view to improving the economic and social situation in the villages, the Government has recently reduced the rent on land by 25 per cent., greatly relieving the economic burden of the tenants in some areas. Co-operative credit, which was first initiated by private organizations a dozen or more years ago, has recently been undertaken by several provincial governments in earnest. The building of highways, which is increasingly common in many parts of the rural areas, will eventually facilitate the means of communication and thus reduce the cost of transportation so that agricultural products may easily be shipped to various regions in the country for sale.

The small acreage of farms is relatively a more difficult problem to tackle. As a result of the breaking up of the hereditary farm from generation to generation, the small farm is really closely linked up with the high density of the rural population. The solution of this intricate question will probably involve the survey of the land as the initial step to form the basis of certain new social policies such as the re-allotment of farms, the reorganization of village units, or the adoption of a new population policy.

With special reference to city labour, certain noteworthy efforts of the Government may be outlined. Since 1931 the Chinese Government, adopting the recommendation of the International Labour Office, is earnestly planning to enforce the Factory Law, with special reference to the features protecting the health and safety of the workmen. In 1930 the Government of China ratified the international convention on minimum wage, thus pledging itself to adhere to the principle of living wage and gradually to carry it through in China. Ever since 1923 China has been marching on the road towards liberating the workman and granting him the freedom of association, and this right is granted them under certain conditions in the Labour Union Law of 1929.

Although the Chinese Government has been anxious to improve the socio-economic status of the working-men through legislation as above hinted, serious difficulties lie in the way of enforcing certain acts which are already promulgated, such as the attempted enforcement of the Factory Law of 1929. Substantial benefit to the workers will indeed accrue if some sections of the labour laws

which are already promulgated can be seriously and uniformly enforced in China.

The point to be emphasized here is that the question of the socio-economic improvement of the Chinese workmen has heretofore received insufficient attention, and that therefore too few remedies have been suggested. Among the proposed reforms very little is practical enough to be immediately applied so as to bestow actual benefit to the common labourers in China.

6. The Cultural Needs of the Chinese Proletariat

Following this trend of thought a little further, problems of another category emerge. They point to the cultural needs of the Chinese workmen.

As the Chinese farmer, the handicraftsman, and the factory worker have generally a small income, they are usually handicapped in the possibilities of self-elevation. The workman will be lucky if he, with the assistance of his wife and children, earns sufficient money to keep them adequately fed and clothed. Rarely is he able to spend additional money for the education of himself or his children.

7. Deficiency of Education in China

The great deficiency of education in China may be shown by a rough comparison with the United States of America. In 1920 the total number of children in the primary schools in the United States amounted to 14·9 per cent. of the total population, or 78·9 per cent. of the total number of children who were old enough for the primary schools. In China the total number of children in the primary schools was estimated to be 2·4 per cent. of the total population, or 12·5 per cent. of the total number of children of primary school age. Proportionately, therefore, the school population in the United States is more than six times as large as that in China. If we take the primary school students and the middle school students together, we find that in the United States they constitute 74·1 per cent. of those whose ages are between 7 and 17, whereas in China they constitute only 9·4 per cent. of all those whose ages fall between 7 and 18. In other words, the students in the primary and middle schools in the United States are proportionately about eight times as numerous as they are in China.

At present students of the primary and middle schools in China are principally drawn from three social classes: (1) from those families whose parents are engaged in industry and commerce, (2) from families whose parents are in Government service, and (3) from families whose parents are engaged in educational work.

It is quite clear that these social groups form rather insignificant portions of the Chinese population. The relatively more numerous classes are the farmers in the rural areas and the workers in the cities; they have little opportunity of placing their children in the schools. As above referred to, the working family in China hardly receives more than 30 silver dollars per month, and the minimum expenditure for bringing up a child from birth till its seventeenth year is, according to a recent estimate, 3,000 silver dollars in a middle-class family in the urban regions. It is also estimated that in order to enable a family to keep a child in the middle school the family income must be 60 silver dollars or more per month. If conditions remain as they are now, it is unlikely that education can be brought within the reach of the average farmer and the city worker throughout China.

8. Evils of Illiteracy

The unsatisfactory situation in education has resulted in widespread illiteracy among the rank and file of labour and also in an insufficiency of leaders among the Chinese workmen. Excessive illiteracy renders it impracticable to extend vocational education among the labourers, which makes it impossible to improve their skill and training. This in turn forces many workers to accept low wages, which greatly handicap them and their children in the struggle to ascend the social ladder. The lack of intelligent leaders among the labourers makes it impossible to start a worth-while labour movement to promote the working-class interests and welfare. Situations are sometimes met with in the farmers' leagues, in the guilds, and in the labour unions, in which the leaders, had they correctly understood the needs of their members, would not have taken the courses of action that they sometimes did. Leaders of certain social movements have not been drawn from the farm or from the rank and file of city labour. These leaders frequently have mixed motives in their activities. Sometimes they have brought injury to their followers by unwarranted demands in cases of disputes between employers and employees.

Because the average workman is illiterate, he is unable to support or defy his leaders as the case may be. If the average working man and woman were more enlightened, a more critical attitude would be taken by them of the matters affecting their economic and social well-being, and there would be greater communal security in Chinese society.

9. Efforts for Extending Education to the Working Population

The lack of primary education among the workers may be briefly discussed, with special reference to the children. Child labour is still being employed in a number of occupations, as mentioned above, though the age at which the child commences to work is slowly rising. Is the State alone responsible for providing primary education for these working children? Certain employers formerly gave an affirmative answer to this question and refused to co-operate with the Government in extending educational facilities to the working children. Taking a common-sense view, however, one is not convinced that the responsibility of primary education should rest with the State alone, for in a number of handicrafts and industries the children have, through their daily toil, made rather important contributions towards business prosperity. Today an increasing number of employers are becoming more liberal-minded and are willing to contribute money towards educating their child-workers. In a study of factory labour in Shanghai in 1931 it was revealed that 151 factories made no provision for educating their child-employees, while 55 factories had done so, although among the latter were also included some cases of education for the children of the adult employees who were not directly in the employ of the factories.

In certain rural areas the same kind of primary education is sometimes given to the adults and children, though frequently in separate groups. At the national headquarters of the Mass Education Movement a knowledge of 1,000 Chinese characters may be gained by the farmers or their children through an attendance of one hour each day for three months. This knowledge will generally enable them to write their own names, to keep simple accounts for the household, and to read and write simple notices or letters. Going a step further, rural schools in certain areas are now organized under the tutorship of one teacher, who is able to handle 150 pupils by first selecting and training a number of bright pupils, who in turn assist the teacher in teaching the rest of the pupils in the school. Any village which has an annual sum of $200 (Chinese currency) is now able to open and maintain a school of this kind. This type of school is meeting a great social need in rural China, and is likely to popularize primary education in a rather suitable way.

Anyone who has the privilege of watching the farmers and workers taking lessons after their working hours must be impressed by the very keen manner in which they embrace educational opportunities. Though the working hours are usually long, these labourers, of both sexes and of various ages, go to classes with an eagerness of spirit and a freshness of mind that command respect and admiration. Any opportunity for self-elevation is therefore properly taken advantage of by the labourer in the city or on the farm. Here lies a great hope of improving the quality of the Chinese population when the right opportunity presents itself.

Another set of cultural traits of the Chinese working-men may be briefly alluded to. Although the wages are generally low and living conditions unsatisfactory, the average worker takes to his employment cheerfully, faithfully, and generally turns out the best product in accordance with his skill and experience. He works happily and enjoys life. Embodying the social tradition of many generations, he is contented in spirit, frugal in his habits, and steady in his task.

Numerically powerful and culturally adaptable, the members of the Chinese working population should naturally form the solid foundation of a strong nation. When the income of the working-class family is increased, living conditions will generally improve, and the level of personal health and social hygiene will ordinarily be raised. If education is greatly extended to the middle and lower classes, there will permeate in Chinese society universal intelligence among all the social classes, which will constitute the basis of a true democracy.

10. The Meaning of an Enlightened Proletariat to the Nation

A more enlightened proletariat not only confers benefit to the working-classes, but also paves the way for a diffused social consciousness which assures national progress. Whatever reforms may be proposed, intelligent discussion of them may be undertaken by all groups of people, including the working-men. Issues may clearly be understood and benefit or harm to society correctly analyzed. In this way an intelligent body of citizens may gradually be built up, which is perhaps the keynote to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's utterances when he argued in substance that the farmers and the city workers would ensure the success of the people's revolution which he was then leading. Dr. Sun wanted the revolution to involve all the social classes of China, in order to make reforms affecting all phases of the national life. Since the farmers and the urban workmen were more numerous than the people in other social groups, it was clear that the revolution could not be a success unless and until the farmers and the city labourers

DECENTRALIZATION IN MALAYA

By Sir R. O. Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt.
(Formerly General Adviser, Johore.)

The four Federated Malay States came under British protection not simultaneously but at different dates, Perak in January, 1874, Selangor at the end of that year, the various States forming Negri Sembilan between 1874 and 1886, Pahang in 1888. Accordingly the four States were administered originally as separate entities. Each had a State Council, that joined the functions of the Executive and Legislative Councils of a British colony. Each passed its own laws and its own annual budget, and each had its own State officers. In spite of the Residents being subordinate to the Governor of the Straits Settlements (an adjacent colony), and of having to submit for his approval their annual reports and budgets and their monthly journals, and in spite of some of the officials being seconded from the civil service of that colony, differences in laws, taxation, and land administration grew more serious from year to year. Visits from the Governor were rare, as there were few roads and no railways except the eight miles from Port Weld to Taiping, which were opened in 1885.

Accordingly in 1895, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, the four States were federalized with one civil service, interchangeable between the States, under a Resident-General, subordinate to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, who henceforth was appointed High Commissioner for the Malay States. The powers of the Rulers were to remain uncurtailed, except that they agreed in all matters of administration other than those touching the Muhammadan religion to follow the advice of this new head of the Federation, while the obligations of each Ruler towards his own Resident remained as before. The then Sultan of Perak observed that he had never heard of a ship having two captains, and the event was to involve the High Commissioner also and to show that there were three. Sir Frank Swettenham had wanted the Resident-General to be directly under the Secretary of State, but Mr. Joseph Chamberlain ruled that he must be under the High Commissioner. A passage from the 1932 report of Sir Samuel Wilson, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, is relevant: "I think that all those who have given the situation in Malaya serious thought very much regret the difficulties that have arisen from time to time in the past twenty years between successive High Commissioners and officers holding the post of Resident-General (or Chief Secretary) at Kuala Lumpur, culminating as they did some years ago in the unconcealed friction that existed between the holders of these two posts. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the situation then created has been to a great extent responsible for the change that, I am told, has taken place in the spirit of co-operation and goodwill that had always existed between all sections of the community before then. Further, I am led to believe that the same situation paved the way for the growth of the feeling of suspicion and mistrust which appears to exist between the colony and the Federated Malay States." The absence of an Executive Council to advise and check him encouraged intolerance of restraint in the chief resident officer in the Malay States. If he came from another part of the Empire, the Rulers were disappointed because he was familiar neither with them nor their language, and the Residents because he had the broad financial outlook but was not interested in parochial politics. If he were promoted from the Malayan civil service, his local knowledge gave him an advantage unfair in many respects over a Governor appointed from elsewhere. Moreover, he was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl. A weak Resident would refer to him important duties properly belonging to a Resident; local knowledge would lead him to usurp duties properly belonging to the High Commissioner. The attempt of Sir John Anderson in 1909 to emphasize the routine nature of the duties by changing the style Resident-General to the style Chief Secretary only made Europeans, Chinese, and Malays suspicious that it was desired to weaken the office and deprive the States of their champion against encroachment by the High Commissioner and by Downing Street. Sir John also arranged, in the absence of an Executive Council, for periodical meetings between the High Commissioner, the Chief Secretary and the Residents, but a body having no unofficial members still left the Chief Secretary the unchallenged local expert in administration.

In 1895 it was arranged that there should be a Federal advisory body or Durbar with no legislative or financial power. The States passed their own laws and budgets, though they passed them only if the Resident-General approved. Then to safeguard big business interests common to Malaya and to give the public a voice in administration, Sir John Anderson in 1909 established a Federal Council. This change left to the State Councils merely the confirmation of death sentences, the appointment of mosque and village officials, the banishment of alien criminals, grants to mosques, and occasional legislation on trifling points of Muslim religion or native custom. The Rulers were members of the new Federal Council, but their natural courtesy and traditional statesmanship kept them from joining in debate with one another or

with the High Commissioner, the Chief Secretary, and the Residents, or with the European and Chinese unofficial members. And a council on which were heard only the chief Federal official and the unofficials who represented Federal business interests actually increased the authority and prestige of the Chief Secretary. In 1895 the Rulers had agreed to give to those States in the Federation which required it such assistance in men, money, or other respects as the British Government advised. By the constitution of 1909 the draft estimates of revenue and expenditure of each State were to be considered by the Federal Council. In effect the Rulers and Residents sat and listened to the allocation of the revenue of their States by the Chief Secretary and by the unofficials, whose main care was the tin and rubber industries. The attempt to restore to the Rulers some of their old powers before federation failed utterly. And bureaucratic centralization was strengthened by the development of railway and telegraph systems, by the needs of the great rubber industry, and by emergency legislation due to the Great War. Nothing succeeds like success, and the amazing prosperity of the tin and rubber industries between 1909 and 1913 blinded the eyes of even the Malay Rulers to the creeping tentacles of the Kuala Lumpur bureaucracy.

> For forms of government let fools contest.
> Whate'er is best administered is best.

And nothing could be better than the Chief Secretary's annual balance-sheet. Then came the war. In shattering emergencies men care only for efficiency, and to secure it are ready to forgo even liberty. The Federated Malay States became "not a federation but an amalgamation."

When the smoke of the Great War had died away, the Malay Rulers could once more view local politics in normal perspective. And the lean years of the slump came, when all over the world men took stock of their governments. The Rulers of the four States discovered that they had sold their birthrights for big balances, and now that mess of pottage was finished and the pot was empty. Had the Kuala Lumpur juggernaut been so efficient after all? There were the millions of dollars lost in the mud of the Prai dock. There was the costly, too ambitious programme of railway development. Moreover, to quote Sir Laurence Guillemard, "in 1909 a treaty with Siam brought Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu under British protection, and in 1914 the State of Johore entered into a treaty which was in main principles the same as the treaty of Pangkor"—namely, the Perak Treaty of 1874. In these new States "the British Advisers had to deal with a different type of ruler from the type fifty years ago, and they set about their task in a different way . . . along lines in no wise bureaucratic and for

the benefit primarily of the Malays." In each of the new States the State Council had the power and authority which in the old had been usurped by the Federal Council. How could the Rulers of the Federation help being jealous? "These last have continued one hour only, and thou hast made them (more than) the equal unto us, which have borne the burden and heat of the day." Looking for a remedy for this discontent, Sir Laurence proposed to distribute the powers of the Chief Secretary between Rulers in Council, British Residents, and heads of departments, so that "eventually the office *as at present constituted* will be abolished." "The knee," as Malays say, "is nearer than the foot." To the unofficial magnates of Kuala Lumpur, Carcosa (the home of the Chief Secretary) was the knee and Government House, Singapore, the foot. There was a sentimental regard for the office of Chief Secretary, and a desire to retain this uncrowned Governor on their own premises. And there was loud and groundless talk that the real object of the change was to transfer power into the hands of the High Commissioner, to rivet on to the Federation "the fetters of Singapore," even to fuse it with the colony. Only now, therefore, has this change been carried out, the Chief Secretary being superseded at last by a Federal officer junior slightly to each of the four British Residents and holding an office that should correspond with that of the High Commissioner's Secretary for the Unfederated Malay States. Whatever arguments might be pressed for the retention of a Chief Secretary, the abolition of the post was the keystone of any decentralization policy.

Sir Laurence Guillemard also appointed a Committee to consider financial devolution. As we have seen, the legislative authority for all expenditure of State as well as of Federal moneys was the Federal Council. On the recommendation of the Guillemard Committee, the Federal Council decided to grant some measure of financial autonomy to the States by removing from its own province the detailed provision for certain services. Such services as the offices of the High Commissioner, Chief Secretary and Legal Adviser, the cost of pensions for officials, of the Labour, Customs and Museums Departments, of Post and Telegraphs and Railways, these were to be provided for solely in the Federal Estimates. Provision for Rulers and Chiefs and Residents, political pensions, State bands, district offices and so on, this was to be voted as a lump sum to be inserted in the budgets of the several States and to be allocated in detail by the several State Councils. Finally there were services susceptible of possible future classification with the last (or State) services, but for the moment left in the Federal Estimates: these debatable services were, for example, military expenditure, and the expenditure of many departments such as Agriculture, Education, Surveys, Forests, Mines, Public

Works, Medical, and Police. In 1932 another Committee implemented these innovations. It defined various classes of services as unquestionably Federal—namely:

(*a*) Services necessary to discharge joint liabilities shared by the States in common, such as public debt charges and pensions.

(*b*) Services which, for reason of economy and efficiency, it is in the best interests of all the States to maintain as a single unit under central control, such as the Supreme Court, Customs, Police, Labour, and Survey Departments and Military Defence.

(*c*) Services of a staff employed for the common advantage of all States, such as the High Commissioner, the Malayan Civil Service, and the Directors and Advisers of Federal Departments.

(*d*) Federal institutions, like the Institute of Medical Research, the Central Mental Hospital, and the Agricultural College.

(*e*) Certain miscellaneous services, such as contributions to external bodies like the London School of Tropical Medicine and the Trinidad College of Tropical Medicine, made on behalf of the whole Federation.

There was also accepted the recommendation of this same committee that, as in India and Australia, Federal services should be financed by the appropriation of special revenues—namely, Customs duties and Excise revenue, the interest on existing loans and investments, receipts under certain Federal enactments, interest from the Railway Department on its capital debt and rents on Federal property. Henceforth Agriculture, Education, Forestry, Public Works, and Medical Services all became *State* Departments, with Federal Advisers at the head only.

If these innovations are to make for successful administration, three things will have to be conserved—namely: (*a*) the financial stability of the whole Federation and of its constituent parts; (*b*) enlightened public representation on the State Councils with their enlarged spending powers; and (*c*) the efficiency of the small State Departments, into which the former large Federal Departments have been split.

Of these problems, the first will be the easiest to solve. The 1932 Committee pointed the way. Before the annual estimates of any State are submitted to the State Council, the Resident will consult the Federal Financial Adviser and submit them to the High Commissioner for approval. Any disagreement between a Resident and the Federal Treasury will be reported to the High Commissioner. No State may sanction any expenditure in excess of the amount provided by the Annual Supply Bill. No State loan shall be issued without the sanction of the Federal Council. The whole of each State's surplus shall be paid into the Federal Treasury until a Federal reserve fund of $35,000,000 has been created. These precautions should ensure that, if and when future development

may have to be financed by loans, the Federation will "be able to enter the money market with credentials no whit less convincing than those it carried in the past"; the raising of such loans should not be difficult or the rates of interest exorbitant. Sir Samuel Wilson rightly found "a great deal to be said for handing over the control of the spending departments to the State Governments. It has been suggested that a good deal of the extravagant expenditure in recent years has been due to the fact that those who have urged the carrying out of certain services have not been responsible for finding the money to pay for them. Moreover, the State authorities who are in close touch with the details of what is being done must be in a much better position to see that there is no unnecessary extravagance than the heads of the Federal Departments, who can only take decisions on the advice they receive from their State officers and can only at the best pay periodical visits to the different States."

The second desideratum is enlightened public representation on the State Councils. This, in my opinion, is a far more difficult problem. Speaking in the Legislative Council of the colony, the Hon. Mr. Tan Cheng Lock, C.B.E., expressed the fear that "decentralization would tend to develop in the Malay States a purely autocratic form of government without effective political representation and that there would be a consequent loss of freedom." The only step possible to combat this tendency is to require that no unofficial shall be appointed a member of the Federal Council who is not already a member of a State Council. Will this be enough? At present no Malay member of a State Council will vote against his Ruler—except in Negri Sembilan; and the cleverest Malay chief is one who can talk longest without expressing any conclusive views before he knows the views of his Sultan. Time and education may change this. For the time being the path of the State Councils must be paved with the persuasive eloquence of the Resident and the unofficials. Brains should count: if a Resident cannot get his Ruler to understand both sides of a question, he should be put on pension—or promoted. I may have been lucky, but I have known few Malay Rulers who have not been statesmanlike. Sometimes "the knee is nearer than the foot," but tact and an appeal to the dignity of the Sultanate work wonders. As for unofficials, sometimes their zeal outruns their discretion and, laudable though their intentions may be, they may put the clock back occasionally in matters like education, which every fool thinks he is competent to better. At the same time, when I was Director of Education for the colony and the Federated Malay States, I always knew I could rely on the Eurasian and Chinese and Malay members of the Legislative and Federal Councils to champion the schools. One has to allow for the

aberrations of Residents and even of High Commissioners as well as for the aberrations of unofficials.

The third problem is to maintain the efficiency of Federal Departments that have been split into State Departments. Even the warmest advocates of decentralization are prepared for some deterioration. But the partition is not absolute or complete. "The constitutional position of the Federal heads of the big departments will be that of advisers to the four State Governments: they will have no executive capacity within the States beyond what may be conferred upon them individually by the States Governments. The way is thus left open to discrimination and adjustment, as circumstances may demand, and there need be no cast-iron uniformity. For example, the Federal heads of the Medical and Public Works Departments are purely advisers, the executive powers within the several States being vested in the State heads, whereas in the case of Agriculture, Drainage and Irrigation, Education, Electrical, Forests, Mines and Veterinary Departments, the Rulers in Council in each of the four States have considered it advisable at this stage to confer on the Federal heads personal executive authority and responsibility in respect of the State services, works, and institutions of those departments." Except that it had a European staff interchangeable throughout Malaya, the Education Department never was centralized. Occasionally difficulties arose. Matters of common interest I always referred to all the State Inspectors of Schools, generally taking the opinion of the majority. My recommendations were then submitted by the Chief Secretary to the Residents. Each of these would refer to his State Inspector of Schools. I found that the minority sometimes warmly pressed their views on their Residents after I had considered and rejected or modified them in accordanre with the views of the majority of Inspectors. The issue of a circular would have been tactless, but I saw each of the Inspectors in turn, explained to them how their views were carefully weighed against those of their fellows and that a house divided against itself could not stand. They saw the point and probably they recognized that promotion in the department came not from a Resident but from the Director of Education. The present partition of Federal Departments has left their European officers interchangeable between all the States and the colony, *Malayan* officials seconded for certain periods to a State. Devolution will involve delay and parleying with the guardians of the four parish pumps. But perhaps in the long run it may be the case of the hare and the tortoise. The pace of a herd of elephants, runs a Malay proverb, should be the pace of the slowest member of the herd.

One problem there is that looks difficult. A legal committee appointed by Sir Laurence Guillemard reported that in the matter

of legislation there was only one alternative. Either each State must legislate for itself as in the old days, "a quadruplicate system of legislation clumsy and unreal, and a return to it would be a retrograde step neither practicable nor desirable." Or else there must be "a real Federation, under which the Federal Council would legislate in respect of Federal matters only, such laws having effect throughout the Federation, and the States on matters affecting the States only." The five Unfederated Malay States each pass and print their own laws, but they have had the Federal Enactments to copy. In 1926 one member of the Federal Council said, "Education is not a Federal, much less a State, but a Malayan problem. Agriculture, Surveys, Forests, and Mines should be Federal if we want economy and efficiency. Some of my friends tell me that it may be argued that the various Unfederated Malay States are having their own efficient departments under State control. My reply is 'Don't forget the Alma Mater' (namely, the Federated Malay States), 'with whose organization, constant recruiting, and co-ordination these efficient services in those States have been made possible.'" This applies especially to legislation.

Was it, then, worth while, this picking of an efficient, soulless, machine to pieces to remould it according to the adumbrations of Sir Laurence Guillemard and the principles of Sir Cecil Clementi? It was rumoured that for a long time the Rulers were divided on the abolition of the Chief Secretary. Malays are more interested in men than in methods. If any one of them desire an office to be abolished, it is always possible that he may dislike its holder for the time being. Sir Samuel Wilson wrote of decentralization not with enthusiasm but as if he had reluctantly to accept a *fait accompli*: "The events of recent years have encouraged the Rulers to believe that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to adopt in the near future a policy of decentralization: and the adoption of any other course now would, *I am afraid*, shake to a great extent the confidence of the Rulers in the *bona fides* of the British Government." Sir Samuel, however, continued: "Moreover, it seems clear that the maintenance of the position, authority, and prestige of the Malay Rulers must always be a cardinal point in British policy: and the encouragement of indirect rule will probably prove the greatest safeguard against the political submersion of the Malays, which would result from the development of popular government on Western lines. For, in such a government the Malays would be hopelessly outnumbered by the other races owing to the great influx of immigrants that has taken place into Malaya during the last few years." This safeguard, to which honour pledges us, is just what Eurasians, Chinese, and Indians fear. Will it be not only a safeguard for the Malays, but a barrier against the ambitions of all other races? The Federation bred a

bureaucratic mind, soulless but perhaps fairer than nepotism. "Choose Uncle Tahir for Prime Minister," said a Sultan's mother from behind her curtain in Malacca four hundred years ago. "Choose Uncle Tahir" is a common cry in the Unfederated Malay States.

The total area of Malaya is 50,874 square miles, about that of England. It is now split up into the colony and nine Malay States. Was the restoration of four parish pumps in this small area legitimist sentiment? Whisper it not in Kedah or Johore, but the holding of an annual Durbar of representatives of all the States and of the colony, the institution of a Malayan Postal Union and the attempt by Sir Cecil Clementi to get a Customs Union for the whole of Malaya accepted by the unofficials—these and other political straws would appear to show that the end in view is a loose pan-Malayan Federation. To the achievement of such an end there are grave obstacles. In the matter of customs and excise, for example, conditions in Trengganu and Kelantan are quite unlike those in the western States, while conditions in all the States differ from conditions in Singapore. Sentimental objections to any league are far greater. There is no settled order of precedence among the rules, and until they can be persuaded to measure their dignity by the length of their reigns, a diplomatic illness is sometimes the only way to ensure that a Durbar hurts no feelings. The rulers do not distinguish between juridical independence, which they possess, and political independence, which they have surrendered by treaty. At present Johore and Kedah would regard the yoke of any league, however light, as a curtailment of their independence; and one cannot browbeat a ruler who has of his own accord given half a million sterling towards imperial defence to commemorate the Jubilee of King George V. Education may enlighten the Sultans of the future, and yet, during the slump, because some parsimonious democrat denounced a Malay Eton as extravagant, it was proposed to close down the Kuala Kangsar College, which is the sole instrument for linking the future rulers of the various States in lifelong friendship.

Human beings are of more importance than tin and rubber. And notwithstanding all temporary difficulties and prejudices, the new policy should succeed because it is just. Justice wins the hearts of men in the end, and the new policy may yet prove to be the most workable Malaya has ever seen.

MALARIA IN CEYLON

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Malaria has been prevalent in Ceylon for many centuries. As long ago as 1638 a map of the island, published by the Dutch, showed great areas, particularly the North-Central Province, depopulated by "fever sickness." These depopulated regions were the site of the ancient civilization of Ceylon; and there can be little doubt that malaria played a part in the ruin of that civilization. But today we can only speculate whether, as some believe, the importation of malaria from India was the primary factor in that decay, or whether the repeated Tamil invasions so disorganized the elaborate system of irrigation and agriculture developed by the Sinhalese as to create everywhere breeding places for Anopheles mosquitoes, and cause such general poverty and distress, that malaria which existed previously in manageable proportions became an insupportable disease.

Modern knowledge of malaria in Ceylon was put upon a sound basis by a monumental report presented to the Government by their Medical Entomologist, Mr. H. F. Carter, in 1927. To make clear the situation revealed by that report it is necessary to give some account of the physiography of the island. Ceylon lies in the tropics between 5° and 10° north latitude. It is 270 miles in length and 140 miles across, with an area of about 25,000 square miles. The greater part of the country consists of low-lying, undulating plains; but there is a central system of mountains in the southern half of the island, rising to 8,000 feet. The rainfall varies greatly in the different regions. Briefly, the south-western quadrant receives the full benefit of both the south-west and north-east monsoons, and constitutes a wet zone with an annual rainfall of more than 100 inches, which occurs chiefly from May to July and November to January. The northern and eastern parts get rain principally from the north-east monsoon, mostly from November to January, and constitute a dry zone with a long period of comparative drought from March to October. The total population is about 5½ millions; and of these 3½ millions reside in the wet zone, where the rubber, tea, coconut, and cacao of Ceylon are grown.

Eighteen species of Anopheline mosquitoes occur in Ceylon; those with an evil reputation as carriers of malaria elsewhere in the world being three: *Anopheles culicifacies*, *A. maculatus*, and

A. varuna. Omitting a great amount of detail elaborated by Mr. Carter, we can divide the country from the malaria point of view into three zones: the dry zone, the wet zone and the foot-hill zone. *A. maculatus* and, to a less extent, *A. varuna* are foot-hill species, breeding abundantly in the streams; and by analogy with the Himalayan terai, with Malaya and Java we should expect the foot-hill zone to suffer from the most intense malaria. But, fortunately for those sections of the planting community concerned, this zone is only moderately malarious: the "spleen rate," the percentage of children with the enlarged spleens of malaria, is about 20. Why that should be so is uncertain; perhaps the *A. maculatus* and its associates in those parts feed on cattle more readily than they do on man. That is the case with the *A. maculatus* of Assam; whereas this same species in Malaya prefers human blood.

The most malarious part of the island is the dry zone: an area of more or less broken jungle country where the scanty and uncertain rain that falls in the wet season is stored in tanks—that is, embanked lakes—and used to irrigate the crops throughout the remainder of the year. The rivers and streams regularly dry up during the dry season, leaving only a series of pools of clear water. *A. culicifacies* breeds prolifically in these pools, in seepages from the water storage tanks, and in the irrigation channels. When the rain comes, innumerable temporary pools are created in all the natural and artificial depressions in the countryside. These provide more breeding places for *A. culicifacies*; and every year throughout the dry zone there is a peak of malaria incidence about a month after the onset of the rain.

The spleen rate over the greater part of the dry zone is around 60-70 per cent. The amount of malaria varies somewhat from year to year, but the people are so saturated with the disease that true "epidemics" of malaria are impossible. Some indication of the incidence of malaria in Ceylon is given by the fact that in 1932, an average sort of year in respect to malaria, there were 1½ millions of cases treated in hospitals and dispensaries: that is, about one-quarter of the total population. 12,000 pounds of quinine and over two million tablets of quinine costing £23,000 were distributed free by the Government. That was in a normal year.

In the south-western quadrant, as we have seen, the climate is far wetter. The rivers and tributaries contain running water throughout the year, and irrigation is comparatively little used. *A. culicifacies* is present everywhere, but in small numbers only. The relatively harmless swamp-loving species, *A. hyrcanus, A. barbirostris, A. annularis*, are the dominant Anophelines. Malaria in this zone is usually unimportant; the spleen rate is only about

5 per cent.; and this area naturally received little attention in the earlier reports. But in recent years it has been realized that malaria can be of considerable local importance even in this wet zone. The natural history of this malaria was clearly described in a paper published by Colonel W. W. Clemesha (rather aptly in point of time) on the eve of the recent epidemic. This account showed quite convincingly two things: (i.) that malaria in this part of Ceylon is *river malaria*—that is, it occurs mainly along the banks of the chief rivers and their tributaries; and (ii.) that it is *drought malaria*—that is, epidemics occur only when there is an exceptionally low rainfall, and the volume of water in the rivers is so reduced that they become broken up into a series of relict pools. In other words, malaria spreads into the wet zone only when the climatic conditions there approximate to those in the dry zone. Indeed, I was told of one planter who claimed that malaria always broke out on his estate when a particular rock became visible in the river.

From a consideration of data accumulated over a number of years, Colonel Clemesha showed that the healthy years in the Kurunegala area are those in which the July, August, and September rainfall is plentiful, or above 20 inches. Unhealthy years are those in which the rainfall in these months is scanty, or under 20 inches. The relation between death rate (usually a good index of malaria incidence) and drought over a period of twenty years is clearly seen in charts from Kurunegala, in the heart of the area affected by the recent epidemic. This malaria is again carried almost solely by *A. culicifacies*. The longer the period without rain in these three months, the more prolific is the breeding of *A. culicifacies* in the river pools. And whenever there is an increase in the number of *A. culicifacies* larvæ captured, there is a rise in the attendance rate in the hospitals and the death rate of the district. Whereas the numerical prevalence of the other species of Anopheles has no influence whatever on the amount of malaria.

Now 1934 was a year of altogether exceptional drought. The south-west monsoon failed, and there was widespread drought from May to October. At the end of September the Medical Department of the Government sent round a circular to all the health officers in the wet zone warning them that in view of the prolonged drought there was likely to be a considerable epidemic of malaria, and urging them to see that they had plenty of quinine available and an organization for its distribution. A fortnight later a definite increase in the dispensary attendance was noticed at Polgohowela in the Maha Oya valley on the borders between the malarious and non-malarious regions; and by the second week of November there was a perceptible rise over a wide area extending into the dry zone to the north and the wet zone to the south.

These initial outbreaks occurred on the immediate banks of the

rivers. But during October there were occasional days of heavy rain, and even minor floods in some localities. In consequence, innumerable breeding places were created in borrow pits, brick pits, quarries, shallow wells, and such like. This rain, however, was not sufficient to flood the rivers; and it was succeeded by further drought, for November was moderately dry and December unusually so. More perfect conditions for the multiplication and spread of *A. culicifacies* could not have been devised; and by the beginning of December the hospital attendances shot up in an alarming manner.

I arrived in Ceylon towards the end of December, when the first wave of the epidemic was at its peak; and I had the privilege of accompanying Dr. R. Briercliffe, the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, on a tour throughout the epidemic area. The roads presented remarkable scenes. Everywhere were people trailing to the dispensaries with their bottles; all along the roads were patients carried in litters, on stretchers, or in bullock carts. The dispensaries were surrounded by dense crowds of patients, many of them shaking and vomiting with malaria. At many of the dispensaries were "side-shows": kitchens at which local philanthropists (and sometimes, it may be added, local politicians) provided free tea, coriander water, or rice congee; and sometimes stalls where enterprising traders offered bottles for sale at five cents a piece.

The hospitals were exceedingly crowded; and temporary wards were being rapidly set up. At Kurunegala hospital, for instance, with 140 beds, there were 405 in-patients, the floors of the wards and the verandahs all being occupied. All the doctors, apothecaries, and compounders in the affected area, almost without exception, had had malaria. In many places both they and the nursing sisters in the hospitals looked wretchedly ill. All were obviously overworked. The attendances at single dispensaries had gone up from, say, 400 per week for October to about 4,200 for the third week of December.

The area affected was about 5,800 square miles, about one-quarter of Ceylon. To the north it merged gradually into the dry zone where, as we have seen, malaria is highly endemic. To the east it was bordered by the hills. It extended south as far as Kalutara and westwards almost to the coast, affecting even the outskirts of Colombo. There were differences in incidence and in severity in different parts, but in many of the villages every man, woman and child had been knocked down by the disease. Towards its southern limits the epidemic was mild.

Everywhere the rivers were exceedingly low (see Photographs 1 and 2). Residual pools and quiet backwaters along the margins were teeming with *A. culicifacies* larvæ, twenty to thirty of which



1. PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN DECEMBER, 1934, SHOWING THE RELICT POOLS IN THE RIVER BEDS IN THE EPIDEMIC AREA.

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2. PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN DECEMBER, 1934, SHOWING THE RELICT POOLS IN THE RIVER BEDS IN THE EPIDEMIC AREA.

All these pools formed breeding places for *Anopheles culicifacies*.

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To face p. 615

could often be obtained at a single dip with a soup ladle. Often practically the entire bed was occupied by residual pools. On the sand banks, beside the natural depressions, were often elephant hoof marks forming little pools of water, ideal breeding places for *A. culicifacies*. The same thing was to be seen in the smaller tributary streams; they were reduced to a series of rock pools full of *A. culicifacies*. *A. culicifacies* was by far the commonest mosquito in houses. Adult females sent in for dissection to Dr. K. J. Rustomjee, Director of the Malaria Department, showed an average rate of infection of about 14 per cent. over the whole epidemic area. In one area 21 per cent. of the adults were infected with the malaria parasite! Infection was found in no other species.

It has been estimated that between one-third and one-half of the total population of the island suffered from malaria. The total loss of life attributable to the epidemic was something like 100,000. The mortality during the early weeks was surprisingly low; but in January, 1935, the death rate rose distressingly; and this first wave of mortality had only just come to an end in April when it was succeeded by a fresh outburst of cases associated, fortunately, with a much lower mortality rate. This second wave seems to have been due partly to recurrences in the patients previously infected, partly to new infections.

By the time this widespread epidemic had broken out, it was too late to attempt anti-larval measures of control, even assuming these to have been practicable in any case. The only thing to do was to treat the sick; the main problem was how quinine could best be got to the people. During previous epidemics of malaria in Ceylon the procedure has been for Sanitary Inspectors to distribute quinine in the affected villages; and in the early days of the recent outbreak the same method was employed. But it soon became apparent that this itinerating system would not work in an epidemic on such a scale. No one knew when the Sanitary Inspectors might be expected to reach a given village, and while some villages were well served, others had no help whatsoever. Early in December, therefore, when the magnitude of the epidemic became apparent, the Medical Department changed the entire policy. The Sanitary Inspectors were to travel round their districts and collect information as to what villages were most severely affected, about the number of cases, the deaths, the economic condition of the people, and so forth; they were to explain to the people where to send for medicine, but were to issue quinine themselves only in urgent cases. They were to make daily reports to their Medical Officers of Health, and on the information derived from these reports temporary treatment centres were to be established, the object being that no one should have to go more than a mile or two miles to obtain quinine.

Every available man in the Medical and Public Health Service, every medical student, was taken over to man the centres.

This scheme of organization was got going within a few days. It worked remarkably well where it was efficiently carried out; and the requisite efficiency was generally forthcoming. Ceylon was fortunate in having in Dr. R. Briercliffe a Director of Medical Services with the administrative ability, the drive, and the tact needed to meet an unprecedented emergency. Nor could one fail to be equally impressed by the loyalty and devotion shown by all ranks in the Service, in the face, sometimes, of most unjust disparagement. It is perhaps worth while quoting the views of Colonel C. A. Gill, Expert Adviser on Malaria appointed by the Ceylon Government, on the way in which the epidemic was dealt with by the Medical Department; he refers to "the prompt and thorough manner in which it was tackled . . . the able manner in which the scheme was organized and administered by the Head of the Medical Department, and, it may be added, the splendid response made by all members of the Medical and Sanitary Departments to the heavy demands made upon them."

The Medical Department was soon faced with the problem of the best routine treatment it should recommend. The tried and standard drug for malaria is quinine, which has always formed the basis of routine treatment in the past. During recent years, as the result of brilliant chemical researches, a number of synthetic drugs have been produced which may be used as substitutes for quinine. Plasmoquine and atebrin are the best known. To test with an unbiassed mind the relative value of these various drugs, and to decide the circumstances where each can best be used, is no easy matter. It is a problem on which physicians have been sifting the evidence for several years. But it is also a problem in which enormous economic interests, as between the growers of quinine on the one hand and the manufacturers of synthetic drugs upon the other, are involved. Early in the epidemic the claims of the diverse drugs were loudly voiced in the Press, and there was a real danger that the Medical Department might be influenced by factors other than scientific evidence in its recommendations. Fortunately for Ceylon the Department kept its head. All the drugs were tested; but they were tested scientifically. When one group of patients was treated with one drug, a second, control, group was treated simultaneously with another. As a result a most valuable mass of data was accumulated, and many fatalities which would certainly have followed the use of the wrong drug in certain types of case were prevented; while the level-headed attitude of the Department has done much to enhance its prestige.

It is clear from the foregoing account of the epidemic that there was nothing mysterious about its origin. Severe epidemics of

malaria have occurred in Ceylon in the past. Many of those in the last century were associated with drought and other departures from normal rainfall—often drought followed by excessive rain. The severity of the recent outbreak was due to the simultaneous action of several causes. 1934 was preceded by five exceptionally healthy years in that region where the dry zone merges into the wet zone. Consequently the population in this area had lost all its immunity or tolerance for malaria. Then two successive monsoons failed; and the rice crop failed throughout much of the wet zone. Lack of food thus lowered the resistance of the people still further. The drying of the rivers led to *A. culicifacies* multiplying in vast numbers in residual pools, and the short burst of rain in the autumn provided still more temporary breeding places. Whether there were other less tangible influences at work is not certain. Colonel Gill, for instance, acknowledges the importance of all these factors but believes that there was another, still more important—a direct effect of abnormal climate upon the malaria parasite latent in the people, which caused them to develop a veritable "epidemic of relapses." This afforded the mosquito population the opportunity to become infected and so to convey the disease to the young children and the uninfected adults. This is an intriguing hypothesis supported by arguments which cannot be neglected, but it has not yet gained general acceptance.

Such being the causes of the epidemic, could it have been prevented? Before we attempt an answer to that question we must consider the malaria problem of Ceylon as a whole. It should be clear from the foregoing account that there is not one malaria problem in Ceylon but many. There is, first and foremost, the problem of the dry zone; formerly rich cultivated land, now semi-jungle sparsely populated with a people decimated by malaria and kept at their present level only by immigration from the south. The resettlement of these regions which, indeed, comprise most of Ceylon, is impossible until the malaria is controlled. But the existing measures for the control of malaria—by oiling, by draining, and so forth—if applied wholesale to rural settlements, would entail an expense out of all proportion to any possible returns. The only conceivable measure of approach, it seems to me, is to develop methods of agriculture which will automatically limit the breeding of the dangerous species of mosquito. That is probably what the ancient Sinhalese did without knowing it. The return to such a policy now is easily suggested; to put it into practice will require great enterprise and vision, and a degree of co-operation between Medical, Agricultural, and Public Works Departments such as I have seen only in the Netherlands Indies.

Then there is the problem of the larger towns. If they wish to do so, the towns can protect themselves from malaria in Ceylon

just as well as elsewhere in the tropics. The methods to be employed are well known. The area over which they would have to operate need not usually extend more than half a mile from the periphery of the town, so that the cost, when set against the value of improved health and lowered death rate, is not unreasonable. All that is needed is an efficient and energetic organization backed by legal powers. That last link is the weak one! It is not only in Ceylon that there have been keen and efficient Health Services whose malaria control work has been frustrated by the indifference of the public on the one hand and the want of legal backing on the other.

The case of the plantations is not very different from that of the towns. The labour force which needs protection is concentrated, so that the area to be controlled is usually of manageable extent. The benefits that come to malarial estates from successful malaria control—in the contentment and competence of the coolies, the facilitation of recruitment, the improved health of the estate managers and their families—can only be appreciated when one has had the opportunity, as I have in Assam and in Malaya, of contrasting side by side controlled and uncontrolled estates. The amount of malaria in the different estates in Ceylon varies greatly. Many are perfectly healthy; but others, particularly in the northern parts of the wet zone, are always more or less malarious, and in years of drought suffer severely. The cost of the measures needed to control the breeding of *A. culicifacies* is also very variable. Sometimes control is easy and cheap, often it is very difficult and costly. The least fortunate estates are those contiguous with uncontrolled Government land—often traversed by rivers liable to dry up and become a prolific source of mosquito breeding —into which the estates have no right of entry. This is a common situation in all parts of the tropics, and one not easy to resolve.

There are many towns and estates in the wet zone which suffer so little from malaria in some years that a permanent organization for control seems at first sight scarcely necessary. But that brings us to the last malaria problem of Ceylon: epidemic malaria. The south-western quadrant of Ceylon has been subject to repeated epidemics of malaria in the past, and these will assuredly recur in the future. Towns and estates so managed that *A. culicifacies* cannot multiply within their borders can remain unscathed in the heart of such epidemics: the main parts of Colombo were unaffected in the recent outbreak, and the town of Chilaw, where much control work has been done of recent years, probably suffered less than it would otherwise have done. Malaria control is therefore an insurance against future epidemics as well as a preventive during inter-epidemic periods.

But we have still said nothing about the rural districts and

small villages throughout the area that is subject to the epidemics. To have prevented the last epidemic throughout those 5,800 square miles of territory by eliminating the breeding places of *A. culicifacies* would have been a far vaster undertaking than has ever been attempted anywhere in the world for the control of rural malaria. The epidemic as it affected the villager could not have been prevented by such means; nor will the epidemics of the future. Yet there is no call to turn defeatist. It may well be that if we had more precise knowledge about the natural history of *A. culicifacies*, we could devise new ways of gaining protection from it: perhaps by killing the adult females in their resting places, by diverting them to cattle, or by modifying chemically the water in their breeding places so as to make it unattractive to them, or, what is more likely, in ways quite unforeseen. For the moment, efficient treatment of the disease is all that can be offered to the villager.

For all these malaria problems Ceylon needs two things: more research into the fundamental questions of malaria and mosquitoes; and more application of the results of research which already exist. Ceylon is such a magnificent field for research that the lessons learned there would benefit not herself alone, but the whole tropical world.

LABOUR LEGISLATION FOR EUROPEANS IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

By Dr. H. Cohen de Boer

In the January issue of this publication appeared an article on the labour legislation in respect of the employment of the indigenous population of the Netherlands Indies. In amplification of this it might be useful to those who are interested in the subject if I set out the laws relating to the employment of European labour in that territory and some of the problems which arise.

Prior to 1926 there were no general laws in the Netherlands Indies in respect of European labour. The entering into, the performance and cancellation of contracts between Europeans were governed by the general rules about *bona fides*, equity, and usage as laid down in the Civil Code. It was only in connection with domestic servants and labourers that conditions were laid down as to wages and working hours, and also the procedure for dismissal of servants engaged for an indefinite period. These conditions are considered to be out of date, and therefore inappropriate for Europeans and higher grade Chinese and indigenous employees for whom an extensive legal regulation has been drawn up. The original paragraphs now only apply to the lower classes of Chinese and indigenous employees, and it is not impossible that these also will be revised within the near future.

The law covering the wording of a labour contract in the Netherlands Indies is similar to that which has been operative in Holland since 1907, with a few exceptions and alterations on minor points peculiar to colonial conditions. It consists of eighty articles, many of which are extensive, and therefore it cannot be treated here in substance.

The law covering agreements is primarily and principally applicable to labour contracts between Europeans (and nationals classified as Europeans). It can also be applied to contracts between Europeans and the indigenous inhabitants or Chinese if this is specially agreed upon by the contracting parties or if the latter categories perform work usually carried out by Europeans in the Netherlands Indies. The law does not apply to Government servants or members of the mercantile marine for which there are special regulations.

The provisions of the law can be distinguished into those having no more in view than amplification of the contract with regard to

points upon which the parties have omitted to agree or to lay down in writing, and those that are of a coercive character. In the case of the former, the parties can explicitly agree to derogate from them, from which may be inferred that they are, generally speaking, prescriptions of minor importance. Stipulations at variance with the latter are mostly declared void in the provision itself. To cite one of the many instances: any arrangement between parties to settle the wage in any other form than is acknowledged by the law or to spend it in a specified manner is void, a provision, by the way, directed against the abuse of the truck-system that used to occur. In between these two categories of provisions there are those from which derogation is only possible if it conforms with certain conditions—mostly of specification in writing—*e.g.*, it is only by written arrangement that parties can derogate from the provisions regarding the payment of wages during an illness of the employee.

The law applies to all classes. It applies to all those who are in the employ of another and receive a wage for services rendered; no distinction is made as to the nature of the work performed: the regulation applies to the directors of a large concern as well as to the night-watchman in the employ of that company.

As to the material subject-matter of the law, it is divided into provisions regarding labour agreements in general, the obligations of the employer, those of the employee, and the different ways by which an agreement can be terminated. Space does not permit details of every regulation, and therefore it will be possible to review only a few of the principal points in every section. The regulation is to be found in Chapter VII. A of the third book of the Civil Code for the Netherlands Indies.

In the section regarding labour agreements in general, reference is made, among others, to the terms for the enforcement of the labour code—*e.g.*, written acceptance by the employee—also of any alterations which may have been made, a copy of these rules to be handed to the employee and a copy to be placed in a prominent position in factory or workshop. It also refers to the cancellation of agreements at variance with a collective labour agreement by which both parties are bound. Also provisions regarding the form in which wages are to be paid—viz., in cash, service-dress, products of the company up to a certain quantity if they are foodstuffs, use of a plot of land, of a house, etc.

Furthermore, this section contains provisions in respect of the restriction of fines, which in order to be valid must be stipulated in the agreement. The fines imposed during one week must not exceed the amount received in wages for one day, and must on no account be taken as the personal gain of the person imposing the fine. Finally, it contains a provision in respect to the insertion in

an agreement of the so-called competition clause which prevents an employee at the termination of his service from accepting a specified employment for a certain period or in a certain district.

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One of the first obligations of an employer naturally is the payment of wages in due time. Here the principle obtains that no wages are due for any period during which no work has been effected. Exceptions to this principle are absence due to illness or accident, exceptional circumstances such as the birth of a child to the wife of an employee, funeral of a close relative, and an Act of God. The payment during illness, however, applies only for a relatively short period eventually to be fixed by the magistrate, who will take into consideration the position occupied by the employee, period of service, etc.

In the case of an agreement in which a bonus is part of the wage, provision is made for the way in which the employee is informed of the basis on which this bonus is calculated. Other provisions with regard to wages have reference, among others, to the attachment, the transfer or mortgage of a wage which is permitted only to a certain extent, to the periods at which it must be paid, the increases due to late payment—*i.e.*, 5 per cent. per day from the 4th to the 8th day, 1 per cent. for every successive day with a maximum of 50 per cent. In another paragraph the debts of an employee to his employer, which can be deducted from the wage due at the termination of an agreement, are limited by enumeration.

The law provides that there should be fifty-two whole-day holidays in the year, and the work should be so arranged that the employee is free on Sundays except in the event of an understanding between contracting parties or if the nature of the work necessitates employment on Sundays.

In February of this year a Bill was placed by Government before the Peoples Council whereby this article is being revised in such a way that the principle "no work on Sundays" is accentuated in so far that parties are no longer permitted to agree upon work on Sundays, and that only the *nature of the work* can make it imperative that it should continue on Sundays. Only in such cases as, *e.g.*, in continuous business such as gas companies, electric companies, etc., it is permissible to deviate from this rule, and then only on the understanding that there should be at least two free Sundays per month and the total number of holidays should be fifty-two per year. In addition a civil law sanction has been devised whereby the employee receives as compensation double wages for every day on which he has worked whereas he should have been free. It is compulsory for the employer to keep a register of the holidays enjoyed by his employees.

Employees "living in" are entitled to reasonable medical treatment and nursing in the event of illness or accident. The costs for the first four weeks must be borne by the employer unless the illness or accident is considered to have been caused intentionally by the employee.

The closing article of this section compels the employer to give the employee a testimonial, on request, at the termination of an agreement.

The section regarding the responsibilities of the employee comprises five articles which are all obvious. They include the condition that the employee should carry out his duties to the best of his ability, that he should not arrange for a substitute without permission, that he should adhere to instructions from his employer, and that if he "lives in" he should conduct himself with due regard to the order of the house.

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From its very nature the section covering the cancellation of agreements is one of the most important. Even if one of the parties during the period of service should not carry out his obligations to the letter of the agreement or the law, everything mostly remains peaceful, because the contrary would endanger the continuance of the service. At the same time, however, when notice has been given and thus the end of the contract is in sight, the obstacle is removed which could hinder parties in trying to get satisfaction by judicial sentence for supposed grievances with regard to the way the service was put to an end. For this reason the manner in which notice can be served is laid down in great detail.

The principal points are as follows:

If an agreement specifies a definite period it legally lapses at the termination of that period. However, also in such a contract a term of warning can occur in two respects:

Firstly, it can be agreed upon that notice should be served towards the end of the contract for the purpose of showing that the party does not want the agreement to be extended. If, in this case, notice is not served, the agreement automatically continues on the same terms, but for a maximum period of one year.

Secondly, it occurs more and more that, although an agreement is made for a stipulated period, parties reserve the right to cancel the agreement by giving notice between times. In point of fact, these two arrangements are contradictory, and in the Netherlands Indies until recently the judges did not take into consideration a term of notice in contracts for a definite period. But lately a sentence was given which shows a change in the judicial opinion and which, in harmony with the doctrine prevailing in the Mother Country,

assigns more importance to the term of notice than to the definite period of the contract, on the ground that both parties were aware from the beginning that the duration was indefinite.

If there is no arrangement between employer and employee as to the duration of the agreement, the notice period is that for which the employee receives his payment, with due allowance for the days by which in some contracts the termination of the service is customary. If the salary is paid monthly, notice can be given at the earliest by the last day of next month. Apart from this minimum, the law also provides that the maximum period of notice is six months, and, furthermore, states that the term of warning is always supposed to be alike for both parties.

In 1932 a Crisis regulation was brought into force whereby the employee was entitled to receive additional notice of one month for every year of continuous service with a maximum of three months. Employees with three years continuous service or more cannot therefore be dismissed within four months from the day on which notice was given, a provision which has in view to provide, in the present circumstances, the employee with a more ample opportunity to seek other employment.

Both parties can also terminate an agreement *without* having given legal notice of termination, provided compensation is paid to the value of wages to be received during the period of notice, and in the case of agreements for a definite period, to the amount of wages up to the end of the period under agreement, without prejudice to the right of the other party to apply for larger damages if he thinks there are grounds for them.

Provision is made for the abrupt termination of an agreement without payment of compensation if there is an urgent reason and provided that this reason is communicated to the other party without delay. The law enumerates different cases of urgent reasons.

In the case of the employer they are, *inter alia*, false testimonials submitted by an employee, serious deficiency in capability or adaptability, repeated insobriety, theft, gross insults or serious threats to his employer or colleagues. For the employee: the non-receipt of wages at the proper time, insufficient work in the event of wages depending on amount of work effected, serious danger to life, health, morals, or good name which could arise out of a continuance of the connection with employer, etc.

In addition to "urgent" reasons the law recognizes "important" reasons on the grounds of which either party may apply, at any time for the legal cancellation of an agreement. "Urgent" reasons naturally are also embodied in "important" reasons, but to the former can be added: a change in the domestic or financial position of either party or in the conditions under which the work

is carried out which are such that it is reasonable that work should cease within a short space of time.

The law does not acknowledge the period of service in an agreement for more than five years. If the period is for longer than five years or for life, the employee retains the right to give six months' notice after having completed five years' service.

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A special colonial question which has given rise to a number of legal actions at the conclusion of an agreement is that of the home- or long-leave. In the majority of agreements with European employees a clause is inserted which gives the employee, at the conclusion of a number of years' service (from six to eight years), a right to home-leave from six to eight months, with full or a diminished salary and eventually free passage for himself and possibly his family. The law stipulates that such leave emoluments are part of the salary.

When an employee who had a contractual right to home-leave is dismissed there are two possibilities: either he has an accomplished right of which, on account of some particular circumstance, he has not yet made use, or he is not yet entitled to his leave because he has not served the required number of years.

In the first case he has a claim to the amount of the emoluments as a compensation for the leave he had earned, but of which he is now deprived. In the latter instance a right to his leave is not yet in existence, and therefore, until recently, there could be no question of compensation, at least if due notice was given. But if an employee was dismissed straight off he was entitled to a compensation which, as we have seen, was equal to the amount of his wage for the term of notice, and as leave terms are considered to be part of the wage, the compensation for this constituent of his salary had to be calculated also for the duration of the term of notice—a fairly impossible task which some judges contrived to figure out on the basis of complicated formulæ.

Apart from the difficult calculations this regulation could lead to, it gave little satisfaction in the cases in which a worker was dismissed with the proper notice shortly before he would have accomplished the term of service which would have given him a right to a long leave, but of which he now was deprived by his dismissal. This, therefore, has led to the insertion in 1931 of a new article prescribing that the employer, dismissing his employee without an urgent reason after half or more of the period agreed upon for the granting of the long leave has been served, is bound to indemnify the worker in proportion to the part of that period that has been served. This paragraph has also given rise to several legal controversies, but again space does not allow to go into the subject.

Finally, in connection with the law relating to labour agreements, a crisis ordinance of 1932 must be mentioned, which compels the employer, in the event of normal dismissal of an employee engaged or recruited outside the Netherlands Indies, to pay for a third-class return passage for himself and family to Europe. This applies also in cases where this is not laid down in the agreement. The employee's right to this expires three months after the termination of his service. The employee has no right to this if, as has been mentioned, he has received compensation for loss of leave.

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The above comprise the main points of the *general* labour regulation actually in force. Apart from this, there is still to be mentioned a *special* ordinance of long standing, the "Assistants Regulation for the East Coast of Sumatra" of 1932, which was gradually extended to the whole of Sumatra.

It applies to assistants employed on agricultural estates. By assistants is understood the personnel under the manager of an estate who are given expert charge of, or technical supervision over, the work in fields, factory, or workshop.

A few primary points in this regulation refer to the following: the directions for a written contract in which six given points must be embodied and of which one copy must be given to the assistant; a minimum contract period of one year; a minimum period of four months' notice of termination of agreement; four free days per month, of which two are Sundays, during which days under no circumstances must any work for the estate be done; an annual local leave of fourteen days with full pay; a long leave of eight months after every six years of continuous employment; free medical and surgical attention in the event of illness or accident; special safety measures as to the quarters where work is performed and the tools used, etc.

Since the introduction of the general law in respect of agreements explained above, the "Assistants Regulations" are considered as a *lex specialis* for those to whom they apply, and the general law (of which, moreover, part has been embodied in the Assistants Regulations) applies only insofar as the special regulations are not derogatory.

It is not easy to reply to the question as to why this special ordinance was deemed necessary especially for Sumatra, and why it remained in force after the promulgation of the general labour law. The direct cause of the introduction of this ordinance was the murder of an assistant by a contract coolie. The connections between the dangers to be expected from the coolies and this regulation, which contains safeguards against the employers, must be

found in the pressure which is put on assistants to obtain a maximum of work from coolies. During the discussions at the time of passing this ordinance, the connection with the assaults by coolies was relinquished and the more general principle of an equitable basis between employer and employee was put forward.

For many years also the planters in Java have agitated for a special labour ordinance, but until recently Government has considered that guarantees offered by the general labour regulation were quite sufficient. Nevertheless a Bill was introduced a short time ago for a general Planters Regulation, which will automatically cancel the "Assistants Regulations," and will apply to employees on plantations throughout the Netherlands Indies. The primary object of this Bill is stated to be the necessity through social requirements of a supplement to the general law to rectify the legal position and the principal labour terms of employees in agricultural enterprises.

The framework of this new regulation is approximately the same as the present "Assistants Regulations," with the exception that in some cases the regulations are not as detailed, while in others they are more so.

A few of the primary points of the differences are: The Planters Regulation will apply not only to the assistants, but also to the manager. The definition of the word "labourer" in the meaning of the ordinance is similar to that of "assistant," with this elaboration, that in any case the regulation covers all employees who are in receipt of an income of more than fl. 100 per month.* As in the case of the "Assistants Regulations," this new ordinance will apply not only to Europeans, but to all nationalities.

The minimum contract period is one year, but only for employees engaged or recruited outside the Netherlands Indies. This latter limitation will also apply to the compulsory foreign leave for planters throughout the Netherlands Indies. The period of leave is given as a minimum of six months for a service period of seven years. The costs of medical attention for the first two months of any normal illnesses or accidents to the employee and the members of his family are to be met by the employer; according to the "Assistants Regulations," the *total* costs were to be covered by the employer, but in the case of the wife and children of the employee, only hospital expenses were paid. Surgical and dental attention as well as maternity cases will be excluded from these regulations.

An important administrative ruling of the Bill is that the employer is in duty bound to report all labour agreements and alterations thereto to the Labour Bureau.

In the above account the reader will find a general review of the

* About £13 at the present rate of exchange.

labour laws which apply to Europeans in the Netherlands Indies. It is as well to repeat, however, that the subject is too extensive to allow of detailed treatment, and I have reluctantly renounced reference to any jurisprudence in connection with the principal points.

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WINTER SPORTS IN KASHMIR

BY A CORRESPONDENT

ONE morning a few days before Christmas we arrived in Rawalpindi, having had a comfortable night's journey by train from down-country, and set off on the 208-mile motor run to Tangmarg. From there it is a 3-mile walk or ride up the zigzag road through the woods. Snow had fallen only a few days previously, and the country had been transformed into fairyland. We had been cold motoring, and so were glad of the exercise walking up the hill. Incidentally there are excellent garages at Tangmarg, where private cars can be locked up and left in perfect safety, provided all water is run off and the battery taken care of. (Most people disconnect the battery and hand it over to the local garage wallah, who keeps the batteries in his house, where the temperature does not go so low as in the garages.)

The sun had long since set when we reached the gap at the top of the hill and gazed out on the scene of India's winter sports centre. The only lights were from the hotel, which is set on a small hill dominating Gulmarg. The moon was coming up, and with the snow it was far from dark. It is the proud boast of the Ski Club of India that, no matter how much a stranger or a novice in the art of ski-ing the newcomer may be, he or she is received into the family right from the start. This is no mean boast, and is indeed a welcome change from the usual run of things in Switzerland, where the "rabbit" has little or no chance of coming into contact with the experts. About this very matter there is a story of two railway lads who, tearing themselves away from their puff-puffs one Christmas, reached the hotel rather late, and, without encountering any other guests, sailed into the dining-room meticulously clad with white shirt fronts and dinner jackets. The tale has it that a roar of applause went up as these tenderfoots slipped into their seats. They had made history, for never before had a dinner suit been seen at a winter sports meeting in Gulmarg! Embarrassment gave way to what came to be remembered as one of the quickest introductions in the annals of the club.

We had been averse to purchasing any special kit for our ten days', so to speak, experimental holiday; and luckily friends had given us good advice, and perhaps the best of it was, "You can wear anything you like, the older the better, but take plenty of warm things, especially for the night, and do not take evening kit

or anything smart." We followed the advice and found it perfectly correct, though I must admit that Doris insisted on looking smart; but there, you know what women are, and just between you and me she would look stunning in the oldest and shabbiest of clothes. The most important thing to take is a really good pair of thick-soled pliable boots with the heels very slightly expanding towards the bottom. Doris had at first despised the idea of unsightly footwear, but she had to admit that for once I had been right insisting on the purchase of the "hideous great barges" instead of a new frock. Our friends had said that those who specialize on their boots are really much better equipped than those who go in for special Haymarket trousers and caps but neglect their footgear. Novices, we are told, should be warned to avoid the chance of any hiatus between garments. Upper garments should finish with a belt or fairly tight elastic round the lower edge, or alternatively trousers or breeches should be worn outside and be finished off with a belt, firmly fitting. A backward fall with a loose coat may result in a temporary "hump" of packed snow, and a forward fall with loosely belted trousers may fill them to their uttermost capacity, with the resultant discomfort of being wet through in a temperature below freezing point: matter in the wrong place is dirt, but snow in the wrong place is worse! Another tip is to wear no thick warm garments that you will want to discard; most of the day one is warm enough in an open-necked shirt with nothing below it (that is, nothing inside it, of course), and if by chance you happen to have a Balaclava helmet you will find that it is much appreciated by your ski coolie.

The first day after our arrival in Gulmarg was one of those when the sun shines out of azure sky on to a white world, glistening and unblemished. There was no wind, and it promised to be quite warm *in* the sun. Doris was relieved to see a miscellany of garments, and lost some of her fear of an inferiority complex brought about by her scratch kit. We both rejoiced to see one group of struggling individuals in the most unusual positions, certainly never pictured in *The Tatler*; we were also filled with awe and admiration by another group dashing down a vertical slope, gracefully winding through a forest of flags; afterwards we were told that they were practising for the "Slalom," and were, we understood, only "beaters"; these and other technicalities left us guessing, but they were used so glibly even by those who had only arrived in the Kashmir "Davos" a few days before ourselves that we dared not ask for explanations. In a very short time we discovered that a "Slalom" is a race against time down a flagged and twisting course, and that "beaters" are not so named on account of their fondness for shikar, but merely because they are a little lower than the angels known as alphas. We found

that all skiers are, like all Gaul, divided into three parts: alphas, betas, and novices, the last term being as elastic as the eighteen handicap man at golf, and includes the whole Greek alphabet from gamma to omega, inclusive.

But watching other people falling about is not really much fun, and so we beat a retreat to the hotel to seek advice and some skis for ourselves. The selection and fitting of skis is an art in itself upon which the enjoyment of the whole holiday depends. Fortunately, this fact is well known to the members of the Ski Club of India who will go to any amount of trouble and expend an enormous amount of patience to help novices, who, as the secretary said, must be spoon-fed for a day or two. All the necessary impedimenta can be hired at the club shop run by Mr. Pestonji at the hotel, and it was here that we had the skis fitted to our boots. It may have been that Doris, with her blue eyes and pink cheeks, cast a spell over them; anyway, two charming strangers, expert skiers, anxious to get out for their run, assisted us in this complicated and essential, though tedious, process—a kindly action typical of the spirit of the place. Once fitted by an expert, the ski is quickly put on or taken off by means of a lever on the heel strap so that the bothering delay when one is itching to get at it out there in the sunshine is not a daily occurrence.

Our skis being fitted and sticks provided, we chose a couple of ski coolies from a vociferous band of applicants, and these carried our skis to the neighbouring practice slopes. Having assisted Doris into her skis, she immediately did splits and coiled one ski round the back of her neck. She was pretty quick at these tricks, and it was when I was rescuing her from the second demonstration that I had the somewhat annoying pleasure of seeing one of my skis voyaging alone down the hill. Luckily one of the experts who had helped us with the fitting retrieved it for me, otherwise I should have had to spend the rest of the day plunging down the hill through thigh-deep snow. I had learned my first lesson, "never place a loose ski flat on the snow." Eventually I essayed to fix my skis, and, having got one on, I lifted the second foot to place it on the other ski, and immediately descended the hill, but not very far! That was lesson number two, "never point skis downhill when getting into them."

We floundered and struggled for half an hour or so, by which time we had removed all removable clothes (it is a good idea to have a canvas bag of some sort in which the ski coolie can carry these, as otherwise he uses his blanket!). Thereafter gradually and for very brief moments we balanced, swayed, and jerked down a gentle slope, came to an involuntary stop, lay panting, struggled up, and painfully toiled back to the starting-point. By tea-time we were completely exhausted, but had made progress, noticeable

at least to ourselves, and were thoroughly happy and full of well-being. Unlike almost any other sport, the very first hours had been undiluted enjoyment.

Tea at Nedou's Hotel, Gulmarg, is a delayed and deliberate function; most people stay on the slopes till driven in by the waning light and increasing cold. The exertions of the day have induced hunger and lethargy; the former is speedily satisfied, but the latter is increased by the presence of blazing stoves and numerous bodies. The skin glows and eyelids droop, bodily comfort battles against the knowledge that bathing and dressing should be tackled before the bitterest cold sets in; after a time creaking chairs and creaking limbs announce the departure of those whose flesh is amenable to their spirit, and the room gradually clears.

Our quarters included a sitting-room, bedroom, and dressing-rooms, the first two provided with excellent stoves, and we were quick to see the wisdom of sleeping in the sitting-room in close proximity to the stove, leaving the unheated dressing-rooms severely alone. Luckily, dressing is no affair of bareback frocks and silk stockings, nor yet of collars and studs, but of flannel shirts, sweaters, mufflers, poshteens, and Gilgit boots.

Gradually the public rooms fill again with the distended forms of those who have "dressed" for dinner; a few may play bridge, but games requiring less mental effort are more popular, and the majority are content to discuss the triumphs and failures of the day over Whisky Macdonalds and Athol Brose, a special recipe for which is a jealously guarded secret of one of the veterans of the club.

There is a general concensus of opinion in favour of early to bed, and the rooms clear rapidly after dinner, an exception being made on New Year's Eve; on that night revelry was fast and furious, but even so a tired stalwart was once observed surreptitiously advancing the clock by three-quarters of an hour, and none said him nay.

The crackling stoves provide genial warmth and a comfortable bed-going, but wood is quickly consumed, and icy blasts penetrate walls and floors; our first night I arose in the dark and fumbled for sweaters and pullovers, donning all I could find; several were missing, and it was not until next morning that I found that Doris had forestalled me, and that these enveloped her. My most prized possession had been utilized as a nether garment, a distorting experience from which it never recovered.

We waited luxuriously for the stoves to be lighted before getting up, but even so experienced some difficulties. My sponge had been left on a shelf in the bathroom overnight, and had attained the roughness and inflexibility of coral, so that it broke in half as I picked it up. There was a misfortune, too, with the twins; I



THE NURSERY SLOPES AT GULMARG, SHOWING APARWAT IN THE CLOUDS IN THE BACKGROUND.



OLD SKI CLUB HUT WITH NANGA PARBAT IN THE DISTANCE, FORTY MILES AWAY.



OLD SKI CLUB HUT, KILANMARG.





NEDOU'S HOTEL ABOVE THE NURSERY SLOPES.

Winter Sports in Kashmir

By courtesy of the Indian Railways Bur

found them firmly embedded in a solid block of ice looking like prawns in aspic. Doris was not the least bit sympathetic, but then they are not her twins—to avoid misunderstandings, let me hasten to explain that they were ushered into this world not by the family doctor, but by a dentist in Lahore.

Our next two days were spent entirely on the nursery slopes; one or two experts were there off and on throughout sacrificing their own enjoyment to our elementary instruction and encouragement (bless them!); under their guidance we rapidly passed from complete impotence to a stage of intermittent motion in straight lines and even in wide irregular curves.

Our third full day was set apart for the annual races, which took place on the slopes above Kilanmarg; Doris, I, and several others had not previously attempted to get there, but we were all persuaded to enter for the novices' race. After an hour's walk up through the forests we came to the open slopes, from which the starting-point was visible, a well-marked track in the snow leading to it. The surface was far too soft for walking, and we attempted to climb on skis. After an hour we had made about one-third of the distance and could proceed no further, slipping back at each laborious step and making no progress; meanwhile the advertised time for the start drew near; strong women cursed and men wept silently; some removed their skis and immediately sank thigh-deep, and others frankly gave it up. At last our difficulties were observed from the starting-point, and a kindly soul slid down to us laden with skins which he had collected from those above; none of us knew the use of these things, and we all required assistance in attaching them to our skis (they are long strips of pelt that are placed under the skis with the pile pointing rearwards, thus permitting the skis to slip forwards, but not backwards). It took over half an hour to "skin" the party, but the delay was welcome and renewed our exhausted energy. With the skins we managed to struggle on, and arrived a good hour late, to find the starters and officials well-nigh frozen, but gallantly resisting the cold by the warmth of their language.

At last we were lined up, facing down the slope; several were unable to maintain their positions and made involuntary starts, were unable to return, and were dragged back and replanted by the umpires. At last all was set, down went the signal, and down went all of us, some down the slope, but many down on the starting-line. The snow was deep and soft and blown into ridges, totally different from the firm, trampled snow of the nursery slopes. Few of those who had managed to get away went far without a fall; those who had been left at the post overtook their fallen adversaries and subsided on top of them; the scene has been described by an onlooker as resembling a forest struck by a sudden

typhoon. I remember losing my sticks and trying to crawl back to them on hands and knees, thereby creating an enormous crater, in which I was soon joined by a companion, but I lost count after my fifteenth fall, and have little recollection of what followed. Eventually I registered my final bump at the finishing flags, and after recovery gathered some idea of the race from the hilarious descriptions of the spectators. I was surprised to see a few competitors still straggling in, and these continued to arrive at irregular intervals for half an hour or so; amongst them was one unrecognizable snowball, whom I identified as Doris by her language.

Followed a picnic lunch, and then, fired by enthusiasm and shame, I struggled back alone to the starting-point, and in a calmer spirit, helped by the experience gained in the morning, managed to come down the course with only five falls. The novices' race that year will long be remembered by those who saw it; conditions were difficult, and most of the competitors were complete beginners; but, though we had caused infinite amusement, we were all warmly congratulated on our attempts, and shame gave place to pride. Doris and I were complimented on being able to enter a race at all with only fifteen hours ski-ing experience, though perhaps the fact that we had completed a race with less than seventeen hours' experience was more meritorious.

The day of our departure came all too quickly, and we regretfully left, bringing away with us many bruises and happy memories. Since then we have made other visits, and, like others, have made up our minds never to miss an opportunity of attending a meeting of the Ski Club of India if we can help it. We have met many people who have never skied, and although they are keen to do so are deterred by the fear of a boring initiation and the thought that they may not be welcomed by the hard-bitten lions of the club. For these shy souls let me say that there is nothing dull in the first stages, which are full of fun and enjoyment; and I can assure them that the lions are very kind to rabbits, who have as good a time as any.

I want to thank those members of the Ski Club who not only gave up their time to initiate us into the gentle (is it really?) art, but helped the pen that formed these words in the hope that others may overcome their shyness and join the happiest band in Northern India. In addition to the ski-ing on the slopes of Aparwat, the mountain that frowns above Killanmarg, some of the more expert indulge in ski-joring in which they are towed by a willing (or unwilling, as the case may be) pony. Regular races are run and great excitement prevails, especially when the steering gear breaks down. Some who like a change from ski-ing skate on the rink, which is prepared by some kind souls who know how.

Making a skating rink is more than flooding a lawn and hoping for the best—there is a real art, and in Gulmarg they are lucky in having some amateurs who are unselfish enough to give up a great deal of their time in the preparation of a first-class rink. We are told that in skating a different set of muscles comes into use; but Doris, who had two or three excellent days on the rink last year, assures me that there is one impressive difference—namely, that the ice is much harder than snow.

Finally, for the benefit of those who think ski-ing is expensive, let me quote the following authentic account from a subaltern's ten-days' holiday in Gulmarg:

	Rs.
Third share of a hired car from Rawalpindi to Tangmarg and back	45 0
Ten days' board and lodging and tips ...	107 0
Ten days' ski coolie with extra for bearer's work	7 8
Hire of skis, sticks, and skins	10 0
Subscription to the Club	10 0
Miscellaneous	5 8
	185 0

Drinks, in addition, are charged at hotel summer prices, and can be taken as less than would be spent in a Christmas week in a plains station.

Such, then, is a treat in store for those who can get away for a winter sports holiday in Kashmir.

INDIA AND THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT

By R. W. Brock
(Managing Director, *Great Britain and the East.*)

On March 30 the Indian Legislative Assembly, which had been invited to adopt an official resolution appointing a Committee of the Assembly "to examine the working of the Trade Agreement concluded at Ottawa on August 20, 1932, between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India, and to report to the House thereon," adopted the following alternative motion, moved from the Opposition benches, by 70 votes to 65:

> "That for the original motion, the following be substituted: 'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Ottawa Agreement, dated the 20th August, 1932, be terminated without delay and a notice of denunciation be given in terms of Article 14 thereof. The Assembly further recommends that the Government of India should immediately examine the trend of trade of India with various other important countries and the United Kingdom and investigate the possibility of entering into such bilateral trade treaties with them, whenever and wherever possible, to bring about the expansion of export trade of India in those markets and submit such treaty or treaties for the approval of this Assembly.'"

The debate on the Agreement, which lasted for three days, was maintained throughout at a high level. The Commerce Member intimated at the outset that "in case the House comes to a decision after reviewing the working of this Agreement for the first three years that the Agreement is not in the interests of India and it calls upon the Government to give notice of termination under Article 14, the Government would be bound to give such notice," and the debate was conducted on all sides with that consideration clearly in mind. It will be recalled that a similar policy of co-operation with the Legislature was pursued in 1932 when a resolution was adopted by the Assembly approving of the Agreement, negotiated at Ottawa by the Delegation headed by Sir Atul Chatterjee, and asking the Government to take such steps as might be necessary to give effect to it. In pursuance of this resolution a Tariff Amendment Bill was passed into law on December 7, 1932, and took effect from January 1, 1933. The readiness of the Government of India, on each occasion, to accept the Legislature's decision supplies additional proof, if that be necessary, of the practical significance of the "fiscal autonomy" convention, and demonstrates conclusively that, in the economic sphere if in no

other, India, *de facto* if not *de jure,* already enjoys Dominion status. For good or ill, the right and ability of the Indian Legislature to exercise complete control over the country's fiscal policy are no longer open to challenge. The imposition of high protective tariffs against British, as well as foreign, goods was a considerable advance towards fiscal autonomy, but the freedom now exercised to withhold preferential tariffs in favour of British manufactures testifies that, for all practical purposes—ignoring constitutional niceties—India is now as completely mistress of her economic destinies as the Dominions, or, indeed, as the United Kingdom.

Overtly, the Ottawa Agreement has been terminated on purely economic grounds, subject to the invitation extended to the Government of India to negotiate a new treaty with the United Kingdom more favourable to Indian interests; but, subconsciously, the vote of the Legislature was essentially an assertion of India's fiscal independence. There is no cause for alarm in this attitude. The present Assembly claims to be more representative than its predecessor, yet it is only an inadequate reflection even of British Indian interests and opinion, and a more reliable indication of the real trend of Indian fiscal policy under the new conditions must await the establishment, two or three years hence, of the Federal Legislature, which will reflect more accurately than the present Legislature not only the views of the great rural population in British India, but also those of the Indian States whose interests, hitherto, have not been considered at all. Consequently, what the present situation calls for is an interim arrangement, based upon such reciprocal preferences as the British Board of Trade and the Government of India in conjunction with its Legislature may be able to agree upon, which will remain in operation until such time as the Federal Legislature may be established, and has been afforded an opportunity to review the position anew, and to formulate its own policy. Meanwhile it would be unduly pessimistic to regard the attitude even of the present unrepresentative Assembly, as expressed in the resolution quoted above, as antagonistic to a trade treaty between the United Kingdom and India on what Indian interests would regard as an equitable basis, and, in that sense, the attitude of Indian producers does not differ fundamentally from that of manufacturers in the United Kingdom and the Dominions, who are all pressing for revision of the original Ottawa Agreements in one form or another. A short quotation from the speech of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the mover of the resolution adopted by the Indian Assembly, will help to explain the Indian attitude. The leader of the Independent Party said, *inter alia*:

> "So long as I do not get free from this Agreement, I shall never get a better agreement with the United Kingdom, or anybody else. (Hear,

hear.) . . . Now I do not see why I am to forfeit the goodwill of Great Britain. Why? I say to Great Britain: 'Believe me, I want arrangements with you, but they must be such that you and we shall benefit mutually. I am willing; again let us make an attempt.' And I will tell you why I want to give notice—not in order to show bad will or lack of goodwill, but the reason why I want to give notice now is this: As a business-man, I have come to the conclusion that, if I cannot get better terms, substantially, mind you . . . then I do not want to go on with this bad business, this losing business, and I do not want to have one month more of suffering loss, and I therefore give six months' notice. If we can come to some arrangement, there will be no dislocation. There will be no chaos, and there will be no lack of goodwill."

From the Congress benches came declarations in the same strain. Thus Mr. Satyamurti, one of the ablest and most influential of the Congress leaders, observed:

"From the point of view of India, Indian producers, Indian consumers, Indian taxpayers, Indian merchants, and Indian Chambers of Commerce, we on this side of the House, and I hope all non-official sections of the House excepting the Europeans, are unanimously of opinion that this Agreement has not worked for the industrial and commercial benefit of India. . . . There are six months; let us sit down, and if the United Kingdom sends any delegation here to negotiate with us, we are perfectly willing to place our cards on the table and enter into a fair bargain in consultation with the relevant commercial and industrial opinion of the country. . . . There is no political bias or motive in this matter. . . . We feel that India's trade relation is such that, if she ties herself up to the United Kingdom, she renders herself weak, almost powerless, with regard to other countries."

In the long run the governing factor in relation to Indo-British trade will be found to be, not the motives or arguments or tactics of the politicians, but those imponderable economic influences which no amount of disputation can either disguise or deflect. Consequently, whatever may be said on tactical grounds in justification of the Assembly resolution, unless we are to contemplate the possibility of a tariff war, the only possible outcome of the impending negotions is a replica of the Ottawa Agreement, perhaps carrying a title less repugnant to Indian political sentiment and prejudices, possibly more comprehensive in scope, but inspired by the same purpose of increasing the volume and value of the commerce carried on between the two countries. For it cannot be insisted too often or too strongly that the most potent factor contributing to the maintenance of the trade between India and Great Britain is to be found, not in their political association, past or present, but in the complementary character of their natural resources and industrial activities. Few, if any, of the foodstuffs or raw materials produced in India will be found to compete with the products of British agriculture, while only a limited number of British manufactures are in direct competition with the industrial products of India. There is direct competition between British

and Dominion agricultural produce, but not between British and Indian farm produce. In regard to British and Indian manufactures the Member for Industries in India was able to claim in the Assembly debate, without being challenged, that, excluding aluminium, no Indian industry has complained that the Ottawa Agreement has either increased the cost of its raw material or in any way adversely affected it. In regard to the aluminium industry, moreover, investigation has shown that an ample supply of raw material is available to the industry and that its price has steadily fallen. It is important to remember, as Sir Frank Noyce went on to point out, that a preference by itself cannot affect any shelter enjoyed by an Indian industry under the tariff. What really matters is the level at which the basic and preferential duties are fixed. That was a consideration which was kept prominently in mind when the preferences under the Ottawa Agreement were negotiated.

It is not denied, even by opponents of the Ottawa Agreement, that the British preferences have been of substantial value to Indian produce entering the British market. In certain instances it is urged that the preferences should be increased in order to make them more completely effective, but, on the whole, it is admitted that domestic industries, dependent mainly on the Indian market, have not been prejudiced, and that Indian industries exporting to this country have been able to increase their sales, or, at the worst, have found the Ottawa arrangements of great value in competing with foreign produce. Somewhat illogically, the main complaint adduced against the Ottawa Agreement is that it has failed to increase Indian exports as a whole. It is even suggested that its effect has been to incite certain foreign countries to impose retaliatory tariffs on Indian produce; but no convincing evidence has been supplied to justify this contention. The assumption underlying the Opposition case is, indeed, that, but for the Ottawa Agreement, Indian exports to countries outside the Empire would have regained their pre-slump level, and even now could be restored to that level by recourse to bilateral trade treaties which only the Ottawa Agreement debars. The easy argumentative process is employed of denouncing Empire preferences for failing to achieve economic miracles which it was never claimed they could fulfil. The preferences had a limited objective and have achieved it—namely, to help, by increasing Empire trade, to offset, to some extent, the catastrophic contraction in international trade as a whole. The fact that, with the aid of the preferences, India has been able to maintain and even increase her percentage of world trade is ignored, as is also the fact that, under the same invaluable stimulus, India has been able to save herself from insolvency by regaining a more favourable balance of trade than she enjoyed

before the Ottawa preferences came into operation and gave her export trade a new lease of life. Indian traders and politicians who look for a restoration of the former immense volume of Indian exports to Continental Europe overlook the permanent changes in the content and channels of international commerce which have been brought about by the events of the last seven years, including the incidence of economic nationalism, the development of new sources of supply, the displacement of multilateral by bilateral trading, and other factors equally familiar. British purchases of Indian produce now exceed those of all other European countries combined.

Bilateral treaties with European countries are being strongly advocated in India as a supplement to the Indo-British and Indo-Japanese Agreements, but, apart from the time factor and the immense practical difficulty of negotiating separate treaties with so many countries, there is the initial difficulty that, with most of them, India enjoys a favourable balance of trade, and therefore has nothing to offer in exchange for concessions calculated to assist Indian exports. To some extent the Indian preferences in favour of British manufactures have doubtless curtailed the market in India for European goods in the same categories, but a far more restrictive influence has been the imposition of protective tariffs in favour of Indian industries, none of which are prepared to agree to the removal or reduction of these tariffs in the interests of Indian exports. The interests of Indian industries catering mainly for the domestic market, and of Indian industries producing mainly for export, are conflicting; the former depending for survival on the maintenance of high tariffs, and the latter depending for recovery on a general lowering of tariffs in India as well as elsewhere. In this respect India is learning, in common with certain other countries, that it is not possible, concurrently, to pursue a policy of intensive industrial development and secure any considerable expansion of oversea trade. There would have been a happier story to tell if, as her local industries developed, India had displaced one import only to substitute another; but although this is occurring, it is occurring only on a very small scale. Consequently, as Indian industries have expanded, the value of the Indian market has suffered a progressive decline, not only from the point of view of foreign countries, but even from the point of view of the United Kingdom, whose exports to India have fallen by about £40,000,000 since 1929 and are threatened with further diminution as Indian industries continue to grow. A diminishing market for imported manufactures does not place India in a strong position for bargaining purposes when it comes to bilateral trade negotiations. Furthermore, to India, as a debtor country, anxious to meet her external obligations, a favourable balance of trade is an abiding

necessity; and such a position automatically imposes a limit on the number of countries with which it is possible to negotiate bilateral treaties on a strictly reciprocal basis. The ability of Great Britain to negotiate so many relatively favourable trade treaties—an achievement which India desires to emulate—is conditioned by her status as a creditor country with a total purchasing power of about £750,000,000 and her ability to import about £200,000,000 more commodities than she exports. India does not, and cannot, enjoy the same advantage.

What attitude should the Board of Trade adopt in the impending negotiations? Presumably one point which will be made clear from the outset is that, as at Ottawa, a trade treaty with India can be concluded only on the basis of reciprocal preferences. More than one supporter of the Assembly resolution calling for the termination of the Ottawa Agreement disclosed a belief that the British preferences in favour of Indian produce will be maintained, even in the event of the Indian preferences in favour of British manufactures being entirely cancelled. That would be a dangerous delusion to encourage; nevertheless, it appears to be fairly widespread in certain political circles in India, and it would be advantageous to have the position clarified. As the negotiations proceed other factors will also come to the foreground. The value of the British market to Indian produce can be measured by the difficulties which would be experienced in finding alternative markets for such produce in the event of the British preferences being withdrawn. It has been indicated above that, in the majority of cases, non-Empire countries would be prepared to accept larger quantities of Indian produce only in return for lower tariffs in India on industrial products which are in direct competition with Indian manufactures. Foreign purchases of Indian primary products have declined concurrently with the decline in Indian purchases of foreign manufactures, including textiles, steel and steel manufactures, sugar, cement, matches and a score of other products which Indian industries are producing in ever-increasing volume. The British preferences have proved invaluable to Indian products. Lancashire purchases of Indian cotton are now approaching the level of 500,000 bales per annum. If Lancashire withdrew, there is no reason to assume that larger European purchases would offset the loss; while Japan will buy more Indian cotton only if permitted to increase her shipments of piecegoods, which Indian millowners would prefer to exclude entirely. In the event of the British preferences, formal and informal, being withdrawn, alternative markets would therefore not be easy to find, and the immediate sequelæ would almost certainly include larger stocks and lower prices, to the great disadvantage of Indian producers of all classes. A country which is at present dependent on the export of

large quantities of dehoarded gold in order to meet her external commitments is not in a position to risk any portion of her present export trade in normal merchandise; and to India it is hardly too much to say that the British market is not only valuable but, for all practical purposes, indispensable, and it is clear that the retention of this market is largely dependent on the retention of the preferences now under discussion.

In addition to the foregoing considerations, the Board of Trade will also presumably make careful investigations concerning (*a*) the extent to which the output of Indian manufactures in competition with British goods has expanded since the Ottawa Agreement came into operation and (*b*) the probable further expansion in Indian industrial output in the next two or three years, during which any new agreement would remain in operation. To mention only two industries, it is known that a strong section of the Indian cotton millowners are pressing for import tariffs adequate to secure to Indian producers a complete monopoly of the domestic market; it is also known that financial arrangements are maturing which will result in the establishment of a second steelworks in India, equipped to produce steel and steel manufactures on a scale certain to result in a further substantial diminution in Indian imports of these materials. Lancashire is entitled to a clearer definition of the future scope of the Indian market for her products than she has yet been vouchsafed, and the impending negotiations afford an appropriate opportunity for the process of clarification. In return for a lower tariff on Lancashire materials India is entitled to a binding assurance that, as India increases her purchases of Lancashire piecegoods, Lancashire will increase, *pro rata*, her purchases of Indian cotton.

Of greater importance than preferential tariffs is the restoration of a more profitable price-level for primary products; until this is achieved the purchasing power of the Indian market cannot rise appreciably above its present abnormally low level. Such a price recovery was recognized by the Ottawa Conference to be essential; but it has not yet been attained, and the slight improvement that has been recorded is due mainly to re-armament activities. India is endeavouring to offset the decline in the value of her merchandise exports by shipments of dehoarded gold, which have so far exceeded £200,000,000; but this source of sustenance is not inexhaustible, and it cannot be emphasized too strongly that its cessation or contraction would mean a corresponding curtailment in Indian imports, to the further disadvantage of British and other oversea producers interested in the Indian market.

AIR TRANSPORT FROM EUROPE TO THE EAST

By Lieut.-Colonel H. Burchall, d.s.o.
(General Manager, Imperial Airways.)

In 1829 an official enquiry was held into this country's revenue. The report stated, *inter alia*, that "the facility of frequent punctual and quick communications . . . is essential to the performance of government and subservient to all the ends of national policy." In 1917 the Civil Aerial Transport Committee reported to His Majesty's Government, and the report includes the words: "It is obvious how important a bearing the improvement in inter-imperial communications is likely to have on that greatest of problems, the problem of the future relations to one another of the self-governing states of the British Empire."

At the end of 1918 there was a great body of the Royal Air Force personnel with nothing to do. The Armistice had brought a cessation of their activities and entirely changed the outlook of the military forces in all parts of the world. With great far-sightedness the officer commanding the Royal Air Force in the Middle East—Air Vice-Marshal Sir W. G. H. Salmond—organized parties to survey the routes to India and to South Africa with a view to the ultimate establishment of air transport services. In due course the Royal Air Force in Egypt and 'Iraq established a regular service across the Syrian desert, following a track that had been ploughed across this inhospitable territory. In those days there was no directional wireless available, and no aircraft had yet been able to maintain height after one of its engines had broken down. The reliability of engines was then not what it is today, and it was no uncommon thing for one aircraft to break down and for the aircraft sent to its relief to break down in its turn. The service, however, was the first step towards the establishment of an air service from Europe to Asia, and it bridged the territory that had hitherto been practically impassable.

In 1919 efforts were made in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe to turn aviation to commercial ends—only sixteen years after flight had become possible. Air transport was, however, unable to attract sufficient revenue to be self-supporting, and the air transport companies, facing foreign subsidized competition, found themselves also facing bankruptcy. Another committee enquired into air transport in 1923, and they recommended the creation of an entirely new organization which would embrace the four existing companies which, to use the words of the committee's

large quantities of dehoarded gold in order to meet her external commitments is not in a position to risk any portion of her present export trade in normal merchandise; and to India it is hardly too much to say that the British market is not only valuable but, for all practical purposes, indispensable, and it is clear that the retention of this market is largely dependent on the retention of the preferences now under discussion.

In addition to the foregoing considerations, the Board of Trade will also presumably make careful investigations concerning (*a*) the extent to which the output of Indian manufactures in competition with British goods has expanded since the Ottawa Agreement came into operation and (*b*) the probable further expansion in Indian industrial output in the next two or three years, during which any new agreement would remain in operation. To mention only two industries, it is known that a strong section of the Indian cotton millowners are pressing for import tariffs adequate to secure to Indian producers a complete monopoly of the domestic market; it is also known that financial arrangements are maturing which will result in the establishment of a second steelworks in India, equipped to produce steel and steel manufactures on a scale certain to result in a further substantial diminution in Indian imports of these materials. Lancashire is entitled to a clearer definition of the future scope of the Indian market for her products than she has yet been vouchsafed, and the impending negotiations afford an appropriate opportunity for the process of clarification. In return for a lower tariff on Lancashire materials India is entitled to a binding assurance that, as India increases her purchases of Lancashire piecegoods, Lancashire will increase, *pro rata*, her purchases of Indian cotton.

Of greater importance than preferential tariffs is the restoration of a more profitable price-level for primary products; until this is achieved the purchasing power of the Indian market cannot rise appreciably above its present abnormally low level. Such a price recovery was recognized by the Ottawa Conference to be essential; but it has not yet been attained, and the slight improvement that has been recorded is due mainly to re-armament activities. India is endeavouring to offset the decline in the value of her merchandise exports by shipments of dehoarded gold, which have so far exceeded £200,000,000; but this source of sustenance is not inexhaustible, and it cannot be emphasized too strongly that its cessation or contraction would mean a corresponding curtailment in Indian imports, to the further disadvantage of British and other oversea producers interested in the Indian market.

AIR TRANSPORT FROM EUROPE TO THE EAST

By Lieut.-Colonel H. Burchall, d.s.o.
(General Manager, Imperial Airways.)

In 1829 an official enquiry was held into this country's revenue. The report stated, *inter alia*, that "the facility of frequent punctual and quick communications . . . is essential to the performance of government and subservient to all the ends of national policy." In 1917 the Civil Aerial Transport Committee reported to His Majesty's Government, and the report includes the words: "It is obvious how important a bearing the improvement in inter-imperial communications is likely to have on that greatest of problems, the problem of the future relations to one another of the self-governing states of the British Empire."

At the end of 1918 there was a great body of the Royal Air Force personnel with nothing to do. The Armistice had brought a cessation of their activities and entirely changed the outlook of the military forces in all parts of the world. With great far-sightedness the officer commanding the Royal Air Force in the Middle East—Air Vice-Marshal Sir W. G. H. Salmond—organized parties to survey the routes to India and to South Africa with a view to the ultimate establishment of air transport services. In due course the Royal Air Force in Egypt and 'Iraq established a regular service across the Syrian desert, following a track that had been ploughed across this inhospitable territory. In those days there was no directional wireless available, and no aircraft had yet been able to maintain height after one of its engines had broken down. The reliability of engines was then not what it is today, and it was no uncommon thing for one aircraft to break down and for the aircraft sent to its relief to break down in its turn. The service, however, was the first step towards the establishment of an air service from Europe to Asia, and it bridged the territory that had hitherto been practically impassable.

In 1919 efforts were made in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe to turn aviation to commercial ends—only sixteen years after flight had become possible. Air transport was, however, unable to attract sufficient revenue to be self-supporting, and the air transport companies, facing foreign subsidized competition, found themselves also facing bankruptcy. Another committee enquired into air transport in 1923, and they recommended the creation of an entirely new organization which would embrace the four existing companies which, to use the words of the committee's

report, "should be run entirely on business lines with a privileged position with regard to air transport subsidies." The Government of the day accepted the recommendations of the committee, and have since followed the policy then suggested. That their policy was right can hardly be doubted, as it has been followed in turn by all the leading countries in Europe, until now there are fourteen countries each supporting one national company charged with the responsibility of operating the air services that these countries regard as of national importance.

By 1924 civil air transport in Europe had settled down to an ordered development under the influence of subsidies given by the various national Governments to their respective national companies. In 1927 the Royal Air Force service from Cairo to Bagdad was taken over by Imperial Airways, and in due course was extended to India on the one side and to Italy on the other. From the British point of view the service from Egypt to India was of special importance, and offered a saving of time for mails and passengers of a high order in view of the circuitous route that had to be followed by steamships. By 1929 this service had been extended and had become an England–India service, but was not extended to Singapore until 1933.

In 1930 the Dutch Government established, through the Royal Dutch Air Lines, a regular fortnightly service from Holland to the Dutch East Indies, and in 1932 the French Government established, through Air Orient, a regular service from France to French Indo-China. It has frequently been charged against British interests that they allowed the Dutch and French to blaze the trail in the establishment of a service across India to Malay. I am not clear whether this is a criticism of Imperial Airways or of the Government of the United Kingdom, but in either case I submit that it is entirely unjustified. No company could operate long-distance services in those days without Government aid, and the Government of the United Kingdom had already decided to give their support to the services to India and South Africa.

Air services had unfortunately become a matter of national rivalry, regardless of whether they serve an economic purpose, and the nation first to establish an air service across foreign territory may acquire, although at great cost, an advantage of high potential value.

Without in any way wishing to discredit the initiative of the Dutch and French, it must also in fairness to our own people be pointed out that their services were established in the main over a route that had been pioneered by Great Britain, and the aerodromes and navigational aids had been provided by Great Britain and by the Governments of the territories flown over, of which none is Dutch and only one is French.

If we take the regular stopping places of the three services—British, French, and Dutch—we find that in the case of the Dutch not one of the sixteen aerodromes regularly used between Holland and the Dutch East Indies (8,000 miles) has been provided at Dutch expense; and in the case of the French only three of the sixteen regularly used between France and Indo-China are provided at French expense; while on the British line seventeen out of twenty-two between England and Singapore have been provided at British expense. Of the airports provided at British expense, nine are used by the French and eleven by the Dutch, whereas only one French airport and no Dutch airports are used by the British service to Singapore. It is, however, perhaps fair to add that since 1935 on the Australia service from Singapore to Australia five Dutch airports are used by the Australian company—Qantas Empire Airways—and since 1936 two more French airports have been used by the British service to Hong-Kong.

It should further be pointed out that, while there was every reason for the British Government to establish a route from Europe to India and Africa, there was little point in establishing a Dutch service to carry Dutch traffic except between Holland and her colonies in the East. The same may be said of the French service to Indo-China, although France has mandated territory in Syria which gives an intermediate area in which she has special interest.

Once outside Europe, however, Great Britain has special interests in all the countries traversed with the exception of Siam, and the services, therefore, of British, French, and Dutch may reasonably be expected to serve different ends. If one may assume that air traffic should bear some relationship to the total trade passing, it is interesting to examine the figures of imports and exports, for example, between Great Britain, on the one hand, and the territories along the route with similar figures for France and Holland. The figures given on p. 646 do not take into account the trade between the individual national territories on the route, which would very much increase the figures of trade on the British side without increasing at all those on the Dutch and very little those on the French. For the sake of clarity and brevity only the more important markets outside Europe are given, and then in round figures only. (See table on the next page.)

It will be seen that the nationality of the traffic on the route across Asia from Europe to Singapore and Australia is preponderatingly British, and it may well be that the development of the three services will, therefore, differ in material particulars. It it frequently assumed that, as the services operate over more or less similar routes, the problems to be faced by the three national companies will be similar. It can be seen, however, that, in view of the British interests along the route to the Antipodes, the chief

TOTAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FOR THE YEAR 1934—MERCHANDISE ONLY.

	Imported into & Exported from Great Britain.	*Imported into & Exported from France.*	*Imported into & Exported from Holland.*
	£	£	£
Egypt	121,227,000	5,285,000	622,000
Syria	1,053,000	2,224,000	110,000
British India ...	78,777,000	8,008,000	3,132,000
Straits Settlements and Dependencies, including Labuan ...	14,828,000	3,265,000	568,000
Netherlands East Indies—*i.e.*, all Dutch possessions in Asia ...	9,252,000	4,530,000	12,098,000
Indo-China ...	448,000	13,869,000	239,000
Australia, including Tasmania, Norfolk Island, Lord Howe Island, and Macquarie Island ...	76,172,000	9,050,000	451,000
	301,757,000	46,231,000	17,220,000

British need is for air services that can be used by the greatest possible number of our people, and, therefore, the British service should aim at carrying mail and passengers as fast as possible, but having due regard for economy.

The arrangements made in the United Kingdom as the result of the policy laid down in 1923 are now drawing to a close, and in the interval very rapid progress has been made in the aeronautical sciences. We can fly further and faster and can carry a given load at a very much lower cost than formerly, and, in fact, it is open to question whether the task set Imperial Airways at its inception—to make air transport self-supporting—has or has not been completed. So much depends upon what services are being considered and what is a fair charge for the speed offered. It is idle to suggest that it is reasonable to provide speeds of from three to eight times those of surface transport at no greater cost. Furthermore, the costs of operating in undeveloped countries or in the tropics are very much higher than at home in Europe. Fuel costs may be two or three times the cost at home, and labour, other than unskilled, may cost, after allowing for passages, sickness, leave, housing, etc., as much as three times the amount at home.

As an indication of the progress towards economic independence, the following figures may be quoted. The subsidy paid per ton mile carried by Imperial Airways has fallen from 7s. 7d. per

ton mile in 1931 to 3s. 2d. in 1935, and the estimated amount for 1936 is as low as 1s. 9d. In considering these figures, one must bear in mind the great proportion of mileage that is flown over undeveloped country and in the tropics, where costs are far higher than in Europe.

But having progressed to this point, at what development ought we now to aim? Should we seek to increase our speed, or should we concentrate on lowering costs? Should we give to those who can afford to pay for it still faster services, or should we try to bring the values of air transport within the reach of all? Should we, in short, continue the present surcharge system of air mails, or should we seek to carry all first-class Empire mail without surcharge? These problems have been under discussion for some time, and the Government has decided on the latter policy, which is now commonly known as the Empire air mail scheme. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the extent of the benefits that this policy will bring in its train. The carriage of all first-class mail will so increase the volume of traffic that larger aircraft can be used, not only without reduction in frequency, but with increased frequency. The amount of traffic passing will justify the provision of extensive ground organization, which, in its turn, will permit of day and night flying, so increasing the effective speed of the services without incurring the high cost and risk of aircraft of high-cruising speed. All these factors will, in turn, reduce the cost per ton mile and add to the convenience of the traveller. It will also bring the benefits of air travel to those who are never likely to need the air services as passengers and who may even be unable to afford to use them regularly for surcharged mail. The carriage of unsurcharged mail by air will come as a particular blessing to the less wealthy of our countrymen overseas and to the friends and relatives of the men in the navy, army, and air force overseas.

In choosing the speed of the aircraft for use on the Empire mail service a compromise had to be made between the various contending factors. Our services will not, therefore, give the maximum possible speed, and other countries that have not the same amount of traffic may well be able to beat us on speed. It is, perhaps, of interest here to note the views recently expressed by Mr. Anthony Fokker, the noted Dutch aircraft constructor, as reported in the *Daily Telegraph* of May 27. He said: "They (Imperial Airways) will soon have at their disposal twelve giant aeroplanes and twenty-eight four-engined seaplanes, all of the most modern design. I have the greatest admiration for the steady lines of development they have followed. I also have noticed that this is the policy of British aviation generally. Imperial Airways have never allowed themselves to be influenced by the temporary spurts

of competitors, although they use them as stimulating influences. I put them up as an example to others, my own country included."

The following table will show the times taken by the steamship mail to various points on the eastern route, the times taken at present by air and the times required under the Empire air mail scheme. It must be emphasized that the times given under the Empire air mail scheme cannot be immediately achieved, but the schedules will be progressively improved as the ground organization is perfected.

	Steamship Mail.	*Present Air Service.*	*Empire Air Mail Scheme.*
London to Egypt ...	5	2½	1½
„ India ...	16	6½	2¼
„ Singapore ...	22	8½	4½
„ Australia ...	31	12½	6 or 7

It should also be noted that there will be nine services a week to Egypt, five to Calcutta, three to Singapore, and two or three to Australia, if Australia decides to participate in the scheme.

In the present condition of world affairs it is natural that, while national air services must rely on subsidy from their national exchequers to supplement their ordinary traffic receipts, each country should seek to carry its own traffic in its own aircraft. In view of the trade between British territories on the eastern route, it is obvious that British services must be established on a permanent basis, and the Empire air mail scheme will, I believe, establish these services so that they will be secure against any competition. There will be no need, in view of the frequency of the British services, to use any foreign services for the carriage of mails, and the frequency and low cost of the British services will doubtless more than compensate for any possible higher speed that may be achieved by competing services. In planning to carry all mail by air without surcharge, low transport costs must be sought, and it would be folly to deviate from this objective through fear of foreign services lavishly subsidized by their own Governments seeking to acquire the prestige of the fastest service. The lengths to which such foreign competition is carried may be judged by the recent example, which will doubtless be fresh in mind, which led to the suspension of some of the British steamship services across the Pacific.

The adoption of the Empire air mail scheme is, I submit, a testimony to the far-sightedness of the various Secretaries of State for Air under whose policy civil aviation has been developed to a point at which the loads to be carried along the Empire routes can be contemplated in tons instead of pounds. But the scheme would be impossible of accomplishment except by a big organization.

A chain of small organizations would be unable, because of the varying individual interests, to agree on the characteristics of aircraft most suited to the general requirements. The development, therefore, of the very large and economical type of aircraft would become impossible, and the construction of a fleet valued at over £2,000,000 would obviously be impossible. In addition, because of sectional interests, the utilization of the fleet would be much less effective; and the increase in cost that would arise from the less intensive use of the fleet of aircraft would preclude the possibility of carrying all the letter mail without surcharge on the present basis. When Imperial Airways started, its aircraft flew approximately 50,000 miles each *per annum*, whereas now they are able to operate over 200,000 miles *per annum*. The obsolescence, insurance, and interest on capital of an aircraft costing, say, £40,000 add a standing charge of over 6s. a mile if the aircraft only operates over 50,000 miles a year, whereas it is less than 2s. a mile if it flies 200,000 miles a year—an obvious economy of the first magnitude.

A chain of associated companies would also suffer the grave handicap of having to compete with two national companies, each operating a closely knit organization operating from end to end of their respective routes. This fact seems to be unaccountably overlooked by the critics of the Government policy of placing the operation of the Empire routes in the hands of one company, and these critics would apparently add the distraction of competition from home to the competition that already has to be faced from abroad.

During the recent debate in the House of Commons on the Air Navigation Bill, which is intended to provide the powers, *inter alia*, to enable the Government to proceed with the Empire air mail scheme, the Rt. Hon. Sir Philip Sassoon, Bart., Under-Secretary of State for Air, said: "There are those who appear to be opposed to the decision to employ Imperial Airways as the chosen instrument for the development of Empire air routes and for the North Atlantic. But that is not a departmental decision of the Air Ministry. It is the considered Government policy arrived at after the most exhaustive review by His Majesty's Government of all the conditions: and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that Imperials Airways' record fully justifies that decision up to the hilt."

While Great Britain and the Empire countries have been devoting their attention to the actual operation of the England–Australia service, the United States, through the agency of Pan-American Airways, has been busy establishing air routes around South America, and is now engaged upon experimental flights from California to Manila. Already a number of successful ex-

perimental crossings of the Pacific Ocean have been carried out, and it is hoped that when this service is established on a regular schedule it will be extended to make contact with the service running round the other half of the world. From Manila to Hong-Kong is a minor step, and a branch service from the main Australia route already operates from Penang to Hong-Kong. With this connection established, the Far East will have an interchange airport of immense importance in the long-distance air services of the world. With the long-distance services meeting at Hong-Kong there will be a great need for the air services now operating within China to come into Hong-Kong so that the great markets of the East may all be reached by air without loss of time. Hong-Kong reached its present importance as a marine port, and this importance will, in the very near future, be greatly enhanced by the concentration of air services from north, south, east, and west on the island. It is not unduly optimistic to hope that Pan-American Airways' Pacific service will come into Hong-Kong before the end of the year, and it will then be possible to travel more than three-quarters of the way round the globe in regular air services. The gap is the Atlantic, which, of course, presents the most difficult problem of all for air services. But the problem is being intensively studied both in England and America by Imperial Airways and Pan-American Airways, and aircraft under construction in both countries are expected to make experimental flights in connection with trans-Atlantic air services before the end of the year.

Within the next few years, therefore, we may expect to see regular air services encircling the globe and giving not inconsiderable help in establishing and maintaining peace between the countries.

RECENT PROGRESS IN BARODA STATE

By Sir V. T. Krishnama Chari, K.C.I.E.

In the course of his inaugural address to the Legislative Assembly the Prime Minister gave the following survey of recent progress in the State:

Since we last met the State has witnessed the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of His Highness the Maharaja's accession in which the Dharasabha as a body took a prominent part. It is unnecessary for me to say anything about these celebrations; the events connected with them are fresh in the minds of all of you. You will be interested to hear that the Peoples' Fund has a balance of about six and a half lakhs of rupees, after meeting the expenditure on celebrations throughout the State. As already decided, the income from this fund is to be devoted to rural uplift in the State. The subcommittee appointed for the purpose has drawn up a scheme which will be duly published. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to all those who have supported the fund so generously.

You will all remember the gracious message of His Highness the Maharaja on January 3 in which he announced a gift of one crore of rupees to be called "The Sayajirao III. Diamond Jubilee Trust," the income of which is to be devoted to improving the conditions of life of the rural population, especially those of the poor and depressed classes, supplementing the amounts which would be progressively devoted to such purposes in the regular budgets of the State. A scheme for the working of this Trust is under preparation.

In the field of legislation, measures of far-reaching importance have been placed on the Statute Book. Let me mention the most important of these. I shall group them under three heads:

First, there are the amendments made to the Hindu Law. One set of these laws have enlarged the property rights of Hindu women, marking a great step in the advance of our society. Another set aims at removing unreasonable restrictions on marriage, adoption, etc. The importance of these laws will be realized more and more as their effects are felt.

Secondy, I shall mention a group of laws the object of which is to remove well-known abuses in our society. In this category falls the Sanyas Diksha Restraint Act, which penalizes the initiation of minors into Diksha. Then there is the Caste Tyranny Removal Act. This prohibits unhealthy forms of intimidation exercised in the name of the caste. These laws seek to strengthen the hands of reformers and to educate society in the need for healthy changes in old institutions to adapt them to the progressive needs of modern conditions.

Thirdly, I would mention the laws passed for the betterment of the conditions of the agriculturists in the State. The Agriculturists' Debt Regulation Act deals with the indebtedness of the rural population and enables courts to go into the history of the debts and pass equitable decrees. The Rent Regulation Act enables Government to fix equitable rents and prevents expropriation of tenants in backward areas. Another important legislation is the one regulating the relations between the holders of Ankadia villages and their tenants, protecting the latter against rack-renting and eviction. There is then the law preventing fragmentation of agricultural holdings

which gives a right of pre-emption to an adjoining owner when a holding which is uneconomic comes on the market. Lastly, there is the law which entitles the cultivating tenant to the benefits of suspensions and remissions granted by the Government in times of distress.

I think this is a record of work for four years of which any assembly like this has reason to be proud. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of these measures in the present stage of our society. Speaking for the Government, nothing has been more gratifying than the broadmindedness displayed by the members in the discussions of these vital issues. I earnestly hope that all of you will continue this good work by undertaking educative propaganda in villages and helping the villagers to shake off the fetters of unreasonable customs and superstitions. Without this, all talk of economic reconstruction of the countryside is bound to be futile.

Your influence is also felt steadily in everyday administration. The non-official members moved 391 resolutions, out of which 204 were withdrawn and 14 were rejected by the Dharasabha, leaving a balance of 173. Out of these 173, 26 were congratulatory resolutions. As regards the remaining 147, the Government have accepted 83 and given effect to the recommendations of the Dharasabha; 38 are still under consideration; 26 have not been accepted by the Government. These resolutions covered the whole field of administration—the majority of them relating to land revenue and education. The figures given above indicate the high value of the co-operation between the officers of Government and the members of the Dharasabha.

EASTERN TRADE ROUTES AND THE MIDDLE SEA

By John de La Valette

As this article goes to press the League of Nations has not yet given its decision on the continuance or cessation of the defence measures which were taken against Italy for the protection of Abyssinia. Formal obsequies attended by fifty nations are not needed to confirm their demise. Sanctions did not produce the desired effect when Britain was supporting this form of action and France was, let us say, lukewarm. Now that both countries advocate their abandonment, these measures can clearly not survive. The conquest of Abyssinia by Italy thus becomes an accomplished fact. The moral and legal implications of this tragedy lie outside our present scope. The purpose of the present article is to consider to what extent the altered situation in the Mediterranean affects the sea communications between Britain and the East.

There has at times been a tendency to over-emphasize the importance of free navigation through the Mediterranean for British ships. That sea has even been referred to as the "jugular vein of the British Empire." Today, in an endeavour to build a bridge between Mussolini's Italy and this country, there is a tendency in some quarters to underestimate its bearing on Imperial interests. An able naval correspondent has endeavoured "to demonstrate that control of the Mediterranean route is in no way vital to national security." Vital is a big word; a resilient entity like the British Empire is unlikely to succumb to any single cause. But to treat a situation in which this country would lose her traditional position in the Mediterranean as if it were not of over-riding importance is, I submit, to allow the pendulum to swing rather too much towards the other extreme. Paramount Imperial interests would be affected if a safe passage betwen Port Said and Gibraltar were denied to British merchant ships.

About one-fifth of our imports reach us from or through the Mediterranean. These would cease to flow. Let us assume that they are replaceable by imports from other sources with which communication would be free, and that peace-time preparation would minimize the extra cost and delay. There would still remain the fact that our exports to the Mediterranean would be stopped, among them coal; and such not only to the presumed belligerent, but to all the other countries there as well. Similarly oil-fuel and petrol products, whether from Haifa or countries east of Suez,

would, *ex hypothesi*, also cease to be distributed in British ships or by British interests. To the extent that Mediterranean countries need coal or oil they would become dependent upon suppliers other than British. From such material dependence political dependence would result. Britain's position throughout the countries that surround the Middle Sea would be gravely affected, even though England's supplies in food or raw materials might remain adequate.

From time immemorial the countries on the eastern fringes of the Mediterranean have formed stepping-stones between Europe and the further parts of Asia. A substantial setback to Britain's status in the Eastern Mediterranean would make its influence felt far into Central Asia and India.

In addition the relations between Britain and India as well as the other eastern parts of the Empire would be directly affected. Compared with the route via Suez the sea voyage around the Cape would add over 4,500 miles to the present distance of nearly 6,000 miles to Bombay—*i.e.*, an addition of more than three-fourths of the distance. To Colombo a mileage of almost two-thirds would be added, to Calcutta and Rangoon about one-half, while the distance to Singapore would be increased by 44 per cent. Ports between Mombasa and Aden would lie 50 to 60 per cent. further away; Hong-Kong and China about 30 per cent. In Australasia the difference would be relatively small: 10 per cent in the case of Melbourne. The extra mileage would entail a proportionate increase in the cost of fuel; the extra duration of the voyages would bring a corresponding rise in wages, depreciation, overhead and other expenses. Roughly speaking, the cost of transport would rise in proportion to the extra time required, with only the saving of the Suez Canal dues as a set-off.

Even more serious would be the shrinkage in the effective value of the available tonnage in proportion to the extended duration of voyages. Moreover, extra tonnage would be required to carry additional coal and oil fuel to the points at which the new itinerary would call for them, except in so far as South African and Australian coal could be supplied in the bunkering ports of those countries.

At a time of abnormal need for British merchant shipping, the effective tonnage available for the Eastern trades would be cut down by something between one-third and three-fourths of its total. At a moment demanding rapid, frequent, and cheap communications between England and the outlying parts of the Empire for economic as well as political and psychological reasons, the means of communication between England and the East would become slower, less frequent, and more costly.

Britain's withdrawal from the Eastern Mediterranean would leave Egypt and the Sudan, now marching with Italian territory in Libya and Abyssinia, open to attack also from the sea.

How then, it may be asked, can we maintain ourselves in the Mediterranean in war or peace? The answer is by a redisposition of our forces and a reconstruction of our strategic position on such a scale as will render our support so valuable to our friends that we shall be saved the tragedy of having enemies in that quarter.

Obviously our naval dispositions in so far as they affect the East should be rendered immune from even the remotest threat of an enemy within the Mediterranean. This would entail the establishment at Gibraltar, Simonstown, and Singapore of first-rate naval bases, locally defended against all likely forms of aggression, and capable of supporting effective action by both naval and air forces without hampering reliance upon supplies from home. In addition Aden would have to become an effective secondary base, and stations would be required at certain points between Gibraltar and Singapore, one of which might be Mauritius. Coal and oil depots, adequately protected, would be obvious adjuncts.

A certain amount of loose talk about Malta has tended to obscure the true facts. Undoubtedly that station was not in a position to cope with the changes brought about by the growth, not so much of the Italian Navy as of her air force. It may well be that in certain circumstances it will no longer remain the principal base of our surface craft in the Mediterranean. But it seems to be overlooked by some writers that if it is within easy reach of aircraft from the mainland, it would in return be within striking distance of vulnerable places there if it were adequately defended against air attack and became an important British air station. The pronouncements recently made in rapid succession by the new First Lord of the Admiralty, the new Colonial Secretary and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs leave no doubt as to the Government's determination to retain and strengthen this important *point d'appui* in the waist of the Middle Sea.

In this sea's eastern waters the position will inevitably need complete revision. Cyprus is fairly generally accepted as providing excellent facilities for establishing a strong naval base, with Haifa, covering the end of the 'Iraq oil pipeline, as an overflow and supply station. The argument that Cyprus could be made untenable by air attack from the Dodecanese Islands may be discounted. Why should it be assumed that what Italy may prepare at Rhodes could not be parried and outdone by Britain at Cyprus? Nor does the argument that the flanking mainland is not British territory hold good. The neighbouring shores are less likely to be friendly to Italy than to Britain—provided we maintain our strength in those parts.

There remains the Suez Canal. Throughout the Abyssinian

tragedy the British Government has, properly and wisely, never wavered in respecting the provisions of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888 under which the canal must remain open to the vessels of all nations in war and peace. Equal adherence would no doubt be given and expected to the rules which prohibit the fortifying of Port Said, Suez and the neutral canal zone, or the passing through at the same time of more than two men-of-war of the same nation. But there is nothing to prevent places outside the neutral zone from being adequately defended against attack from the sea or air. In the negotiations now in progress with Egypt the possibilities in this respect are, it is understood, being fully discussed. Notwithstanding the vagaries of local politics, the Egyptian spokesmen can hardly fail to appreciate that the effective independence of Egypt is more likely to be achieved in conjunction with Britain than under the ægis of those who aim at reviving the "Roman Empire."

With an improved entrance and modern defences Alexandria would provide a first-rate naval base. The potentialities of Port Ibrahim, opposite Suez but outside the neutral canal zone, would enable a useful repair and supply station to be established there which, in conjunction with Aden, would, without infringing the Suez Canal Convention, render complete, in case of conflict, the British control of Italy's communications with Abyssinia. This would render Italy's irruption into East Africa far more innocuous, and meet, one feels sure, with approval in South Africa.

How would these new dispositions be viewed by the other Mediterranean countries—above all by France? The frequent divergence of views on political expediency between the French and British Governments is apt to make both peoples overlook one fact: that at no point of the many where British and French possessions are to be found side by side is there any but friendly rivalry. There is no clash of interests between them. Alone among the big powers of Europe, France and Britain stand for democratic government, respect for the liberty of the subject, and tolerance at home and abroad. Both harbour the unfeigned wish for peace as a permanent achievement, and not as a mere breathing-space before the next assault.

In the Mediterranean, throughout the African Continent and in the matter of communications with Eastern possessions, the identity of French and British interests is absolute. Neither Britain nor France covet Italian territory, or desire to obstruct the legitimate aspirations of that country so long as these are pursued within the framework of established treaties and rights.

The Rome Agreements of January 7, 1935, moreover put an end to Franco-Italian friction over Tunisia. The irritating school question was solved: by 1945 Italian schools in Tunisia will no

longer be the subject of special legislation. Between now and 1965 the Italian population (in 1931 still almost equal to the French: 91·178 as against 91·427) will be absorbed by the automatic naturalization of Italian familes settled since a certain number of generations. At the same time, the obligations towards Italy under the London Treaty of 1915 (of which Britain disposed by the cession of Jubaland in 1924) were—cheaply—discharged by France's ceding "a few deserts." There now remain no points of friction between France and Italy in the Mediterranean, where France's sole aim is to preserve the *status quo* and ensure her communications with Northern Africa, which are essential to her, both economically and from a military point of view, and those with the Levant and the East, which she holds hardly less important.

The expansion of Italian influence in Abyssinia is in itself no more a source of concern to France than it is to Britain. Both countries have ungrudgingly acknowledged this for years. The commercial interests of Jibuti as the present entrance to Abyssinia, which would tend to suffer from competing developments in the Italian port of Massawa, are not such as to rouse France to inimical action. Even the French stake in the Jibuti-Addis Ababa Railway raises no serious contention, since the French have a—probably over-optimistic—confidence that Italy's holding of one-fifth share in its capital (acquired as part of the arrangements reached in January, 1935) will restrain that country from taking action which might damage that railway's interests.

But if neither France nor Britain have any incentive or desire to block Italy's healthy progress, both countries have been deeply perturbed by the Duce's action in Abyssinia and the rumours of even wider intentions. The arrogant shouts about the reconstruction of the "Roman Empire" may seem divorced from reasonable possibilities; they nevertheless represent the aspirations of many in Mussolini's Italy. The public here have never been able to follow clearly the anti-British campaign conducted by organs of the Fascist press during the last twelve months or more. The French have forgotten, if they have ever fully known, how often, right up to the agreements of January, 1935, certain Fascist periodicals not only made fierce attacks upon France's position in Tunisia, but advocated in detail the formation of an Italian Empire in Africa reaching from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Libya was to be linked with the Cameroons and Gabun via the Lake Tchad region—through the conquest of French possessions.

Recent policy has made it abundantly clear that the language of power is the only one understood in some quarters. This, French and British statesmen must have learned in recent years; and some Fascist organs have taken pains that they should not forget it. Italy's *mare nostrum* may in this connection well be contrasted

with the *mare liberum* which both France and Britain desire for themselves as well as for all other countries.

Close collaboration between the two great democratic powers in the Middle Sea would form an immediate rallying point for other countries in that region, as the forthcoming discussions at Montreux will, no doubt, demonstrate. Greece, after all, has not forgotten the Corfu incident; Turkey has all along viewed with legitimate concern Italy's action in the Dodecanese, while it has repeatedly required all France's tact and skill to prevent the relations between Italy and Yugoslavia from becoming acute.

With Britain strong enough in the Mediterranean to match her actions to her genuine desire to preserve peace, France would no longer hesitate to join her in practical efforts which, with the willing collaboration of the other powers concerned, would create a situation calculated to make Italy pause before embarking upon any fresh adventure.

Thus the foundations would be laid for an all-round understanding, including Italy, with regard to the Mediterranean, and thereby British and French communications both in the Middle Sea and to the East be secured. Success in this direction will pave the way for the establishment of more peaceful conditions nearer home, based likewise first of all upon effective collaboration between this country and France.

INDIAN VILLAGE WELFARE ASSOCIATION

Easter School, 1936

A gathering of about one hundred persons, including I.C.S. probationers, educationists, and others home on leave from India, met at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, at the fifth annual Easter School of the Indian Village Welfare Association. The School was opened on March 30 by Lord Zetland, who pointed out that in the new Constitution of India the villager would take a more prominent part than before in electoral constituencies, and that 1,400 or 1,500 constituencies would represent rural interests.

Lord Meston, who delivered the opening address, gave as his title, "Our friend the villager and why we love him." He spoke of the four pillars of the village: the lambardar who collects revenue; the schoolmaster; the patwari or accountant on whose information the statistics of India are built up; and, lastly, the chaukidar, or watchman, whose duty it is to check riots by day and burglaries by night with the detective skill of Scotland Yard.

Lord Meston dealt with the trials of the peasant, which exceed in number the plagues of Egypt, his unceasing poverty, his indebtedness, the squalor he lives in, in spite of his desire for cleanliness; the terrible shortage of medical aid—his work by day and night scaring off predatory birds and animals, the social conventions which oppress him, and his fatalistic outlook. His endurance was a thing to admire, he was one of the world's underdogs. Whatever the Association could do to further the improvement of his condition would be of great value.

The following day a lecture on Rural Economics was given by Mr. C. F. Strickland. Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob presided.

Mr. Strickland stated that the coming of industry and trade meant a revolution in the economic conditions of the village. It was usual to look on the contribution of the West to the East as being mainly important as regards material conditions and better health. His own feeling, when in China recently, was that not only material but moral and spiritual contributions were necessary. There was a changed outlook in the younger generation in the East. There were now two classes of opinion—young and old, progressive and conservative. Progress was, however, not invariably beneficial. In China factory-made articles had not yet permeated the country, but in India they had largely eliminated subsidiary occupations. There were greater divergencies in India than ever before between the well-to-do and the impoverished

peasant. In the Punjab the poor cultivator saw his cousin in the Canal Colonies raised to affluence. If the health of the cultivator were better, and if he were not working at half strength owing to malaria and intestinal disease, more could be accomplished. If he had the education to read and write, progress would be more rapid. Again, his work was on too small a scale, a five-acre farm cannot have improvements applied. Debt was a heavy burden. Advice as regards crops and marketing was necessary. Someone was needed to help from all these angles, assistance on one aspect alone was insufficient.

Mr. Strickland referred to the new development of rural welfare work in the Army, and attached great importance to the collaboration between civil and military authorities. If the Army sent out a stream of men with a knowledge of improved agriculture much might result.

Co-operation between Government and missionary and other organizations was also necessary. Enthusiastic voluntary workers were often free from rigidity of policy; there was not enough collaboration with such bodies. A new power was coming to the hands of the reformers, the power of broadcasting. He concluded with four tests of the value of work:

1. Was the attack on the problem an all-round attack comprising improvement in health, in adult education, in co-operation, and in the improvement of agriculture?

2. Was the basis permanent? Too great centralization or dominance was undesirable, but assistance and skilled advice was needed by all from time to time. There should always be a link with Government or with some large and permanent institution.

3. Were the workers suitably trained and familiar with their subject?

4. Was the work inexpensive? It was useless to demonstrate in one village what could not be initiated by neighbours at their own cost.

At the lecture on agriculture, which was delivered by Dr. H. Mann, the chair was taken by Sir Albion Banerji.

Dr. Mann spoke of the extreme urgency of the rural problem, the poverty of the people was intense, livelihood was the first and foremost preoccupation of the peasant, the commercial aspect of his work was often overlooked.

It was difficult to persuade the cultivator to put one-third of his land under a cotton crop, even when this was highly profitable; his desire was first to secure food supply. In India there was roughly a proportion of three acres per family. Twenty-five per cent. of the land was devoted to crops other than food. There was only just enough to feed the population; no margin. This was a dangerous position. All methods of rural improvement could

only be palliatives unless production were increased. In Russia a large proportion of the population was turned into industry; the position was different there because it was a large undeveloped country rich in minerals. The opportunities of development in India were limited outside agriculture. Some commercial crops—*e.g.*, sugar cane—had been successfully increased in India. Extensive irrigation would pay the country well, even if the direct return on the capital expended were small. Forty-eight million acres were now irrigated in India. This could be largely increased, as the normal yield of irrigated land in many parts of India is three times that of unirrigated land in the same province; this would mean a very great increase of production. Canals had converted almost desert lands into gardens. Much could be done by fertilization of the soil to increase production without out-of-pocket expenditure, as at the Plant Institute, Indore. The rural problem could not be solved without increased agricultural production, and this was possible in a much shorter period of time than is generally supposed, if this were made one of the major objects of the country's policy, on which large expenditure could be made without hesitation.

At the session on education, at which Sir James Crerar presided, in the absence of Lord Eustace Percy, Mr. R. Sanderson sketched the growth of rural education in the Punjab. Nothing was done for village education until the eighties, when a not very successful experiment was made in zemindari schools. An important innovation was made in 1917-18 by the late Mr. J. A. Richey, who persuaded Government to have school farms of three acres attached to middle schools. The masters were trained at Lyallpur Agricultural College, where they had a year's course. The scheme was at first unpopular with the District Boards, who regarded it as an expensive fad. Some farms, however, showed small profits, and valuable propaganda as regards the use of improved tools and seeds was performed by the schoolmaster. The boys' school life, occupied with cropping schemes, accounts, etc., was an integral part of village life. Public health work developed in the schools after the outbreak of plague in 1922-23. Rubbish was buried and ventilators sold. Village games were instituted and folk dancing revived. This work originated at Gakhar, a training place for schoolmasters within easy reach of Lahore, where they had fine buildings and 25 acres of land.

All improvement in home life depended on girls' education. They were opening a number of vernacular schools for girls; the difficulty in obtaining schoolmistresses for backward areas was great. Stipends were offered to village women to go to normal schools opened in their areas. They hoped soon to have a steady supply of village girls trained to teach in their own villages; special

lines of instruction were emphasized—homecraft, domestic science. A Women's Colony at Gakhar was coming into existence this year. The senior vernacular schoolmasters who were trained there were mostly married, and their wives would now have the opportunity to study at a homecraft centre and experience the advantage of living in a model village, and will afterwards, it is hoped, insist on similar conditions at home. In order to develop co-education it was necessary to have a woman about the school premises. The proportion of money spent on girls' education as compared to boys was very low, in some districts as low as 1 to 50. He was prepared to cut down the expenses of boys' education in order to obtain more for girls.

Mr. Covernton followed with an address on education in Burma, where, he said, there was an unrivalled system of monastic schools descending from an antique past. Every Burmese becomes a Buddhist monk with shaved head and begging bowl; his period of initiation may be for as short a period as one to two days, but he gains thereby an experience of reverential quiet and obedience.

In the final session on health Sir John Megaw presided. The lecturer, Colonel A. J. H. Russell, stated that certain questions were of fundamental importance to health: the population problem, and the questions of nutrition and environment. Whether India was already over-populated was debated, but there was little doubt that she would shortly become so. The economic position was a menace; resistance to disease was lowered by insufficient nutrition.

Environmental conditions, such as the lack of sanitation and water supply, were the cause of much ill-health and disease. Where these primary essentials were attended to, as in the Army, it was possible largely to prevent disease. Malaria was one of the greatest problems; in 1933 there were 12½ million cases brought to hospital, and probably the annual deaths from this disease numbered a million. The importance of training medical officers in anti-malarial work could not be over-estimated. Not enough quinine was produced in India, and world prices made it a prohibitive luxury to the great majority of the population. Research into nutrition was very necessary. A survey of foodstuffs was being made at the present time. In many parts of India the diet was not properly balanced. Better diet depended to some extent on education. Cheap literature, such as Sir Robert McCarrison's small book on *Food*, should be issued in different vernaculars.

During the discussion the connection between child marriage and health was discussed. Workers from South and East India expressed the view that the Sarda Act would not be ineffective if more effort were made to enforce it.

During one of the informal sessions held in the evening an

interesting film on anti-malarial work throughout the world was shown by Major Lockwood Stevens, of the Ross Institute. On another occasion Mrs. Underhill gave a lantern lecture depicting the terrible devastation at Quetta. At the final gathering an informal talk on developments in Russia was given by Dr. Mann, and was followed, as were all the lectures, by an animated discussion.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

AN ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY IN MYSORE*

By Stanley Rice

If "the proper study of mankind is Man," ethnology ought to take a very high place amongst the sciences. That it does not attract more scholars is probably due to its immense complexity and to the patience required to establish conclusions. When we turn to the various rites and ceremonies which man has invented both in order to control the forces of Nature as far as he was able and to arrange, as far as he could, for his own well-being in a world peopled with unseen beings who were always on the watch to do him an injury, we are faced with comparisons and with similarities which require much patient research for their elucidation, and that research is beset with many traps for the unwary.

The study of ethnology in India is of comparatively recent growth. Sir Herbert Risley gave it an impetus by attempting an ethnographical survey of the whole country, but a comprehensive study of so vast and complicated a subject would have been the work of a lifetime, and it is no wonder that his work is incomplete. Various ethnographical surveys have since been made; Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* and Crooke's similar work in the North are outstanding contributions to the subject, but until recently Indian States do not seem to have followed these examples. Cochin undertook the work under the auspices of the author of the work with which we are now concerned, and Mysore, fittingly enough, when we take into account its high reputation among the States and its importance as one of the largest, has now completed an arduous task which was begun thirty years ago. Dr. Anantakrishna Iyer tells us that certain of the monographs were written out at length, but there was also a vast quantity of notes made by careful observers who wrote when they could and how they could, and all this mass had to be sifted, compared, and tested. All this was preliminary to the object in

* *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, vol. i., by L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer. (Mysore University.) Rs. 24.

view, a complete ethnographical record of Mysore State, and it was fortunate that the Mysore Government chose so eminent a scholar for the purpose.

For Mysore has special claims on the attention of the ethnologist. In an opening and very interesting chapter Baron von Eickstedt, Professor of Ethnology at the University of Breslau, has traced the racial history of Mysore. His account is mainly concerned with the general distribution of the population in India, but Mysore is, one might say, typical of the whole.

"As originally in the whole of India," says Dr. von Eickstedt, "so here the Indo-Negroids form the oldest part of the population. This is shown by the admixture of Melanid traits particularly among the lower castes in the plains, as well as in the completely Malid sections of the forest peoples. But the latter—*i.e.*, the contact belt between the old Indo-Negroids and the Weddids infiltrating from the North—by far outnumber the Melanid racial remnants. We must therefore regard the Malids as the aborigines of the Mysore bush-country. It was the Indids of a later date who forced them on to the thick tropical rain forests where they still live today."

It is desirable to explain briefly what is meant by these unfamiliar terms. The Weddid group (so-called from a now insignificant tribe in Ceylon) include the Gondid race and the Malid sub-race and represent the ancient Indians. The Melanid group with the Melanid race and the Kolid sub-race as divisions constitute the Black Indians, while the Indid race with its subdivision the North Indids form the New Indians. These types were of course greatly modified by the various waves of invasion, but on the whole the divisions are well marked in Mysore. The oldest section of the population consisted of the Indo-Negroids, who, however, intermingled with the Melanids and to a lesser extent with the Malids, the true forest people, so that while the Malids retain their characteristics the Melanids have only racial remnants. This was only to be expected. The great bars to invasion in early times were the dense forests and the wooded ravines of the Ghats, and it was in these that the Malids lived. The Melanids, on the other hand, settled down in the more open country and developed a system of agriculture, and this laid them far more open to attack. "The forest bar marks in a clear-cut way the dividing line between the racial types; in Mysore the population is essentially Indid, and in the Tamil area almost exclusively Melanid."

The Baron has, one is glad to see, noted the "extreme overvaluation of Sanskrit research in the second half of the previous century which led to the dogma of seeing in India nothing but the contact between 'Aryans' and 'Dravidians.'" This was largely

due to the philologists who tried to refer everything back to differences of language.

There is no such thing as an "Aryan race," in spite of recent attempts in a neighbouring country to build a policy on that mistake, and there is equally no such thing as a Dravidian race. The linguistic differences do not correspond with race types, and all attempts to make them do so are bound to fail.

If Dr. von Eickstedt has dealt with the more strictly ethnographical part of the subject, it is left to Dr. Anantakrishna Iyer to describe the cultural development, not so much of Mysore, the details of which are left to succeeding volumes, as of the whole of India. The most important cultural influence on the life of India is, of course, the institution of caste, and here it cannot be said that the author has much to say that is new. It is rather remarkable that in spite of many efforts to define it "none of the definitions is satisfactory"; and it is also true that no one has yet discovered a theory that will fit all the known facts, so that the origin of caste still remains an unsettled question. This is probably due, at any rate in large part, to that Sanskrit movement which Baron von Eickstedt has mentioned. Sanskrit literature is full of caste; the Rig Veda no doubt scarcely mentions it, but the later books—and particularly the Institutes of Manu—lay very great stress upon it. The obsession of the written word led to the idea that caste must have been of Aryan origin, and the scholars of that time proceeded more or less on this assumption, neglecting the possible evidence of caste in the customs of the older aborigines. Even now a kind of grudging admission is made that the tribal organizations may have led to caste at least in some of its aspects, but the "Aryan" school has hitherto entrenched its position too strongly to be easily dislodged. Dr. A. Iyer says that "the test of caste is not intermarriage and interdining, but defilement by eating and touching what is unclean." That seems only to put the case a stage further back and to generalize it. What is unclean is ceremonially polluted; intermarriage and interdining with prohibited castes or persons are only a manifestation of the general rule. It may therefore be taken that the author is right in so stating the case. The chapter is no more than a summary, and it would be unfair to expect that we should be taken further back into explanations why and how this notion of uncleanness arose. It is, of course, not peculiar to India, and the problem still remains why it took there and nowhere else the peculiar form of the caste system.

It is a curious commentary on marriage that while in the early Christian Church virginity was so much exalted both in man and woman, to the Hindu celibacy is wholly unnatural and the celibate is regarded as a useless member of society and as "only a

half of the whole." All girls without exception must be married, and this in a country where females are in excess is an injunction which might be hard to carry out. In India, however, for a long time past, there has always been a small excess of males. Infant marriage, now so much condemned, seems to have been a very early practice and is widespread among peoples not culturally advanced. Dr. A. Iyer gives seven chief causes for it. The most weighty are the difficulty of obtaining suitable young wives and the desire to preserve the virginity of the girl. Eight kinds of marriage are recognized by the Sastras, but they are not all equally honourable. One of them is marriage by capture, and it is remarkable that certain practices are still extant which are reminiscent of it, especially the mock resistance which is sometimes made to the entry of the newly wedded pair into the home.

In Mysore State, with which we are more immediately concerned, there has, we are told, been no serious change in the attitude of the people in matrimonial matters. The chief one is probably the tendency to raise the marriageable age, in spite of the reasons for infant marriage, and this is due to considerations of economy. The same pressure is bringing about the restriction of ceremonies to a single day, for everyone knows that what we call extravagance but what the people have regarded hitherto as obligatory is a fruitful cause of that heavy indebtedness which hangs round the people's necks. The European with his practical and material outlook, and with his tendency to estimate everything in terms of cash value, finds it very difficult to understand that to a Hindu certain expenses must be incurred without counting the cost. It is only of late years that these economic ideas have come to the fore, and then chiefly among the educated. The ceremonies themselves have not changed; it is noteworthy that though the Vedic deities are no longer the objects of public worship and that Siva and Vishnu, who are to be found in the Vedic system, though with different characteristics, have entirely superseded them, the Vedic rites are still in full force in the ceremonies, especially those of marriage and funerals. The god of Fire, Agni, is the witness of the marriage, and that is no doubt the reason why the Hindu marriage is not complete until the Seven Steps have been taken around the sacred fire. Such a marriage is indissoluble. The couple are man and wife till death. Probably also this conception accounts for the old practice of becoming Sati; the woman is a part of the man as the man is not part of the woman, and when he dies she is none the less his wife. It was accordingly her duty, and sometimes—when the physical shrinking from death by fire was not too strong—was even her joy, to rejoin him in the next world. The custom has also been likened to the immolation of slaves and women to accompany the king or other notable on

his journey and to minister to him. But there are objections to this theory. There does not seem to have been any practice of killing slaves or servants. Sati indicates purity, and that might suggest that woman could not be trusted to preserve her chastity after the death of the man. In any case it could hardly apply to slaves and servants. Moreover the practice was not confined to the highly placed alone. It would seem, therefore, that it is more likely to have been connected with the idea of marriage as a sacrament, as an indissoluble union for time and for eternity.

That too would seem to be the main reason for the dislike of widow remarriage. In many cases, as we know, the girl widow is a virgin, the actual marriage never having been consummated. In modern times the objection is generally attributed to orthodox conservatism, but in Mysore State at any rate it seems to be also due to the reluctance of the women themselves. "In the communities which prohibit widow remarriage widows themselves are unwilling to remarry," and if they have had children any suggestion of remarriage is looked upon as an insult.

An interesting development of marriage customs is the prostitution of the temple dancing girls. "Among the Kaikolans a woman in each family is taken to the temple, where a sword is placed with a tali (marriage badge) under it. The tali is tied round her neck by a woman of the caste then present. She returns home, where she is permitted to carry on any amours she likes." The custom is the more remarkable because of the scrupulous respect which is attached to female chastity. These girls are, however, regarded as the wives of the god who when they die is considered to be in a state of ceremonial pollution and "debarred from the offices of religion." The general idea seems to be that the wife of the god is above human laws and may therefore be allowed to do as she pleases and to indulge her natural desires. In the Kaikolan caste it does not appear that any stigma attaches to her and she is in no way affected in her proprietary rights, present and prospective.

There are very many customs and ceremonies connected with marriage and the sexual functions which cannot be discussed here in detail. Most of them seem to be connected directly or indirectly with the worship of the spirit of fertility; some of them have hints of sympathetic magic or of the fear of evil spirits. It is perhaps significant that Dr. A. Iyer has recorded that "the Sarada Act has seriously affected the sacramental marriage of the Brahmans and other higher castes. It has struck at the root of Hindu religion and the time-honoured usages." We must now pass to what is usually conjured up by discussion of the marriage ceremonies and their implications, the ceremonies which take place at death. It would at first sight seem strange that although the

conception of some kind of life after death is common to all races and all ages, the spirit of the dead even of near and well-loved relatives is thought to be malevolent. If it is not properly treated it will come back to plague and injure the living, and if its activities do not extend so far as actual injury it will be up to mischief of a less harmful kind. No amount of experience is enough to destroy such a belief, because whatever happens to go wrong—and things do go wrong—is attributed to the ghost; and there is no means of proving that it is not its fault. The reason why this belief in malevolence persists is that the spirit must have an easy passage into the next world, and if that passage is denied it it wanders about helplessly, having lost its unaccustomed way, and therefore returns to its usual haunts with, as it were, some kind of protest. Hence the greatest care is taken to appease it at the outset. The corpse is dressed in its best clothes with the caste marks on forehead, chest, and hands; it is carefully washed and adorned so that it may appear with due dignity and decency in the other world. But in spite of all precautions the dead may not have been satisfied, and so all manner of devices are used to prevent its return to the house. An exit is used which the living man never used, and he is carried out feet first so that he may not see his way back or discover how he left the house. Another curious custom is to take out the dying man and lay him on the floor or on a mat of kusa grass. The ceiling of a room is supposed to obstruct the free passage of the breath, but this is not clear and seems to be more or less conjecture. A more convincing reason is that it is thought desirable to bring the man into contact with mother earth so that the soul may pass into the realm of the dead beneath. There seems to be a hint of this in the Alcestis; she is just about to die and comes out of the house to look her last on the sun:

> "O Sun, O light of the day that falls,
> O running cloud that races along the sky!
> Dear Earth and House of sheltering walls
> And wedded homes of the land where my fathers lie."

A few lines later she cries, "Hold me not; let me lie . . . I am too weak to stand."

The practice of cremation would seem to be connected with the same idea. "Cremation is the most effective method of preventing the return of the dead, and this dispels the pollution caused by death. . . . It removes the deceased from the machinations of evil spirits." But the same reasons are given for the practice of burial; the idea seems to be that the ghost, which is part of the body, if buried deep enough will not be able to get out. It may be that some notions of convenience also intervene. Many rivers in India are sacred, and as it is thought that they give peace to

the soul it becomes a matter of hygiene and convenience, if not of necessity, to transport the body in the form of ashes. That is probably a later development, but it is not without its effect in more modern times.

Totemism is far more widely spread in India than the writings of inexpert travellers would lead one to imagine. Sir James Frazer's classic work gives many examples of it—notably among the Komatis, the merchants of the Telugu, and also of the Mysore country, who to all appearances differ in no respect from other Hindus. This and other castes are divided into separate groups or clans, each of which has its totem and which takes its name from them. It has of course been suspected, to put it no higher, that such stories as those of the monkeys and the squirrels who helped Rama in his conquest of Lanka arose from totemic tribes who marched under the banner or protection of the totem. When Garuda, the kite, is described as tearing the Asuras or other fiendish opponents, it seems likely that this again is only a poetic way of describing the exploits of a totemic host. But totems are by no means confined to animals. We have here a long list of them, one-third being animals, one-third trees or plants, and the rest inanimate objects, including the sun, the moon, and a glass bead. Almost anything may be a totem, but the author makes the pregnant remark that the ordinary totem names are those of the prominent animals, trees, and plants which are held sacred by the people. How far this is justified it is difficult to say without an intimate knowledge of the people; some, no doubt, such as the monkey, the cow, and the peacock, or the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), are easily recognizable, but the lion, the cat, the dog, and the ant are more doubtful; nor does one usually hear of the sanctity of the various palms, the screw pine,* or the prickly pear. However that may be, the totemism of these tribes and clans presents the usual features of exogamy and tabu. The decline of totemism is ascribed to the spread of the caste system. Admission to that gave a certain social standing which everyone was desirous of attaining, so that tribes once with very low cultural standards have gradually imbibed the culture of the higher classes and assumed the caste names. This no doubt acounts for the just-mentioned Komatis, who would probably resent today being told that they are a totemistic clan so completely have they been merged in the Brahmanical system. To the same order of culture must be ascribed the very prevalent belief in magic. The two sorts of magic, black and white, are recognized by the Sutras, white magic being used for the purpose of controlling the

* I was, however, once present at a sort of Communion Service, in which screw pine flowers were handed round to be worn in the hair till they withered.

weather, the growth of crops, and other advantages to the people. There seems to be some curious belief in the power of nakedness to shock the evil spirits; in some parts a naked woman sows the seed, and her long hair, which is allowed to fall about her, produces good crops on the principle of sympathetic magic. Similarly, in case of floods when the rivers threaten to break their banks, a row of naked men stand with torches and point them at the sky. There are instances, too, of killing in effigy, of which Frazer gives so many examples. Black magic, on the other hand, is used to injure an enemy or to gratify personal spite. The well-known device of making a figure in clay or wax and running nails into it or melting it in a fire is quite common. Numerous instances of this kind of magic are to be found in the Atharva Veda, which is full not only of charms of the white variety but of curses and imprecations designed to secure to the performer the desired revenge.

"Primitive tribes all over India and other countries of the world believe that magicians and sorcerers can assume the figure of any animal they like . . . to carry on mischievous practices. . . . Thus sorcery is a living article of faith among the ignorant and backward people as also among the jungle folk." Divination and omens are closely allied to the subject, and it is these beliefs which make so hard the task of the administrator, who, if he wishes to introduce some kind of compliance with scientific rules of health and medicine, has first to overcome the prejudice in favour of magic and incantation. More might have been done to help the people in the direction of health had it not been for the lack of money and perhaps of imagination; but when the Government are criticized for their shortcomings it is as well to remember that many a well-meant effort has been frustrated by such prejudices. I once read in a visitors' book at a hospital the eulogy of an educated deputy collector on the work of an assistant surgeon, and was told that when he left the place he had immediately sent for an enchanter or magician to cure a sick child.

To the region of animism belong not merely the demons and spirits by whom the jungle tribes are haunted as well as those malignant or mischievous elves which are so common in South India, but also that remarkable conception the village deity. It is this cult, clearly derived from aboriginal religion and not connected with Hinduism proper, which has been so largely instrumental in debasing true Hinduism in the minds of foreigners. The village deities are supposed to be the leaders of hosts of evil spirits. As they are often identified with the mother earth, not only do women frequently share in the propitiation of the demons but the village deities themselves are female. They are common enough in Mysore, and Bisal Mariamma is the guardian

of Mysore city itself. These deities though called guardians seem to be always on the watch to do the people harm, unless they are duly propitiated, and that is not always easy, for when their wrath is incurred they inflict the chastisement of smallpox, cholera, plague, and other disease of the flesh. As the author rightly remarks, "in Mysore," and indeed elsewhere, "the worship is redolent of the soil and evidently belongs to the pastoral and agricultural communities. The village is the centre round which the system revolves, and the chief object for which it exists is the protection of the villages. It is possible to trace the origin of these rites to a nomadic stage of society, and many of them have lost their significance."

Fascinating as are these studies of primitive man, Dr. Anantakrishna Iyer does not confine himself to them, and we may glance in conclusion at what he has to say of the village community in Mysore. To the superficial observer most Indian villages look alike, due allowance being made for site and differences in the style of the building. But to the ethnologist there are subtle differences which go back to remote times. For our present purpose, however, it is enough to accept the two main divisions represented by the Aryan and the Dravidian. The latter, which seems to have been the true foundation for the modern village community, originated first in a collection of families supposed to be descended from a common ancestor, and this developed later into a self-sufficing community on the principle of the division of labour. The most noteworthy difference between the two systems is the strong central government of the Dravidian class under a headman and the separate holding of land. The joint village which seems to be the Aryan type had a council (Panchayet) with no official headman; though such an officer exists now, he has been created to represent the community. The holdings (sometimes joint) are shares of a unit estate, from which it follows that the liability for revenue is also joint as contrasted with the separate liability of the other class. One thing of importance emerges from this analysis of the village—that the Dravidians were not the barbarians which Sanskrit scholars relying on references to Danavas, Asuras, and the like in the Vedic writings were inclined to think them. They were a highly civilized people, who may have begun like all others in the nomadic hunting stage but who by the time of the Aryan invasion had settled villages and townships with a central government and a developed organization. Dr. Berriedale Keith's remark that their towns "may well have meant no more than an earthwork strengthened by a palisade or possibly occasionally by stone" seems to be unfortunate. They were more likely to have been fortifications of the kind familiar to the Aryan invaders who,

except in certain respects, were little if at all superior in civilization. Without entering into the comparative merits of the Aryan and Dravidian systems of villages, it cannot be denied that a system which had a strong central government and which endured to the extent of forming the basis of village organization for the whole country cannot have been the work of wholly uncivilized savages. The more we learn of them the more evident does it become that the aborigines of the south who are loosely called Dravidians were far more cultivated than they have hitherto been thought to have been, and the more does it appear that the much-vaunted Aryans were only a stage, if a stage, in advance of them.

The Mysore villages naturally conform to the South Indian type, and in this they differ very little from what is already familiar to Indian scholars. They have a headman and a regular organization of the craftsmen (including the astrologer) who are necessary to Indian village life, and the Panchayet councils decide questions of caste and such domestic offences as adultery. The villages are intensely conservative, and it is doubtful whether the attempts at rural reconstruction will ever take lasting root, unless there has been, to use the accepted catchword, "a change of heart."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

A Constitutional History of India, 1600-1935. By Professor Arthur Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt., F.B.A. (*Methuen.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* Sir Verney Lovett.)

Reviewing this valuable book for another periodical, I have found it impossible to include even a brief study of the later chapters which deal with the constitutional and political history of India from 1919 onwards. The principal object of the author, however, was to trace the evolution of self-government; and in this connection the story of these later years is particularly important.

In his preface Professor Keith observes that, although it was the aim of the greatest among the early British administrators in India to train the people of India to govern and protect themselves rather than to establish the rule of a British bureaucracy, as an inevitable result of the importation of English as the official language and British political ideas, the Indian intelligentsia had demanded the fulfilment of self-government, not in the form contemplated by such far-seeing men as Thomas Munro, but in that of British parliamentary institutions. The obstacles which presented themselves to the statesmen who were first called on to respond to these demands have been aptly described by Professor Dodwell.* Munro and others, he says, "had expected their successors to be called upon to deliver Indian rule back to her princes, the nobles, the warriors, whom they regarded as the natural leaders of the country. But the nationalist spirit was developing, not among these, but among castes, which, with a few notable exceptions, had always held a subordinate place in Indian governments and among races which had been notably unwarlike. Could these new claimants impose themselves, on grounds of intellectual superiority alone, upon the judgment of the sword and the shrewd manipulation of purely material factors? . . . Englishmen doubted whether the democratic ideals of universal equality could be sincerely adopted by a society founded upon the principle of caste. The administration considered that it was being invited to deliver over its functions to a minority scarcely more considerable than the civil services, and incapable of maintaining itself in power except by the constant support of British troops."

It might indeed be argued that the Hindu lawyers who chiefly led this minority belonged to a profession created by British rule, and that the English-educated class generally drew its political aspirations from English history and literature. But there were no signs that any other class, much less the great majority of India's peoples, sympathized with its ambitions. There were also deep fissures between races and religions to be considered, and

* *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, pp. 852-3.

more especially the rigorous division between Hindus and Muslims. Finally, as Lord Dufferin wrote, all the stages of civilization through which mankind had passed from prehistoric ages to the present day were now simultaneously visible in India. In 1918 Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford held that the colours of this picture, drawn by Lord Dufferin about thirty years earlier, had "toned down." By that time, indeed, "the broad highway of Indo-Anglia"* had considerably widened and there nationalist sentiment was at work. But the subcontinent remained a communal country; the institutions of conservative Hinduism flourished in almost every town and village; and the populations were still "marching in uneven stages through the centuries." Just before Mr. Montagu's arrival in 1917 a belief that British rule had dissolved led to savage and deliberately organized attacks on an unprecendently large scale by Hindu villagers in Bihar on their Muslim neighbours with the object of ending cow-sacrifice, although very recently leading politicians of the two vast communities had amicably agreed to a projected scheme of government which "perpetuated the system of communal electorates accepted by Lord Minto" (p. 243).

The political reactions of the War, India's conspicuous services, assertions in England that the cause of democracy was at stake, brought about the announcement of August 20, 1917 (pp. 240-1). The cautious and tentative policy of 1909 was superseded by a declaration that "responsible government" would be introduced by stages as soon as possible. The term "responsible government" was, as Professor Keith says, vital. "It had a perfectly well-known meaning, as connoting the form of government in the great dominions," and was so interpreted by Edwin Montagu, who believed "in the necessity of applying to India the traditions of British democracy" in spite of all natural obstacles. "It is interesting, if vain, to conjecture whether he would have held the same views fifteen years later when the failure of European nations to work democratic institutions effectively was becoming a patent fact" (p. 244). He had his way with Lord Chelmsford, and the joint report is "an expression of his personality." Temperamentally, as his *Indian Diary* shows, he was not the man for the job, for he was indisposed to weigh evidence and opinions dispassionately. His reforms gave India her present constitution as a temporary expedient or half-way house. It imposes restraints on the measure of self-government conceded which have always been resented, although in essence they afforded the politicians "an opportunity unique in character of proving their full capacity to exercise power widely" (p. 246).

Before the reforms of 1919 became law, matters in India had assumed an aspect "unfavourable to the atmosphere of good-will indispensable for working so complex a machine." Years of growing revolutionary terrorism in Bengal, terrorism which stifled evidence in open court and left behind it a long trail of murders and outrages, had been brought to a pause in 1915 by rigorous action under the war-time Defence of India Act and an old regulation of 1818. At the end of 1917 the Government appointed a committee to report on the extent of the terrorism and to suggest legislation

* Lord Zetland's *Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 44.

which would, if necessary, take the place of the Defence of India Act after the close of the War. The Committee had, according to orders, investigated terrorism in India generally and in Bengal, its particular home. Their report had shown conclusively "the reality and extent" of the movement (p. 239) suggesting two preventive Bills which, says Professor Keith, were "unhappily proceeded with after the Armistice which rendered their enactment far less easily acceptable; and the results were serious." In view of the tragic events which followed on the passing of one of the proposed Bills, this implied criticism is natural. But the Government's persistence has rarely been understood by historians, as could be shown did space permit. Time and again since then the pressure of events has forced the enactment of such special measures on the Government and the Legislative Councils, much against the will of both.

Mr. Gandhi's second civil disobedience movement started in March, 1930, and was, says Professor Keith, not taken "sufficiently seriously" at first. It is easy to be wise after the event; but this is certainly true. It would seem that the Government was unaware of the financial strength which the movement so largely derived from wealthy merchants and manufacturers in Western India (p. 288). Nor perhaps was it realized that for years the ground had been carefully prepared for such a campaign, and that thus, in the words of Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru, "it was a very powerful and organized affair."* History has a way of repeating itself. On May 16, 1907, writing of an emergency in the Punjab, Minto said to Morley: "Of course, we have all known for months of the unrest in India, but we were quite unaware of the perfection to which seditious machinery had attained."† Had the true position been gauged in 1929-30, the arrests of the leaders would hardly have been postponed till the movement was well under way. As a result of the delay, by the beginning of July, 1930, no province in India had been unaffected by the campaign.‡ Its incidents are on record and are full of impressive warning.

Professor Keith holds that the agreement between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi in 1931 was "a triumph" for the former, but that a "fatal mistake" was made in sending the latter to England as a representative of the Congress, "as he only represented one of its many aspects, and in social and economic views differed very widely from many of his followers on the political issues." It is true that Mr. Gandhi's social and economic aims are largely peculiar to himself, but he was then emphatically the chosen leader of the Congress; and it was natural that he should represent his followers at the Conference. Had other Congress representatives accompanied him, the outcome would have been the same.

A new page was happily turned in November, 1931, with the advent of a National Government in England and conclusive evidence of the obstinacy of Mr. Gandhi. After a struggle civil disobedience was worn down. Order was restored under the direction of Lord Willingdon, who was vigorously supported by Sir Samuel Hoare. The legislative bodies assisted. In Bengal

* *Autobiography*, p. 85. † *Minto and Morley*, p. 131.
‡ *India in 1930-1931*, p. 72

terrorism has been resolutely and thoroughly fought to a standstill by Sir John Anderson and his officers, who have been able to enlist popular support to a degree unprecedented in the history of the province. The brunt of operations here and in restoring peace elsewhere has fallen on the Services, the stokers of the good ship India.

Professor Keith carries his readers over the Simon Commission Report, Round-Table Conferences and parliamentary proceedings to the conclusion of last year. The Act of 1935, he says, presents, as the Act of 1919 did not present, "the possibility of true responsible government." He does not, however, think well of the federal scheme. The "vital question" of defence from foreign attack, which has in recent years undergone a sea-change, and formed the subject of a very impressive address delivered by Sir Philip Chetwode on April 7, 1936, to the East India Association, is also discussed. The book ends with an illuminating chapter on Dominion Status, which derives particular value from the author's familiarity with the development of self-government in the Dominions. It is clear that perplexing problems will tax the thoughts and energies of the future Parliaments, of the Services, and of the Governors and Governor-General. They are faced by Lord Linlithgow, as they were always by Lord Willingdon, with an ample measure of hope and enthusiasm.

MYSORE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION REPORT FOR 1934-35. (*Bangalore Government Press.*)

The contribution of the taxpayer to the coffers of a State which, like Mysore, is still predominantly agricultural depends in a very large measure upon the seasonal conditions of the period under review. The rainfall in Southern India during the year 1934-35 covered by the latest revenue administration report was considerably below the normal in all districts, being nine to ten inches less than the average for the preceding thirty-five years.

In consequence the usual extent of land could not be cultivated with the staple food crops, and the area that was planted failed to yield a proper return. Most of the tanks were dry, or received only partial supplies of water, and there was an appreciable increase of cattle mortality in the most affected tracts.

Since 1929 the agricultural industry has passed through a period of acute depression, the adverse effects of which were aggravated by the disastrous experience of the year under report and the continued fall in world prices. The cumulative effect was, therefore, to render conditions difficult for both the ryots and the Government. In distress areas the attention of the local officers was largely diverted towards the administration of measures of relief, which were on a characteristically generous scale and carried out with commendable expedition.

Very large remissions of land revenue were sanctioned, the total extent of relief granted by the Government during the period amounting to over 12½ lakhs of rupees. In addition, unemployment relief works were started

and fodder supplied at cheap rates to cattle. It was manifestly impossible to accept the suggestion in some quarters of the introduction of a general scheme of partial relief applicable to the entire territory. On the other hand, the Mysore Government was prepared to grant not merely a partial, but even a 100 per cent., remission in any part of the State in which the concession was found to be justified by local circumstances.

These conditions focussed attention on the need, at the same time, for adopting systematic measures to relieve the indebtedness of the landed classes and to improve the methods of cultivation and marketing. Some aspects of this problem were investigated by a special committee, which recommended, among other things, the setting up of Debt Conciliation Boards, encouragement of the cultivation of the money crops, extension of irrigation, and the provision of cheap but healthy credit. Mysore is in the van of all these activities, but no efforts are spared by the far-sighted Durbar to improve the quality and efficiency of the administration, especially in the direction of rural uplift.

That this progressive State should have been able, despite the economic and other difficulties beyond the administration's control, to continue to develop its great natural resources and provide for the welfare of the people in the way Mysore has done, as Lord Willingdon has said, "must compel the admiration of all observers." H.H. the Maharaja, who is paying his first visit to this country this month, accompanied by the popular and highly respected Dewan, who is no stranger to these shores, is assured of a warm and heartfelt welcome.

ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF COCHIN FOR THE YEAR 1110 M.E. (AUGUST 17, 1934, TO AUGUST 16, 1935). (Ernakulam: *Cochin Government Press.*)

(*Reviewed by* M. C. B. SAYER.)

The problem of the future of the Indian States, coupled with their splendid past, has been brought home to all of us during the protracted discussions on the new Federal Constitution. People in this country, on the other hand, are too apt to think of the States in terms only of the larger principalities—Kashmir, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Baroda. Few have looked deeper, and sought to discover for themselves something of the by no means identical aims and aspirations of the smaller States.

One of the foremost of these, especially of recent years, is Cochin. With an area of 1,417 miles, it has a population of about 1,205,000, of whom 66 per cent. are Hindus, 27 per cent. Christians, and 7 per cent. Mohammedans. Shut off from Southern India by the greater barrier of the Western Ghauts, Cochin, like its neighbour Travancore, has lived a life of comparative isolation, although drawn into the net of Brahminical culture. It has been affected but little by the rise and fall of Hindu kingdoms in the Indian peninsula.

The Administration Report for the Year 1110 M.E. (August 17, 1934, to August 16, 1935) is a concise and orderly account of progress and reasonable prosperity. In spite of the continuance of the economic depression, the

revenues of the State displayed a remarkable resiliency and its credit was well maintained. The low price of paddy, coconut and rubber, and the acute drought consequent upon the failure of the north-east monsoon, necessitated further relief measures and liberal remissions of land revenue. But the Budget deficit of the previous year was converted into a surplus of more than half a lakh of rupees, or double the Budget estimate.

Apart from the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the King-Emperor and the bestowal upon the Ruler of the well-earned distinction of G.C.I.E., the outstanding events of a notable year were the negotiations for the concluding stages of the development of the Cochin Harbour and the important constitutional and administrative changes. As a result of a redistribution of constituencies, the Legislative Council has been enlarged, while its utility has been enhanced by the constitution of standing advisory committees attached to each of the four nation-building departments.

The administrative machine, as in the majority of Indian States, has suffered from over-centralization, all powers, down to the minutest detail, being reserved to the Dewan. The inevitable result has been unnecessarily to increase the routine work of the head of the administration and leave him little time to devote to major questions of policy. Following the accession of the present Diwan, Sir Shanmukham Chetty, the whole system has been completely reorganized, an efficient secretariat on modern lines has been set up, and greater powers delegated to the Secretary to Government and Heads of Departments, which now include a well-organized Finance Department.

It is largely due to the financial acumen, tact, and driving power of the former President of the Indian Legislative Assembly that a settlement has finally been reached of the administrative and other problems surrounding the development of Cochin Harbour, which is likely in time to become one of the major Indian ports and a formidable rival to Colombo.

Apart from Marmagao, a fine but little frequented harbour in Portuguese Goa, there has been until recently no all-weather port on the west coast of Bombay. The result is that the bulk of the heavy traffic of the south is diverted northwards to Madras, involving a much greater cost in freight for goods destined for European markets than if shipped from the nearest point on the western coast.

Cochin has all the necessary qualifications of such a port. Situated some 500 miles south of Bombay, the harbourage consists of a vast expanse of backwater with an opening to the sea a quarter of a mile wide. It is connected with the hinterland by a network of canals and waterways, along which in the past the many products of Malabar were brought to Cochin. As territorially the port belongs partly to Cochin and partly to the province of Madras, while Travancore is also concerned, there were many difficult and complex questions of jurisdiction, admiralty and civil, to be decided, without impairing the sovereignty of the Cochin State. That they have at last been settled to the satisfaction of all the interests concerned is greatly to the credit of the Government of India, the Madras and Travancore Governments, and the Cochin Durbar, especially the present Dewan.

BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1934-35. (*Baroda State Press.*) Rs. 2.2.

(*Reviewed by* M. C. B. SAYER.)

One of the ablest British administrators in India was wont to declare that we, as a race, are inclined to place too high a value on mere material benefit, and do not sufficiently distinguish between the prosperity of a country and the felicity of its inhabitants. There is an element of truth in Sir George Birdwood's dictum, as friendly foreign observers seldom fail to remind us. The reason is not far to seek.

The qualities of heart and head and mind necessary to encompass both ends are seldom found in the same individual of any nationality. It is in this rare combination that the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda achieves greatness. As builder of a new and progressive State on old and corrupt foundations, and an idealist with a great power of constructive achievement, long experience has taught this fatherly autocrat the importance of detail and the tendency of officialdom to lose sight of the human factor.

That is why the annual Baroda administration reports are always of particular interest. The total population of the State is just under 2½ millions, of which rather more than 88 per cent., like their ruler, are Hindus. But almost all the religious denominations of India, we are reminded in the 1934-25 report, are found in the State. At the same time, there is little evidence of the tension between the different communities which is becoming increasingly acute in British India.

The explanation may, perhaps, be found in an eloquent passage in the present volume, which records how "the spread of modern education and of liberal ideas is steadily softening the edges and angularities of different faiths." The Maharaja Gaekwar, by precept and example, has done much to bring about this greatly to be desired consummation. "If my long reign has taught me anything," His Highness once declared, "it is that the noblest ideal a man can set himself is that of devoting himself without stint to the service of his fellows." It is because many of his subjects have at least approximated to his own advanced views on religious toleration and social reform that Baroda has become the progressive State it is today.

It is no exaggeration to say that in this sense Baroda is a microcosm of India, or, shall we say, of an ideal India? The reforms which its ruler has introduced into the State during the past sixty years are those of which the whole of India stands most in need. What he saw from the beginning to be the necessary condition of uplift of the people—education, in the widest sense of the word—has proved to be the condition essential to the realization of Indian nationhood. "Education," in His Highness' own words, "is the basis of all reform."

In 1881 there were only 180 primary schools in the State, with about 7,000 pupils, and education among women was unknown. The Maharaja Gaekwar's first three acts on coming into power were the foundation of the Baroda College for boys, the establishment of an institution for the training of women teachers, and the opening of schools for the depressed classes. Of the many outstanding achievements—some of which may, perhaps, satisfy the eye rather than stand close examination—of a remarkable reign there is none of which the Maharaja Gaekwar is prouder than the distinction of being the pioneer in modern India of free and compulsory education.

There was a further increase last year in the number of educational institutions of all classes and in their strength. An inquiry carried out during the period under review shows that the system has, generally speaking, fulfilled its object; that the number of children attending schools has increased; and that there are today nearly 2,500 schools in the State, with over a quarter of a million pupils, and upwards of 100,000 girls are receiving instruction.

The other side of the picture discloses much wastage due to premature withdrawals and stagnation. Sustained efforts are being made to eradicate the evils, and steps have been taken to improve the quality of teaching and raise the proportion of untrained teachers. The pioneer work carried on by Baroda in this respect has always been watched with interest, and all measures designed to improve the compulsory system are assured of sympathetic attention, especially in British India.

As it has been the Maharaja Gaekwar's ideal to bring at least a rudimentary education to the doors of every village, so it has been his aim to ensure for everyone an adequate supply of good water—the first requisite of health. The State has contributed largely towards the realization of this praiseworthy ambition.

The State and local boards between them bear half the cost, the people contributing the rest, on the sound principle that they should learn to help themselves. The task is a vast one, and it has not been rendered any easier by caste customs. In addition to the capital, there are now minor waterworks in more than fifteen towns.

Mistakes were made in the early days, when the irrigation policy was first embarked upon. It was not always realized that there is a great deal more to be done than the mere provision of water. The scientific study of agriculture, the nature and composition of the soil, the effect of forests upon the rainfall, the kind of crops which the ryots grow, and their willingness to change over to others—these and other points were considered of too little account, or not at all. Some 57 lakhs have been spent on irrigation and waterworks, excluding the city waterworks, and it is frankly admitted that part, at least, of this large sum has been thrown away.

The two major works in Baroda and Navsari still contribute the lion's share to the irrigation of the Raj; and the revenue, which is the ultimate index of popularity, is less than the cost of maintenance. But a beginning has been made and valuable experience gained, which is being put to good account. And if the efforts at surface irrigation have not yet received their expected reward, more substantial results have accrued from the active encouragement of wells and the general use of the State's valuable subsoil resources.

Railways are another of the Maharaja Gaekwar's earliest enthusiasms. In 1875 the State owned one timid little line of 19 miles. It has now 706 miles, serving practically every part of the Raj. In spite of the general trade depression and competition from motor-buses, over 7 million passengers were carried last year, and net earnings showed a return of 3·3 per cent. on

the capital outlay of 5½ crores of rupees, over and above the usual contributions to the depreciation fund.

Not less important than the educational and public utility work of the State is its social legislation. During the year under review, although the total number of marriages increased, the percentage of infant marriages decreased. This shows that the Infant Marriage Prevention Act, which was amended in 1932, when the marriageable age was raised to fourteen for girls and eighteen for boys, is educating public opinion. The celebration of the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty the King-Emperor was another feature of the year, the occasion being marked in characteristic loyal fashion.

RURAL ECONOMY IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, 1934-35. (Lucknow: *Government Press.*) Rs. 3.

Set in the centre of Northern India, with a population, as well as total area, not far short of that of the British Isles, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh are perhaps the most typically Indian part of British India. The great mass of the people are peasants, tilling the soil in their own ancestral villages with few interests outside the round of village life.

Whereas the Punjab, which is also predominantly agricultural, is a country of peasant proprietors, the land in the United Provinces, and in particular in Oudh, is held from Government by a relatively small number of individuals. The estates of the Taluqdars of Oudh number no more than 260, but they comprise two-thirds of the area of Oudh and pay upwards of one-sixth of the land revenue of the United Provinces. The zemindars of Agra also form a landed aristocracy of special importance.

Only 10 per cent. of the population live in towns, although Cawnpore, the leading industrial centre with its textile mills and tanneries, has nearly 250,000 inhabitants, and others, like Lucknow and Benares, are of great historic or religious interest.

Racially the peoples of the province, in spite of its diverse origin—Agra was originally part of the old Presidency of Fort William (*i.e.*, Bengal)—are in the main homogeneous. There is nothing corresponding to the contrasting races that are combined under one administration in, say, Bihar and Orissa.

Happy, during the transitional period of constitutional development, is the province that has no history, where dyarchy, with its devolution of power and inevitable impairment, at the outset at least, of administrative efficiency, was introduced without undue political alarms and excursions. Agrarian questions have always presented difficult problems for the Government of the United Provinces, and in 1928, when Sir Malcolm Hailey assumed charge, after a conspicuously successful tenure of office in the Punjab, the province had gained some notoriety. We recall these far off days only by way of contrast to the greatly improved condition, political and economic, of the province disclosed in the Administration Report for 1934-35.

For many months prior to his final retirement at the end of 1934—his term of office was extended in order that the Round-Table Conference and Joint Select Committee might have the invaluable benefit of his unique knowledge and experience—Sir Malcolm Hailey was on deputation in this country. The fact that the period under review was "on the whole a year of progress in all branches of administration, in spite of the economic depression which affected all branches of society and the paramount need for economy" was nevertheless largely the result of the labours of "the greatest Service Governor of modern times," who has left an indelible impression upon the Indian scene. Nowhere among his countless friends and former colleagues has his elevation to the peerage in the recent Birthday Honours given greater satisfaction than in the Punjab and the United Provinces, where he has always been the ryots' man. The unusual, but well-earned, honour recognizes but can hardly enhance the outstanding quality of Sir Malcolm Hailey's services to India and the Empire over a period of forty odd years.

Characteristically, in his farewell address to the Provincial Legislative Council, Sir Malcolm Hailey pleaded for the countryman. He made no secret of the fact that his policy had been devoted to conscious preparation for the new order of things, both in sport and, as far as possible, in actual administration as well. "I do not want to put rural interests against urban," he said, but he insisted that there was a serious lag in the political development, in the broadest sense, of the rural population, and that effective progress in the province depended upon improvement of "the conditions of life in all its aspects in the villages." Sir Harry Haig, the present Governor, is in full sympathy with this view.

It is impossible within the limits of the space available to review all the salient features of this admirable summary of the multifarious activities of the Provincial Government or the vast amount of constructive work carried out in the face of almost unexpected difficulties, political and financial. It is too early yet to assess the actual effects of the rural development scheme, "comprehensively achieved, carefully planned," and financed by a generous grant given by the Government of India, supplemented by provincial funds, which has been launched in every district, but the initial results are encouraging. The main difficulty is to find the money to meet the increased cost of administration under the new Constitution and to finance beneficent schemes. That temporary relief is essential in the earlier stages of provincial autonomy is recognized in the Niemeyer Report, but much will depend upon the adequacy of the subvention granted by the Government of India. At present the outlook in that regard is admittedly not very promising.

M. C. B. S.

CHINA AND THE BRITISH INDEMNITY

When it was decided that the Boxer Indemnity which Great Britain was returning to China should be laid out in loans to Chinese railways and other industrial enterprises, from the interest and amortization on which a per-

manent educational fund was to be built up, there was a loud outcry from many quarters. The history of Chinese railways during protracted civil wars did not encourage hope that there would be much left for the cultural purposes which it was Great Britain's main purpose in returning the Indemnity to promote.

The report of the Chinese Government Purchasing Commission for 1935 with other notable circumstances is sufficient answer to these misgivings. Admirable management of the Indemnity money in London, careful supervision of all subjects for expenditure by the Chinese and British Trustees in China have combined to produce conspicuous benefits for China's work of economic development, and will undoubtedly produce still more, apart from the increasing benefits to be derived from work already done.

Since it began operations in April, 1931, the Commission has laid out £3,279,591 in purchases of machinery and equipment from British firms: the sum spent last year was £746,366. Administrative expenses are included in these totals, but they are kept at a remarkably low figure, last year's expenses being only £6,400, or 0·865 per cent. of the whole outlay. Moreover, by skilful investment of the Indemnity as it came in, until bills had to be met, not only does administration cost the original fund nothing, but there is a handsome surplus from investment, which brought in £28,809 last year, to add to it. The total capital profit realized by this means up to the end of 1935 was no less than £161,462.

The Commission's *chef d'œuvre* is the completion of the 240-mile gap, through very difficult country, left unfinished for nearly twenty-two years, in the Canton–Hankow railway, by which it is now made possible to travel all the way from Ostend, through Belgium, Germany, Russia, Siberia, Manchuria, and North, Central, and South China to Hong-Kong. From the western edge of Europe to the farthest point of Cathay all by rail! It is a tremendous thought. The intention is to have a train ferry across the Yangtze, such as already exists at Nanking, when the journey through China will be made in the one train—a very luxurious one, it may be added, with sleeping cars even for humble third-class folk.

Much good work has also been done for other railways; the most up-to-date apparatus supplied for a new telegraphic and telephonic system throughout the Nine Provinces (those most directly under the control of the Central Government); and a very interesting piece of work, which should when finished be of immense value to China's farmers, is the conservancy of that terrible Huai River, which really ranks second to the Hoangho as "China's Sorrow."

Already the educational fund, built up from the returns on this outlay, begins to make its influence felt. There are now fifty-nine post-graduate students in British universities on Indemnity scholarships, and between twenty and thirty more are on the way. The intention is to have always sixty or seventy in residence here. These are picked students, girls as well as men, of whom their pastors and masters speak highly.

It would be interesting if the Commission could obtain and publish in England a list of grants to educational institutions in China. The present writer has seen some figures, but has not a complete list. The total appears already to be a respectable one, and it would be pleasant to know all that the Indemnity is doing.

High tribute is paid by H. E. Quo Tai-chi, Chairman of the Commission in London, to the help given by his British colleagues, Lord Riverdale, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Mr. G. A. McEwen, and Mr. A. R. Guinness. The late Sir Basil Blackett was a valued member of the Commission from its beginning, much regretted. One may feel sure that the British Commissioners would respond with equal warmth to their Chinese colleagues, with a special word for the indefatigable Dr. C. C. Wang, whose work for the Commission cannot be too highly praised. It is a happy example of Sino-British partnership in a great cause.

O. M. GREEN.

THE NEW CULTURE IN CHINA. By L. Forster. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 7s. 6d.

The New Culture in China is a book that stands apart from the many that were written to cope with the demand created by the Chinese Exhibition. This book is not on Chinese Art, but to understand the art of a nation one must first know some aspects of its culture. It gives an image of Chinese culture at one stage of its pendulum motion.

Professor Forster has seen with a keen critical eye nearly every province of China, from Yunnan and Ssüchuan to Peiping and the modernized coast towns, so that he is perhaps uniquely qualified for his writings.

The opinions are sympathetic but not laudatory; while China's greatness is realized her faults are not hidden; for there is no country of greater extremes in spiritual poverty and wealth, brutality and refinement. While books appreciative of China's arts express the truth in praising her greatness, Albert Gervais was also tragically truthful in *A Surgeon's China*.

Confucianism in decay is pictured, so also are the reasons for its possible revival discussed. *Mui Tsai*, to most of us, is vaguely connected with some form of slavery, about which questions are sometimes asked in Parliament. But here her pitiful case is explained dispassionately.

Can China resist Japan, or will she absorb the inferior civilization?

The calm helplessness of the Chinese under this threat is well expressed in a conversation on a roof in Tientsin: "And what is that very large clearing over there quite close to the University?" "That land," he said, "belongs to a charitable organization which sublet it to a farmer, who sublet it to another Chinese who works in a Japanese firm. He is going to the expense of levelling this land, very carefully, some say to grow a special sort of crop. It is, as you see, very extensive, and could be used as an excellent aerodrome, provided that the crop is fine grass."

Everyone who is interested in China and the Chinese will profit by reading this book.

A. D. B.

CORRECTION

IN the review of "Facing Two Ways," by Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto (Cassell and Co., Ltd.), which was published in the April issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW, the price of the book was given incorrectly. The price is 12s. 6d.

WORLD CONGRESS OF FAITHS

QUEEN'S HALL, 8 P.M.

Friday, July 3rd — Thursday, July 9th
Monday, July 6th — Friday, July 17th

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July 6–17

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS IN BALUCHISTAN: A DOCTOR'S REMINISCENCES

BY SIR HENRY TRISTRAM HOLLAND, C.I.E., M.B., F.R.C.S.

I HAVE been honoured in being asked to read a paper before you on thirty-five years in Baluchistan. I am actually entering my thirty-seventh year in that country, which has so endeared itself to me. It is difficult to describe Baluchistan in a few words. It is a country of striking contrasts and great extremes. It has been well described by Sir Denys Bray as a country with rivers and no water, forests and no trees, villages and no inhabitants. There have been not a few who have died of heat or thirst on the vast sandy plains in Mekran, or along the Persian-Baluch border, while in the highest parts of Baluchistan, in the Quetta-Pishin district and elsewhere, men have died of cold in mid-winter, for there sometimes forty degrees of frost are registered. No one can live in Baluchistan for long without succumbing to the virile beauty and grandeur of the Baluch mountains. Who can ever forget those wonderful sunsets, when the tips of the hills are tinged with a beautiful rose pink?

HISTORICAL SURVEY

But I must not let myself go in describing in detail the rugged beauty of Baluchistan. First let me attempt a brief historical survey of the country. How has it come into being? In tracing the growth and development of Baluchistan, there is one name which will always be associated with that country, the name of Sir Robert Sandeman. Sandeman created Baluchistan as we now know it. Before his time Baluchistan was outside the British Empire and was almost unknown, except to a few who were interested in the country lying to the west and north of Sind.

Baluchistan, as you will see on looking at the map, is a large country, ten times the size of Switzerland, bounded on the north

by Afghanistan, on the west by Persia, on the east by Sind and the Punjab, and on the south by the Arabian Sea. The inhabitants of this land, chiefly Brahui and Baluch, lived in various degrees of subordination to the Khan or Ruler of Kalat. Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, those living in and near Kalat were Hindu in race and religion and governed by a Hindu dynasty. They were, however, constantly oppressed by Persia; they invited a Brahui Mussalman chief to ascend the throne of Kalat; and the State in time became Muhammadan. The various tribes, finding themselves up against the three great kingdoms which surrounded them, Persia, Afghanistan, and Sind, joined themselves into what was called the Brahui Confederacy, under the authority of the Khan. At a later period, the plains of Kachhi-Gandava were joined to Kalat.

In 1838, a British army marched through Kalat to Kandahar and the Khan at that time, Mehrab Khan, was accused—wrongfully as it afterwards appeared—of treachery. In 1840 Kalat was stormed by our troops, and Mehrab Khan killed in the assault. In revenge for this, the political officer, Lieutenant Loveday, was carried off as a prisoner, and barbarously put to death. Ultimately a treaty of friendship was patched up with the Khan, Nasir Khan II. Throughout our disasters in Afghanistan, Nasir Khan remained loyal to the British, and in 1854, under Lord Dalhousie, a fresh treaty was executed.

Sandeman's Policy

It was in 1856 that Sandeman arrived in India. It is outside the purpose of this paper to enter into the controversy regarding Sandeman's system, generally known as the system of Tribal Service, as compared with the Lawrence Close Border policy. But regarding Baluchistan, the soundness of Sandeman's policy has been proved over and over again: a policy, I would submit, at one with that of his great predecessors of the other end of the frontier, Herbert Edwardes and John Nicholson.

Sandeman began his career as a political officer in 1859, and in 1866 he was posted to Dera Ghazi Khan. There he set to work to take in hand the Baluch tribes on the British side of the border.

These he soon won over, and then directed his attention to the tribes beyond the frontier, the chief being the Marris and Bugtis. They were likewise won over, a great tribute to his personality. Everywhere he went his efforts were crowned with success, and in 1876 he, as a major, was made the first Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan. He remained in that position till his death in 1892.

Within those sixteen years, Sandeman made Baluchistan what it is today. Before he came, the districts of Sibi and Pishin belonged to Afghanistan. Under the treaty of Gandamak, in 1879, these districts were assigned to the British Government, but the Amir of Afghanistan was to receive the surplus revenues after payment of the expenses of administration. After the close of the Afghan War, in 1883, these two districts ceased to form part of Afghanistan. By degrees other districts were opened up by Sandeman and Political Agencies established in Fort Sandeman and Loralai. Kharan also, on the west of the Kalat State, was brought under the British sphere of influence. All this was due to Sandeman. Before he died, Baluchistan extended from Chaman on the north to the Arabian Sea on the south, and from Kharan on the west to the Dera Ghazi Khan district on the east.

Memories of Great Men

It was my good fortune to be posted to Quetta in May, 1900, and I look back on my thirty-six years in Baluchistan with the greatest pleasure. I have visited nearly every corner of Baluchistan, and the more I see of the country and its people, the greater is my attachment to it and them. As I look back to 1900, I naturally think of the great men whom I have met while serving in Baluchistan. The province can boast of many, both soldiers and civilians. When I arrived, General Sir Reginald Hart was in command at Quetta. He was at one time nicknamed "Hannibal," owing to his great feat of taking the Quetta division over the shoulder of that forbidding-looking mountain, Takhtoo.

I then call to mind that great soldier General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, perhaps one of the greatest soldiers of the present century. How beloved he was by the troops, and what enthusiasm

was evoked when he won at the races, riding his own horse, "Muskerry"! I recall one incident when, after the manœuvres, he criticized the commanding officer and adjutant of one regiment for appearing so often on the skyline. He said, "Your adjutant could have been shot several times—he made such a good target." To everyone's amazement the commanding officer replied, "That wouldn't matter; there are plenty better than him in the regiment."

Then there was that great man Sir David Campbell, famous for training and riding his own horse in the Grand National and winning, as a subaltern. Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob served nearly all his time prior to the Great War in Baluchistan. I remember him when he raised the Hazara Pioneers; and I have remained to see them disbanded. There was no soldier better loved and respected than he. One of the most brilliant Army commanders was General Tim Harington, who earned a great reputation in Constantinople at the end of the Great War. There was no one more ready to help a good cause. Quite lately he has shown this by raising £700 in Gibraltar for our new hospital in Quetta, and in this he was ably assisted by Lady Harington. Whatever those two did went with a swing.

I have served in Quetta under ten Agents to the Governor-General, and if I had time I could tell you many interesting incidents regarding them. One stands out from the rest owing to the rapidity of his promotion—namely, Sir Henry McMahon—who was Revenue Commissioner as a Captain and Agent to the Governor-General as a major. He was a tiger on horseback, and when on tour used to cover much of the ground at a gallop, leaving many of his somewhat corpulent and dignified Sirdars behind in a cloud of dust. From Quetta he went to Simla as Foreign Secretary, and then to Cairo as High Commissioner, when Lord Kitchener was called home by the Great War. Sir John Ramsay was a great friend of mine and left behind a great name. He was one of the straightest men I have ever met. Sir Armine Dew was another Agent to the Governor-General about whom many tales are told. He was a man of striking appearance —not unlike the late King Edward—and a good example of a

"muscular Christian." It is said that on one occasion a Brahui who was before him got above himself and was insolent. So he said to his Assistant Political Agent: "Biff him, Bill," and Bill biffed him!

But perhaps two of the best known men in Baluchistan, and about whom most stories are told, are Frank Beaty and Colonel Boomer Barrett. The first was that great policeman and sportsman known as the "Subaltern's Friend." By some he was believed to be the original of Kim, but this, I think, is apocryphal. When I first arrived in Quetta, he was the best tennis player, best shot, and best billiard player in Quetta and the best known figure in Baluchistan.

One could not find a cheerier comrade or a truer friend than Colonel Boomer Barrett. As a raconteur he had few equals. Many are the happy evenings I have spent listening to his tales, some of his best being those connected with the Bengal Regiment of which he was commanding officer. Space forbids me telling more than one tale, and that is about him. One day, soon after taking up his duties as secretary of the Quetta Club, he came to me and said, "Doc, will you come up to the Club garden with me and help me to twist the mali's tail. I am not satisfied with him." Up we went and before the mali appeared he said to me, "Look at those two big beds of strawberries and not a berry on them!" I replied: "They are violet beds." The mali was let off.

The Country

Baluchistan has an inherent beauty of its own, which grows on one the longer one lives there. The words of Sir Denys Bray, which I have already quoted, are very true as a general description, but Baluchistan contains some real beauty spots, such as Ziarat, 8,000 feet above sea level. As one travels through the country, perhaps after a long ride over a sandy desert, one suddenly comes on a beautiful little oasis tucked away in the hills, and, it may be, a lovely stream full of mahseer. The beauty of the mountains I have already mentioned.

Baluchistan can hardly be called a sportsman's paradise, and yet it abounds in game in some parts. Nowhere in the world

have such big bags of chikor been made as in Baluchistan. Not long ago, in two days five guns accounted for over eight hundred chikor. Sisi, wild duck, snipe, black and grey partridge are also found. Regarding big game, the oorial or wild sheep, the markhor and Sind ibex afford excellent sport, while panther and bear are occasionally met with. In the hills, the black Himalayan bear, and down in Mekran the small bear called a "mum," are found, but only on rare occasions.

Many a delightful day have I spent with my rod on the rivers of Baluchistan, which abound in mahseer. This fish does not reach a big size there, but a 29½ pounder has been caught, and I believe in the deep pools below Ghati Pul there are fish of much greater size. But to my mind fly fishing for smaller mahseer gives the best sport, and I have on several occasions caught over forty in a day up to 2½ pounds on the fly. The biggest I have caught on the fly is a 9½ pounder.

It is impossible in a short paper to describe the people of Baluchistan, but the three main races are Brahuis, Baluchis and Pathans. One of the chief difficulties that confronted me in my hospital was that of language. Five or six tongues are spoken any morning in our hospital. This is due to the geographical position of Quetta. We have Pushtu, Baluchi, Brahui, Persian, Sindhi and Urdu to deal with.

Changes of the Century

When I am asked, "Has Baluchistan changed much since you came out thirty-six years ago?" I reply that, taking the country as a whole, there is but little change. I had the pleasure of meeting the Simon Commission when they came to Quetta, and I remember Sir John Simon saying to me, "If all India were like Baluchistan, there would have been no Simon Commission." The people are contented, and their leaders are real friends of our countrymen. I do not think there is any part of our Indian Empire as loyal as this province.

The reason for this may well be the one important change I have noticed during my thirty-six years—namely, that the people do seem to be better clothed, better housed and possibly better

nourished than they were in 1900—though this does not apply to all of the outlying districts. And the great improvement in communications, coupled with the work of medical and educational institutions in the province, have at any rate begun to create a respect for scientific medicine and a growing desire for education, which may mark the beginnings of progress.

But they are only beginnings. Of late years, a few malcontents, most of them on the wrong side of the law, have formed themselves into a body called the Baluch Conference, and are working for changes—from outside the province. But they are a small minority. In fact, it is still generally true to say that the desire for progress varies inversely with the distance from British headquarters.

Though the advent of the motor has opened up the country in a wonderful way and has, undoubtedly, had an effect on the mentality of the Brahui and Baluchi; yet when the first motor-car reached a part of Mekran, arriving at night, the inhabitants gazed at the lamps and thought they were the eyes of some new animal, and actually brought bhoosa and lucerne to feed it. Some of the Sardars affect semi-European dress, but it still gives me quite a shock to sit down with a Brahui chief to dinner, and find him wearing English evening dress, instead of the long white flowing robes and the oily ringlets of his fathers.

In spite of educational progress, the Baluchi and Brahui have no doubt in their own mind that the sword is mightier than the pen. I remember one very fine chief who, when he was asked why he did not read or write, replied, "Why should I, when I can get a baboo at Rs. 25 a month to do it for me?" I remember again jogging along on a camel behind a somewhat odoriferous Brahui —washing is still looked down upon as a regrettable modernistic fad—and as we were passing some splendid crops, I remarked to him, "Look at those crops! If it were not for the *Sahib-log*, those might have been cut and the corn eaten by your enemies." His only reply, with a grunt of compassion for the poor Sahib's ignorance, was, "If a man can't kill, he can't eat."

Some of the most interesting experiences I have had have been when on tour with various political officers. In the old days, tour-

ing was done entirely on horseback; now a car can take one to most parts of the country. But I miss those glorious morning rides, starting often before sunrise. Due to these tours, I have come in contact with most of the tribes and peoples of Baluchistan.

A Meeting with Dost Muhammad

One tour of exceptional interest I made to the Persian-Baluch frontier with Sir Terence Keyes, when he was Political Agent, Kalat. Dost Muhammad, about whom we read in Dyer's "Raiders of Sar-hudd," had been giving a lot of trouble on the frontier and Keyes went down to put an end to the constant raiding, if possible. Our party consisted of Sir Mir Shams Shah, Keyes, Captain Packman, the Shahwani Sardar, and myself. My rôle was to create a good impression by giving medicines to Dost Muhammad's people, and generally to keep them cheery. We had with us as escort some thirty or forty of the Mekran Levies. Dost Muhammad agreed to meet Keyes at a place called Grawag on the Persian-Baluch frontier. As we were not quite certain what our reception would be, the officer commanding levies threw out pickets on the hills. On hearing of this, Dost Muhammad sent in a most indignant protest, asking if that was the way we received our friends. Keyes, who was as brave as a lion, at once withdrew the pickets. Dost Muhammad was taking no chances and came to meet Keyes at the head of an armed force of 1,200 men.

I shall never forget the scene when Dost Muhammad accompanied by some seven or eight of his leading men entered the shamiana where Keyes and his party were present to receive them. They came in with loaded rifles and these they held across their knees throughout the first interview. The impression I received was that they feared arrest and looked like rats caught in a trap. But had they attempted any violence we would not have had a chance, for they had a large force outside the shamiana, and, as Sir Mir Shams Shah said, "We had not even a penknife to defend ourselves with!" At the second interview in the afternoon, when I was not present, they thawed to a certain extent and left their rifles at the entrance to the shamiana. In the meantime I visited

Dost Muhammad's camp on the Persian side of the frontier and gave medicines and medical advice to hundreds of Dost Muhammad's followers.

Dost Muhammad would agree to nothing, and next day Keyes with his party prepared to leave, as he had made up his mind to ride right up the frontier to Nok-Kundi on the Nushki-Duzdap Railway. We had three or four motors with us, and as some of Dost Muhammad's followers had never seen a motor, Keyes gave several of them, including the chief's own son and nephew, "joy-rides" round and round the camp. Without any warning we got into our cars and drove off. Some time later, Keyes received information that Dost Muhammad had intended to shoot him and his party as they were leaving the camp, but Dost Muhammad's men were all round the cars and had they shot at us, they would have shot some of their own people—so we all lived to see another day! Dost Muhammad came to a sticky end. He continued his raiding and looting, and finally the Persian Government sent an expedition against him, destroyed his village and made him a prisoner. He was put on parole, which he broke. They shot him soon afterwards.

On our way north, I was called on to perform a surgical operation under strange conditions. We came to a so-called village, consisting of a few palm trees and a rough booth of palm branches. The day before we arrived, one of the four men in the place had fallen from a palm tree and had damaged himself seriously. I put him on his back in the open, gave him chloroform and performed an emergency operation, which saved his life. He was hoisted on to a camel and taken seventy miles to Nok-Kundi station, and thence to Duzdap, where he was put in hospital and eventually made a perfect recovery. A kind providence looked after him, for had that accident occurred on any other day within the past hundred years, he would not have had a chance of recovery. I thanked God and took courage.

Other Excursions

This reminds me of another occasion when I was on tour with Sir John Ramsay in the Loralai district. Word came into camp

that one of the leading Sardars in the district was very ill, and I was asked to go and see him. I had a sixty-mile ride across country, which I did in under five hours with three changes of ponies. I had no idea what the matter was with the Sardar, so I set off with a few drugs in a haversack and arrived in the evening to find the Sardar in great pain with a huge abscess in his abdominal wall. The pus had to be evacuated. I had no surgical case with me, but I managed to sharpen a blade of a penknife, plunged it in and out came the pus. In a few hours, all pain had disappeared and I was able to leave next morning and ride back to camp, after receiving Rs. 300 from the grateful Sardar. He was my friend for life.

It is extraordinary what can be done with rudimentary equipment. I remember once operating on a woman for double cataract under a juniper tree fifteen miles beyond Ziarat. The woman refused to go into hospital or into Ziarat, and so I decided to operate on her where she was. A lady in the camp where I was staying provided me with a fine crochet-hook, which acted as an iris hook. From some hairpins we made a rough-and-ready eye speculum and a pair of embroidery scissors served for iris scissors! I had with me some cocaine, a cataract knife and a pair of fixation forceps. With this equipment I operated on both eyes and the old Pathan woman had an excellent result in spite of my treatment. Shades of Harley Street!

On yet another occasion, Colonel MacGregor, Chief Medical Officer, invited my wife and myself to accompany him on a 1,000-mile tour from Quetta through Mekran to Pasni, on the shores of the Arabian Sea. We took with us instruments, etc., and did some eighty operations on that tour. At Turbat in Kech Mekran Colonel MacGregor and I performed some sixty operations. No major surgery had ever been done there before. We did a number of cataracts and also operated on six small boys for stone in the bladder. I asked the people what usually happens in such cases of stone in the bladder. "Oh, they just die," they said. We were face to face with the tragedy of unrelieved suffering. How could these folk bring their relations to hospital? They are miserably poor and can't afford the time or the money for the necessary

journey or stay in hospital. Before motor roads were opened up, for a patient to come to Quetta meant a month each way on the road and a month in hospital—in other words, three months' wages gone, not counting the cost of transport.

The Hospital

I have not time left to tell you much of my own hospital work. I saw our mission hospital grow from a small institution of thirty beds to one of 124. We have had at times 135 in our hospital. And then a little more than a year ago came the earthquake. We had in hospital at the time 126 in-patients, with some 80 of their relations and friends. You may form some estimate of the crash with which it fell, when I tell you that over 80 of those 200 were killed and an uncounted number injured. But, thank God, the wiping out of the hospital has not meant the severing of my connection with Baluchistan. I feel that, earthquake or no earthquake, my place is still with the people I have learned to love, and my chief job on this six months' furlough is the effort to raise the £6,000 still needed before we can rebuild our hospital. Furthermore, I can look forward to handing over my work to two doctor sons, when the time comes for me to retire. I need hardly tell you what a joy this is to me.

In conclusion, let me say this: Our hospital has attracted, amongst others, tens of thousands of the blind and those suffering with various eye diseases. For twenty-six years we have visited Shikarpur in North Sind for two winter months, and have latterly performed there an average of 3,000 major and minor operations. On one occasion we did over 200 operations in the day. All told, some 30,000 operations for cataract alone have been performed in our hospital. But we are not only out to heal the bodies of those who come to us. We try to follow in the steps of the Great Physician, in His dual—and to my mind indivisible—mission for the body and the soul of man. The principle of dyarchy is one He would never have admitted: with Him there are no reserved departments. As for myself, I cannot conceive of a more inspiring and a more joyful task; if I had my life to live over again, I would without hesitation choose the same job, and no other.

I would like to add that one of the great things that has cheered me all through and been a constant source of joy has been the unfailing friendship and almost affection that has been showered upon me during those thirty-six years. Whenever I get a bit down on my luck, I always think of those friends who are behind me. When I was at the Indian Empire Garden Party yesterday, I was greatly cheered by the number of people who came to me and the warmth of their congratulations on my knighthood. I thank you all for so kindly listening to me, and I thank all in Baluchistan and Sind for their unfailing friendship.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, July 7, 1936, when a paper entitled "Thirty-five Years in Baluchistan: a Doctor's Reminiscences" was read by Sir Henry Tristram Holland, C.I.E., M.B., F.R.C.S. Sir Norman Cater, K.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Major-General Sir Leonard Rogers, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., F.R.S., Sir Denys Bray, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir David and Lady Ezra, Sir Homi Mehta, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Chenevix Trench, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Charles and Lady Fawcett, Sir Frank Hudson, K.C.I.E., and Lady Hudson, Sir Edward Chamier, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Miles Irving, C.I.E., O.B.E., and Lady Irving, the Dowager Countess D'Arcy, Lady Lukis, Lady (Henry) Holland, Lady Dawson, Lady McCracken, Brigadier L. P. Collins, Bishop Eyre Chatterton, Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., the Hon. Emily Kinnaird, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Allum, Mr. R. C. Lai, Miss Mary Sorabji, Mrs. and Miss Berry, Mr. J. Bailey, Miss E. Parfitt, Mrs. Paul Stewart, Mr. E. C. Gedge, Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Kirkpatrick, Mrs. Damry, Mr. A. M. Scott, Rev. C. A. Gillmore, Mrs. R. J. H. Cox, Mrs. Rushworth, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. Foden, Mrs. J. H. Cook, Mrs. Gillett, Mrs. S. K. Ghosh, Mr. Frederick J. Perry, Mrs. Skrine, Mrs. Beechey, Miss Margaret E. Hibble, Mr. F. M. Willan, Mr. J. W. Watkins, Mr. J. B. Hall, Dr. Sambidananda Das, Miss Leatherdale, Miss E. Baring-Gould, Miss Wade, Mrs. W. H. Bourke, Miss M. M. Bailey, Miss Reilly, Miss Stella Mead, Mr. Hal Verstage, Mrs. Lydall, Miss Gunter, Miss Bailey, Mr. Anthony Acton, Miss P. K. Witt, Mrs. Yate, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said: The lecturer whom I have the pleasure of introducing to you this afternoon is one of my oldest friends. We have known each other for the best part of thirty years; and when I was Assistant Political Agent in Quetta many years ago I was best man at his wedding. Twenty-five years later, as Agent to the Governor-General, I had what I think must be an almost unique experience for India, that of entertaining him and his wife on their silver wedding day. We have had many good times together and we have shared at least one very bad time. Through good and bad I think I can say that our friendship has strengthened as the years have passed, and so you will understand that it is with the very greatest pleasure, as I know it must be to all his friends, that I am able to introduce him to you this afternoon as Sir Henry Holland. He is, I believe, the first British missionary in India to be honoured with a knighthood. All those who know him will agree that it is a fitting reward for thirty-five years of self-sacrificing work. Of those thirty-five years he is now going to give you some reminiscences.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said: I need hardly say what a tremendous pleasure it is to have as Chairman Sir Norman Cater, and I would like to thank him very much for the kind way in which he has spoken of me. I am just a very ordinary medical missionary, who has been working away in the hospital in Quetta, and I was rather taken back when I was asked to address this very august audience, for there is one thing I cannot be, and that is highbrow. I am just going to give you some reminiscences of thirty-six years on the frontier, and it is a great pleasure to see here today some of my friends whom I have known in Quetta and Sind.

Sir Henry then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: I feel sure the lecture to which you have just listened has been of great interest not only to those who know their Baluchistan, but also to those of you who do not. It has at any rate given you some glimpse into a little known country and a little known people which seldom or never come into the limelight unless there happens to be an earthquake. It has also given you, I think, some insight into the character of a warm-hearted and very human personality with an infinite capacity for friendship; and when to qualities such as these is allied professional skill of the highest order, you will readily understand how Henry Holland has endeared himself to all the peoples of Baluchistan.

I would like to make a few remarks on one thing to which the lecturer referred, and that is recent changes in Baluchistan. It is a thing I am often asked about by officers who have served there—how things are going now and what changes there are. Sir Henry mentioned the shock it was to him when he met one of our Baluchi Chiefs dressed in immaculate evening clothes. I remember exactly the same thing myself. Well, we may regret that. We may regret that they leave off the kind of clothes that their ancestors wore and drop some of their customs; but to my mind that sort of thing is now quite inevitable as a result of travel, of contact with towns, and the spread of education. It is just as inevitable as the supersession of horses by motor cars, of the hookah by cigarettes.

Just before I left Baluchistan the Bugti Chief came to see me—and I should explain that the Bugti Chief is one of the older generation and is most conservative, a man who rules his tribesmen with a rod of iron, and insists on their wearing the same clothes, the same beards, and the same long ringlets as their fathers did. He had come to ask me to give one of his tribesmen, a young man, a job in Government service; and when I asked him to produce him, in walked a young man of twenty-two or twenty-three, clean shaven, wearing English clothes and speaking almost perfect English. I said to him: "But this is not a Bugti." "Oh, yes it is, and he is the grandson of one of Sir Robert Sandeman's greatest friends. I have had him educated at the college at Lahore at my own expense, and I sent him there wearing the Bugti clothes and a beard and long hair. He told me he was so much laughed at by the other students that he could not go on wearing those clothes, so I allowed him to wear the same clothes as they did, and to cut off his beard and hair." A thing I noticed when I went back to Baluchistan after an absence of some years was that most of the younger

men of the higher classes now shaved their beards. To those of you who do not know the East this may not seem a matter of much consequence, but not so to those who know Oriental countries and how the Mussulman used to set great store by his beard both as an adornment and as a sign of manly vigour, and particularly among the priestly caste. The shaving of one beard in Baluchistan nearly caused a rebellion. Amongst the Marri tribesmen the Marri Chief is not only their Chief in but also their high priest, and one of the most solemn and binding oaths a Marri tribesman could take was to swear by the beard of his Chief. So you may imagine their dismay and consternation when one day they found they had no beard to swear by!

There is a growing desire for education in Baluchistan, and I would differ from my friend Sir Henry Holland when he said that that is the case only near to British headquarters. My experience is that it is now widespread over the province. One of the first requests made to me when I became Agent to the Governor-General was for the establishment of a college in Quetta for higher education, and when the Viceroy came to Quetta in 1932 a deputation of Chiefs waited upon him, not only from round about Quetta, but from the whole of Baluchistan, and pressed the same request upon him. The Viceroy gave them a sympathetic reply, and I was told to send up official proposals to the Government of India, which I duly did. The reply which I got was one which was not uncommon. The Government of India accepted the proposal in principle, but regretted they had no funds to carry it out! But, for the comfort of those who have known and loved their Baluchistan, I would just like to say that there is one thing which does not change, and that is the system of administration which was set up by Sir Robert Sandeman. That still goes on in full vigour. The Jirgas still administer justice, and the privilege of membership is as highly prized and eagerly sought after as ever it was. I firmly believe that administration of justice by Jirga is as impartial as any justice can be. One last word—the lecturer rather took the words out of my mouth when he referred to the loyalty of Baluchistan. I have served in many parts of India and I believe there are none which surpass Baluchistan in loyalty to the Throne and Person of their Sovereign. When I toured as Agent to the Governor-General, whenever I went to an important place I nearly always had decorations and arches with mottoes such as "Welcome" and "God bless our noble A.G.G.," and so forth, but the most common and the one that was usually repeated two or three times was "God save the King."

Sir FRANK HUDSON: I have never ventured to address this Association before and I do not suppose I ever shall again; but I would like to make a few remarks today because it so happens that I have known Quetta and Sir Henry Holland for nearly all the thirty-five years about which he has given us so interesting an account. I always looked upon Quetta from rather a different angle to that of Sir Henry Holland. To him it was a home and a workshop: to me it was a very pleasant holiday resort, and to a good many other people, too. I never had the good fortune to be stationed in Baluchistan, but to those of us who toiled on the dusty sands of Sind,

Quetta was a regular oasis of delight, to which we escaped as often as we dared. It is more than thirty years ago, but I can still remember the thrill of sitting in the shade of Colonel Archer's beautiful garden, surrounded by peach trees, with the peaches falling on the ground like mulberries as we listened to the tinkle of the artesian well.

And then a few years later I remember strenuous games of tennis on the lovely courts of the Residency, with Lady Ramsay and Dr. Holland on the other side—a very tough pair for anyone to tackle.

However long the intervals between one's visits, it was so pleasant to feel that one would always find Dr. Holland there, with a kindly welcome for his old friends. Quetta, like other places in India, changes pretty quickly. Agents to the Governor-General come and go, General Officers Commanding-in-Chief come and go, but Dr. Holland, like the brook, goes on for ever. And in this connection perhaps I may say what an intense relief it was to us all last year in India at the time of that awful catastrophe when the news came through that his life had been spared. Well, sir, as you will remember, we Sindhis invaded Quetta pretty regularly in the hot weather, but when the cold weather came and the duck and the snipe began to arrive, the tide turned and the invasion was the other way. And amongst the most regular of our invaders was Dr. Holland, though he came to do something more important than shoot duck; but I think he will admit that occasionally he took an afternoon off for that purpose. Every year saw him descend upon the ancient town of Shikarpur, surrounded by a band of enthusiastic doctors, some of whom had come from far-off America at their own expense to learn from Dr. Holland what they knew they could never learn elsewhere.

Every year saw the sick and the maimed and the blind, and more especially the blind, crowd into that hospital. I remember when I was Commissioner in Sind, Dr. Holland kindly used to find time to take me round his hospital, and I never saw such a mixed bag anywhere: all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues, with only one thing in common, that they were all ill and all quite sure that Dr. Holland was going to heal them. I call it a hospital, but as a matter of fact—at any rate, in my day—it was nothing more than a huge encampment of "kacha" huts with little or no furniture except camp cots—the sort of place that would make a London surgeon shudder; but in those days they were doing ninety cataracts a day, and with results any London surgeon would be proud of. And I do not think I have ever seen a more touching sight than when Dr. Holland used to go round the so-called wards, patting each patient on the shoulder, having a look at each bandage, and saying to each man, "Khush hai?" "Achcha hai, baba?" Scores of them had not the faintest idea of what he meant by "Achcha hai," but those rugged faces with their red beards were lit up with a smile of pleasure, for they realized that the doctor was their friend, and they were quite sure he was going to make them well. And I personally used to feel that the Quetta invasion of Sind was perhaps the happiest event of the whole year, and that no one was doing more, not only for suffering humanity, but for the honour and credit of the British Raj, than Dr. Holland.

Sir DENYS BRAY: I am very grateful to the Association for inviting me to meet one of the oldest and not the least of the friends India has given me. It is not the first time I have sat under Dr. Holland; and I found it a pleasant thing to listen to that well-known voice again and to catch the invigorating infection of his racy anecdotes. And yet, and not for the first time, he worried me. I was worried to hear of the elaborate medical equipment with which he proceeded through Baluchistan; doubly worried, for it falsifies not the least important couplet in not the least important poem by not the least important poet of Baluchistan. The couplet *used* to run:

> "Put a *hairpin* in his hand
> Cataract will flee the land!"

And as I listened to him I was worried, and not for the first time, by the paradox of things. For constitutionally, theoretically, I myself am not on the side of the angels, the missionaries. Constitutionally, theoretically, I am a staunch believer in Swadashi Swaraj in politics, in religion, in tribal and social life; a staunch believer in that Swadashi Swaraj, that indigenous home rule within a larger unit, which Sandeman fostered in Baluchistan, years before the words had any currency or meaning in political India. And theoretically in the religious and social sphere, along comes the missionary as the solvent of this great thing.

Theoretically, yes; but one push of practical experience and my theory puffs away into thin air. By their fruits—a better tribesman, a better Muslim, a healthier family, better parents, a healthier and a better community—by their fruits ye shall know them. And in the constant striving for the adaptation of the ancient Swadashi Swaraj to the changing times, neither Government nor tribesman have had stauncher allies than the famous Quetta missionary doctors, with Dr. Holland at their head. And when they now appeal for funds to set their broken house in order, the appeal should come home not only to those touched by the missionary spirit, to the pious, to the charitable, but to all who have any inkling of what Quetta and Baluchistan have done for the Empire, and what they mean for the good name of Englishmen.

Major-General Sir LEONARD ROGERS: I came here to listen with great interest to Sir Henry Holland and with no intention of speaking. At the same time I cannot refuse the invitation to say a few words. My own work was about as far as you can get from Baluchistan, in Calcutta, but even there Sir Henry Holland's name was known for his medical work. They have the most wonderful traders in the world in Baluchistan, who come down to Calcutta every year. You have heard something of the medical work he has done, and no doubt Sir Henry could tell us a great deal more. Only a month or two ago I was speaking at a missionary meeting when I met another medical missionary from that part of the earth, Rev. Dr. Venables. A thing he said impressed me very much and should be better known amongst our medical students. He said he could not understand why so many of our medical students after they have qualified preferred to

go into large towns and spend their time on panel practice when they might become medical missionaries in charge of hospitals, with as much surgical work as they could do. That, I think, is very true, and I have often spoken of the work of medical missionaries in India.

I should have liked to hear a little more about the earthquake, but that must be a tender subject, as Dr. Holland lost his hospital. I remember Sir Thomas Holland, when Director of the Geological Department of India, giving a lecture in Calcutta, and he related how he was in Simla at the time of the Kangra earthquake. It was desirable to get records of how far it had been felt, so he sent a telegram to various places asking whether the effects were severely felt or hardly felt, and he had a number of telegrams to say, "Sir, the earthquake was very hardly felt here." In conclusion I wish to congratulate Sir Henry Holland on his wonderful record of Indian service of thirty-six years, not out.

The Ven. C. A. Gillmore (late Archdeacon of Lahore): I am only a visitor here, but it gives me very great pleasure indeed to meet again my friend Sir Henry Holland. I think I was appointed to the Chaplaincy of Quetta in the same year that Sir Henry Holland went there, the year 1900, and I remember how very much supported I felt in my particular work in Quetta, as Senior Chaplain there, by the presence of Dr. Holland, who kindly read the lessons every Sunday evening in the Quetta church. I should like to ask Sir Henry Holland if the beautiful cantonment church in Quetta escaped the depredations of the earthquake? [Dr. Holland replied that the church had been very badly damaged and had to be pulled down; but that the East window put up by Sir Robert Sandeman has all been taken away piece by piece.] I was in Quetta for five years until I left there to take the appointment of Archdeacon of Lahore, and I do not think Sir Henry Holland and I have met for nearly thirty years. But how good it is to feel that when we get into the higher element—shall I call it the spiritual element?—we seem to annihilate time. It has been a tremendous pleasure for me today to have listened to the names of friends of those past years—Sir Charles Yate, Sir Reginald Hart, V.C., General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, Sir John Ramsay, Sir Henry McMahon, and others who have been mentioned, and I feel I have been transported back to very happy days. Although I am not a member of the Association, but a visitor here, I felt that it would hardly have been fitting for me to have retained my chair without congratulating Sir Henry Holland on his return, on the honour conferred on him, and on the magnificent work which I have witnessed and also heard of in Quetta.

Sir Hugh McPherson: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before we break up I have much pleasure in asking you to join me in a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer who has given us such an interesting paper this afternoon, and also to our Chairman. I do not feel that I am really qualified to propose this vote of thanks, for I have never had the privilege of seeing Baluchistan, but Sir Henry Holland has made the country live for us this afternoon in a wonderful way, both geographically and historically, and it

has been a great pleasure to listen to his interesting reminiscences. I have not been nearer to Baluchistan than Delhi and Simla, but I have one small personal contact in the fact that a brother in the Indian Medical Service was at one time stationed in Quetta. I remember his descriptions of the intense cold of camp life in Loralai. I wondered, when I heard Sir Henry Holland talking of his eye cases, whether my brother ever sat at his feet, because after he had been to Quetta he specialized in eyes and made ophthalmic surgery his life-work. I have mentioned Delhi and Simla. It was when I was there about sixteen or seventeen years ago that I had the pleasure of meeting for the first time our chairman, Sir Norman Cater. He was Mr. Cater then, but since our first contact Sir Norman has gone a very long way and has attained great distinction in the Political Department. Our Association is grateful to him that in this, the first year of his retirement, he has taken the trouble to come here and preside at one of our meetings. I consider that we are very fortunate in closing our session on the very interesting note which has been struck this afternoon. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to join me in a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir Henry Holland for his address and to Sir Norman Cater for presiding over our meeting.

Sir Henry Holland: I will not say anything more but thank all those who have spoken so warmly, far too warmly, of what I have been able to do. I hope to go back, and I won't say begin my career, but I certainly hope to do many more years' work. I hope to rebuild our hospital, which will not probably be begun until 1938. We have got our patients now in temporary houses, and our oldest boy is in charge. I suppose the time will come when the boys will say, "Now, Dad, you are getting a bit senile," and I will have to go, but that time has not come yet. I want to thank you for the honour—it was a great honour—of being asked to address you, and to thank you for listening so patiently to what I have said.

THE SIXTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

For the Year ending April 30, 1936

Outstanding events in relation to India during the twelve months covered by this Report were the death of the King-Emperor George V., following so soon after the enthusiastic celebration of the Silver Jubilee of his reign; the passage of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the subsequent measures to prepare for its application by well-marked stages; the further consideration of the federal plan by the Indian States; Lord Zetland's appointment as Secretary of State for India on Sir Samuel Hoare's selection to be Foreign Secretary; and the arrival in India of Lord Linlithgow to succeed Lord Willingdon as Viceroy. In respect to these and other leading events the East India Association had its part to play in the interpretation and formation of instructed public opinion.

Shortly before the close of the previous year the loyal congratulations of the Association to King George and Queen Mary on the Silver Jubilee of the reign had been conveyed and acknowledged. When in January the death of the King-Emperor plunged his people into mourning, the Association shared with other Empire societies in sending a wreath to Windsor and a telegram of sympathy to King Edward VIII. On the day of the funeral also letters of sympathy were sent by the President on behalf of the Council to his present Majesty and to Queen Mary, and were in due course acknowledged. The manifestations of grief in India were so spontaneous and widespread as to be without parallel in the history of the British connection, and, in the words of Lord Linlithgow on entering upon his Viceroyalty, gave fresh proof of India's constant devotion to the Imperial Crown.

The New Viceroy

An important development in the work of the Association contributed materially to the success of the largest and most repre-

sentative farewell banquet ever given to an outgoing Viceroy. Two or three years ago, at the instance of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, various Empire societies formed a Joint Hospitality Committee for the purpose of combining from time to time in the exercise of hospitality to distinguished servants of the Empire oversea by way of farewell or of welcome. On the initiative of the Chairman of Council, it was decided early in the year to share in this arrangement in relation to gatherings coming within the scope of our special field of Empire service. The first joint function to which the Association contributed was the farewell Dinner to Lord and Lady Linlithgow given at the Hotel Victoria on March 25, when some 550 guests were present, including most of His Excellency's colleagues on the Joint Select Committee and their ladies. The Secretary of State for India was in the chair. His speech and that of the Viceroy-designate were widely recognized to be important utterances, and they were broadcast in the Empire programme. It fell to our President to reply to the toast of the Empire societies proposed by Lord Halifax, the Lord Privy Seal.

Lord Linlithgow has been for some years a Vice-President of the Association and on occasion has taken part in our proceedings. It was strongly felt by the Council that in addition to participation in the Dinner, the Association should arrange for an informal farewell on its own account; and accordingly a conversazione to meet Lord and Lady Linlithgow was held at Grosvenor House on March 26, when some 350 members and their friends were present. As Sir Samuel Hoare was unable to fulfil his intention to attend and speak, the President voiced the good wishes of the guests and their confidence in the capacity and judgment of the new Viceroy. In his reply Lord Linlithgow spoke of his admiration for the work of the Association, and his pride in having been connected with it for a number of years past. He aptly said that its paramout service is to promote between our several peoples that human feeling of goodwill and kindly regard and understanding which must always form the essential foundation of healthy growth, and without which the most carefully erected political edifice would not long stand.

The Secretary of State

Reference was made by the President to the generosity of H.H. the Maharaja of Bhavanagar in contributing £50 towards the cost of the function. A similar conversazione held in November, when Lord and Lady Zetland were the guests of honour, was arranged by means of the annual grant of £50 by H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda to our Hospitality Fund. The purpose of the gathering was to congratulate Lord Zetland, who has been a Vice-President since his successful Governorship of Bengal, on his accession to the Cabinet as Secretary of State for India. He spoke of his ample opportunities to observe personally the great work done by the Association for bringing India and Great Britain ever closer together, and of its value as providing a platform for every conceivable point of view on Indian polity.

The Government of India Act

Lord Zetland's congratulations to the Association on the work it did in educating public opinion "during those years when the present Government of India Act was still upon the anvil" was accompanied by the expression of a hope that the Council would not consider that such work respecting the new Constitution had come to an end. A study of the list of meetings in Appendix A shows that this weighty advice has not been disregarded. While the Bill was running the gauntlet of House of Commons discussion Sir Stanley Reed on May 21 gave a characteristically vigorous survey of the whole position under the title of "India: the Report, the Bill and After," and his views were strongly endorsed from the standpoint of exceptional knowledge of the details by Sir Malcolm Hailey, who was in the chair. Mr. Hugh Molson, a member of the Council, then M.P. for Doncaster, gave on June 26 the best and most comprehensive analysis that is available to the public of the amendments made in some important matters during the passage of the Bill through the House of Commons—changes to which he had made some useful contributions in debate. In the absence of Lord Lothian, owing to an important debate in the Lords, the chair was taken by the late Sir John Thompson.

The Indian States

The essential part assigned to the Indian States in the Federal plan was kept steadily in view. The gracious hospitality of Lady Bennett, a member of the Council, provided an opportunity on May 29 to meet at the Ladies' Carlton Club Lieutenant-General His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir on the occasion of his visit to this country to take part in the Silver Jubilee celebrations as senior Indian Honorary A.D.C. to the late King-Emperor. In a striking speech to Lady Bennett's 400 guests the Maharaja took the opportunity to reaffirm his belief in the federal form of government as being best in the interests of the Empire, of India and of the States.

That the way to this consummation of the constitutional scheme is not free from difficulties for the Princes was shown in a frank and widely informed paper given on October 16 by Sir Patrick Cadell, fresh from post-I.C.S. work in Kathiawar as President of the Council of Junagadh State. Earl Peel was in the chair, and contributions to the discussion were made by men of such ripe experience in the Political Department as Sir Stuart Fraser and Sir William Barton. The greatest of the States was discussed a fortnight later, not from the political, but from the artistic and social points of view, when at a meeting at the Rubens Hotel, with Sir Reginald Glancy in the chair and Rai Bahadur M. B. Sethi as host, Mrs. Margaret Milward gave "An Artist's Impressions of Hyderabad State," and showed lantern views of excellent photographs taken during her stay in the Nizam's Dominions. Mrs. Milward has since responded to several requests to lecture on the same subject to other organizations. It may here be mentioned that our senior Vice-President among the Princes of India, H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, did us the honour of attending the annual meeting of the Association in June and moving, in an encouraging speech, the adoption of the Report.

Rural Reconstruction

The vital need for the advancement of the rural masses of India, so fully recognized by the new Viceroy in the light of his first-

hand studies as Chairman ten years ago of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, was reflected in two items of the lecture programme. On November 5, at a joint meeting with the Indian Village Welfare Association, Mr. F. C. Strickland, fresh from a year's intensive study of village conditions in China, made on the invitation of the Universities China Committee, gave an informed comparison of rural welfare work in India and China. The presence in the Chair of Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes was appropriate by reason of his successful initiation of a comprehensive scheme of village reconstruction during his Bombay Governorship, and among the speakers was Dr. C. C. Wang, former Director-General of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

In the following month Dewan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghava Acharya described the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research during the first six years of its existence and his tenure as Vice-Chairman and Principal Administrative Officer. Mr. R. A. Butler, the Under-Secretary for India, who takes a sustained interest in the work of the Association, in an important speech from the Chair suggested that the Council provided an excellent type for the achievement of co-ordination under Federation in such matters as forestry, irrigation and public health. The combination needed was that of tact and specialist knowledge on the part of the Federal Government and a spirit of initiative and co-operation on the part of the units.

Defence and Trade

A question of vital importance to the India of the future was under skilled examination when on April 7 Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, who had shortly before retired from the Commandership-in-Chief, lectured on Indian defence problems in the light of the coming constitutional changes. While stressing the absolute necessity for efficiency, Sir Philip declared himself a strong supporter of the policy of political advance enshrined in the Government of India Act, and a sympathizer with the keen desire of the younger politically minded Indians to see the process of Indianization of the Army hastened. Important speeches were

made by Lord Winterton from the Chair, Mr. Butler, who had represented India at the Naval Conference, and General Sir George Barrow.

Another aspect of changing India was brought under consideration on January 16 by Sir Thomas Ainscough, who has been for no less than eighteen years H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon. He discussed "The British Export Trade with India: Recent Developments and Possibilities," and stated that he looked forward with confidence to a rapprochement between the traders of the two countries as self-government became an established fact and all sources of political conflict were removed. The meeting had the advantage of the presence in the chair of Captain Euan Wallace, the Parliamentary Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade, and of contributions to the discussion by such leading men in the export trade as Mr. I. F. L. Elliot, of the British Iron and Steel Federation, and Mr. J. G. Nicholson, of the Imperial Chemical Industries.

Other Topics

Man does not live by bread alone, and it was rightly suggested at a meeting on February 11 that important things in India outside the scope of political and economic discussion should be kept in mind in framing the programme of the Association. The occasion of this remark was a new departure whereby an interesting afternoon was devoted to the study of Indian occultism and of phenomena such as the rope, the basket and the mango tricks, and fire-walking. The issue was presented in a scholarly paper by Major G. H. Rooke. His useful select bibliography on the subject accompanies the report of the function in the April issue of the *Asiatic Review*. Lord Mansfield was in the chair and the lecture and discussion attracted much attention in the press.

Some of the more picturesque sides of Indian life were set forth in a coloured film shown by Miss Rosie Newman at a reception kindly given by the Lady Headley to the Association on Febrary 18 at Grosvenor House. The main features of the two months' tour of Miss Newman and her mother are set out in her

paper based on the film given in our Proceedings. The Duke of Portland was in the Chair, and recalled the fact that a hundred years ago his great-uncle, Lord William Bentinck, was Governor-General. Another tour of India, designed for the collection of material for a biography of that statesman, provided opportunity for an instructive dissertation on July 16 by Mr. Philip Morrel, whose wife, Lady Ottoline, is a grand-niece of Lord William. With Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P., in the Chair, Mr. Morrel spoke on "India in Transition," and devoted chief attention to social questions, such as that of relations between Englishmen and Indians; and a frank discussion ensued.

Garden Party

In addition to meeting at the social functions already mentioned, members were able to spend a Saturday afternoon under ideal weather conditions on July 6 at the sixteenth-century mansion, once the home of Queen Elizabeth, Great Fosters, Egham. The company of 400, which included several members of the Diplomatic Corps, met at the invitation of Mr. C. G. Hancock, the chief proprietor of the well-known weekly *The Near East and India*, since renamed *Great Britain and the East*. Sir Malcolm Hailey, having recently completed his Governorship of the United Provinces, and Lady Hailey, were the principal guests, and both Sir Malcolm and Lord Lamington expressed their satisfaction that under Mr. Hancock's direction the weekly has made great advances and has devoted much more attention to Indian matters.

Obituary

While the membership of the Association has steadily increased through the year, the losses by death both here and in India have been exceptionally severe. Foremost in the list are the names of two eminent Vice-Presidents, the Marquis of Reading, whose memorable Viceroyalty was completed ten years ago; and Lord Ampthill, the last Governor of Madras to be appointed by Queen Victoria. Sir John Thompson, a valued member of the Council

and a frequent contributor to our Proceedings, passed away in the summer just after the completion of his devoted work as Chairman of the Union of Britain and India, formed to support the policy of the National Government in framing a new Constitution for India. The list of losses given in Appendix C also contains the names of Lord Headley, the leader of British Moslems; Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the accomplished administrator and author; Sir Basil Blackett, one of the greatest of India's Finance Members; Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Nestor of Indian politics; Mrs. S. D. Sassoon, noted for Hebrew scholarship and business ability; Sir Duncan Macpherson, a regular attendant at our meetings; Mr. N. C. Sen, a former valued colleague on the Council, and other members of distinction.

Membership

Happily the list of new elections is both long and distinguished. Following the example of a long line of previous Governors-General, Lord Willingdon has become a member on completion of his great Viceroyalty, and similarly Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode has joined on relinquishing the Indian Command. The list also includes the names of Commander Sir Archibald Cochrane, Sir Lancelot Graham and Sir John Hubback on taking up their Governorships in Burma, Sind and Orissa respectively; their Highnesses the Maharajas of Navanagar, Bharatpur and Mayurbhanj; the Earl of Mansfield, Lord Catto and Lady Headley. The total number of elections was 85, but the losses by death were 26 as compared with only 8 in the previous year. Resignations and revision of the roll numbered 24, leaving a net gain of 35 members, making a total addition of 74 to the roll in the past two years.

The Council

The Maharaja Jam Saheb of Navanagar, whose great cricketing predecessor and uncle was for many years associated with our work, was elected a Vice-President in the autumn. The Council co-opted during the year Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, the Right Hon. Sir Shadi Lal, Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh and

Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran, Trade Commissioner for Mysore. Sir James McKenna's three years' term as Vice-Chairman of the Council having expired, he was unanimously re-elected to the position. It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate or candidates for election at the annual meeting to vacancies in the Council, subject to fifteen days' notice being given to the Honorary Secretary. The following members of the Council retire by rotation, and are eligible for re-election:

Sir Charles Armstrong.
Lady Bennett.
F. H. Brown, C.I.E.
Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
John de La Valette.

Finance

Seven life memberships were taken up during the year, as compared with two in 1934-35. In accordance with the policy of the Council announced in the last Report, these subscriptions, amounting to £98, were placed to the reserve in the Post Office Savings Bank. As membership is for the calendar year, nearly all the subscriptions are received in the first quarter; and consequently the balance on current account shown in the figures attached to the Report is required to meet the expenditure of the greater part of the year. The Hon. Auditors, Mr. John de La Valette and Mr. T. A. H. Way, report that the accounts are admirably kept, that receipts from annual subscriptions have risen from £811 to £841, and that there has been a further appreciation of our Indian securities.

A distinguished veteran member, Sir John O. Miller, in notifying his removal from London, wrote that he had watched with interest and admiration the progress of the Association in recent years. He added:

"It has become the acknowledged authority for weighty deliverances and debates on Indian subjects and a meeting-place for Europeans and Indians qualified to discuss such matters with full knowledge of their bearings. The *Asiatic Review*, too, has become the repository for authoritative information on matters affecting not India only, but of giving information that cannot easily be got elsewhere."

Encouraged by such tributes the Council look forward to continuing, under the new conditions arising in India, the functions the Association has discharged into its seventieth year for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the great Empire of the East.

The Council desire again to express their appreciation of the zeal and energy of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Brown, to whose untiring work on behalf of the Association the success of the discussions and the social functions is so largely due.

James MacKenna,
Vice-Chairman of Council.

F. H. Brown,
Hon. Secretary.

May 13, 1936.

SIXTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE sixty-ninth Annual General Meeting of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, June 16, 1936. The President, the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the members present included:

Sir Malcolmn Seton, K.C.B., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hubert Carr, K.C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Amberson Marten, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir Miles Irving, C.I.E., O.B.E., Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Miss Cornelia Sorabji, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. Kenneth Keymer, Mrs. Roy, Mr C. R. Corbett, Mr. H. B. Holme, Mrs. Damry, Mr. Harold F. Dunning, Mrs. Dewar, Major G. H. J. Rooke, Mrs. Woolner, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Miss Mary Sorabji, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The PRESIDENT: Since our annual meeting twelve months ago very important events have taken place in relation to India, and the fact that we have contributed to public knowledge and recognition of them is a testimony to the virility of the Association in the seventieth year of its existence. I congratulate it on being five years younger than myself.

I need not dwell on the share we took in manifestations of India's grief at the death of King George V. and in expressions of loyal attachment to the present Sovereign. Prominent among other events was the passing of the great Act of last year for the establishment in India of Provincial Autonomy and ultimate Federation. I think it is extremely satisfactory to know that in the reports I have from friends (and it has been testified to in public by Lord Willingdon) there is quite a different atmosphere today in India. There is a wonderful contrast between the feeling in India five years ago and today. One only hopes that it will pervade all Indian society, and that all will be ready to give and take. For unity there must be that spirit of giving and taking. There must be international understanding as well as national understanding.

We have the testimony of those foremost authorities, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India, both of them Vice-Presidents, on the great value of the work of the Association in educating and informing public opinion on the proposals now passed into law. It is very satisfactory to realize that our work is esteemed not only in this country but also it is esteemed highly in India itself.

The effectiveness of that work, as indeed of our contributions to the discussion of all matters relating to India, depends upon the maintenance of that open platform which is a distinguishing feature of our efforts. Given the acceptance of the common ground of the value of, and need for, the maintenance of British and Indian partnership, we are ready to hear and give publicity to the most diverse opinions.

The farewell functions shortly before the departure of Lord and Lady Linlithgow to India, and the welcome home given to Lord and Lady Willingdon, are so recent that I need only say what pleasure we had in tendering to the outgoing Viceroy demonstrations of regard and confidence and to the returning Viceroy of admiration and gratitude.

The other events of the year are set forth in some detail in the Report, for the Council feel that with a good proportion of members resident in India it is incumbent upon us to give a somewhat detailed account of our stewardship. I wish to take the opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharaja of Bhavanagar, Lady Headley, Mr. C. G. Hancock, and others for generous support in keeping so well to the fore the social side of our work, which is not less important than our contributions to the study and understanding of Indian problems.

I may add that Lady Lamington and I look forward to the pleasure of entertaining members of the Association on the Terrace of the House of Lords next month. I hope it may be a fine afternoon. (Applause.)

Sir EDWARD MACLAGAN, in proposing the adoption of the Report and Accounts, said: I speak on behalf of what might be called the general body of the shareholders of the company, not as a member of the directorate. The Report, as the President has pointed out, is the sixty-ninth Report. Consequently we are now in our three score and tenth year, and I can, I think, vouch for it that the Association shows no signs of old age. On the contrary, its agility and its activity rather would lead one to suppose that it was seventeen and not seventy years of age.

We have had the pleasure of a number of lectures on a very large variety of subjects. We have had the inevitable politics, and in addition to that we have had lectures on village welfare, on agriculture, on trade, and so on, and even occasional glimpses into the picturesque and the unknown. The social side has also been kept up, and we have had several parties given by ourselves or by ourselves in conjunction with others to very distinguished persons connected with the administration of India. I think those parties deserve special commendation, because they are not only a token of respect to the people to whom they are given, but they also afford us a great chance of meeting each other, and, what is more important, meeting other people who are interested in the same subjects as we are.

There has been a certain amount of correspondence lately in the papers suggesting that there should be some organized means of bringing the culture of India to the notice of people at home. Possibly something may come of that. Whatever happens in that way, we should never forget the very important part that this Association has played in carrying out that particular object.

I am glad to see that the membership shows a substantial increase. There

is always a sad corner in these Annual Reports. That is the list of people who have been lost by death. Among them there are a certain number with whom I have personally been in touch and whom I may mention perhaps specially, such as Lord Reading, Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Sir Basil Blackett, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, and Sir John Thompson. If I may more specially mention Sir John Thompson, I think this Society has by his premature death lost a very valuable member.

There is another part of the Report which is pleasanter reading, and that is the last sentence of it, in which the Council express their appreciation of the zeal and energy of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Brown. (Applause.) Mr. Brown has now been with us for more than eight years, and I believe that he has not missed attendance at a single meeting or function of this Society during the whole of that time. I think that is a record of which we and he ought to be exceedingly proud. If it was for nothing else than for that last sentence, I would ask you to support this Report that is before you. (Applause.)

Miss Cornelia Sorabji: I am proud to second the motion for the adoption of this admirable Report. We are all of us thrilled at the realization of what this Association has been able to do, how it fulfils itself in many ways. How many associations there are these days, and societies! It seems almost as if any person, man or woman, who had an idea had to form it into an unlimited corporation; and we are cajoled into joining it, sneaking off into desertion—unless we are tied down by a chair of office—when so soon the first fine careless rapture of its enthusiasms has evaporated. But with this Association it has been quite otherwise, has it not? Time has not touched nor custom staled its infinite variety.

Two of its chief activities have been mentioned both in the Report and by the proposer; and we cannot emphasize too strongly the value of both those things to our body corporate, the discussion, I mean, of living questions relating to our public life; and perhaps what is far more important, the opportunity of contact, of better knowing and therefore of better understanding people from all countries.

The planning of all this work cannot be done without thought and care; and I would like us to remember in this connection those who control this delightful Association, and in particular, if I may, I would like to refer to our President and to our Secretary. To our President I owed allegiance long ago as to the Governor of the Province of my birth, and it is delightful to find that I can owe allegiance to him in another capacity in this country. None of us can fail to feel the atmosphere which Lord and Lady Lamington create at our social functions. We are welcomed as individuals, as if we were, each one of us, personally known to our gracious host and hostess; and we are welcomed also into a family as if we were holding our very own party. I say this so clumsily, but I do wish to express my appreciation of what that means to all of us.

Then I must say one word about our Hon. Secretary. I used to think that I knew all about tact as an ideal. I made a definiiton of tact for myself: "the skill of avoiding difficulties, of not putting my own foot into it." But

since I have known Mr. Brown I have learnt a corollary to that definition. Apparently tact also includes the skill of preventing the other fellow putting his foot into it. (Applause.) And the way he does it! He sits there smiling and serene. The awful moment is approaching, and a shudder goes round the room, even from the Chair. Mr. Brown takes no notice, and when the bungler—he or she—comes right up to the hole, suddenly Mr. Brown intervenes. The dignity of the Association has been saved. . . . He has not moved, and we have not seen anybody nudged, but the peril has passed. I do not know how he does it. Perhaps you will watch next time.

The Report and Accounts were adopted unanimously.

The Chairman: I am sure we are all glad once again to see Sir Malcolm Seton at our meetings after his long illness. It is many months since we have had that pleasure. I understand he has only come out to this meeting this afternoon and another tomorrow, and then he retires into private life once more. I now ask him to address us.

Sir Malcolm Seton: I am very much obliged for the kind things our President has said. It gives me very great pleasure to propose the re-election of Lord Lamington as President of the Association. We were much interested to hear how very nearly coeval he and our Association are, and we are very glad to recognize that he himself is as vigorous as we flatter ourselves we are as an Assocition. It would really be impertinent to describe what he has done for us. My friend, Miss Sorabji, has said very much better than I could some of the things for which we owe him a debt of gratitude. But I am sure I am speaking for all of you when I assure him that we greatly value the kindness he has always shown us, and we are proud to have him as our President. We hope, after his re-election, he will consent once more to occupy the Chair.

Sir John Cumming: After what has been said by Sir Malcolm Seton and by Miss Sorabji, it requires very few words from me to commend this resolution to you, except that this much I can say: that although many of Lord Lamington's activities are inevitably known to the general public through the Press, inevitably I say, yet many do not know the great amount of work that he has done not only in connection with India but with many other Oriental countries also. I would like to add, what has not been mentioned by either of the previous speakers, that in anything connected with this Association he has never refused any call made upon him either by the Secretary or the Council. I have therefore much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Sir Malcolm Seton put the motion to the meeting, which was carried unanimously.

The President: For three or four years past I have said that I am always willing to retire when you think fit that I should do so. I was

very much touched by the words spoken by Sir Malcolm Seton just now, but I confess when I look at the list of distinguished names of your Vice-Presidents, I think every one of them would be better than I as your President. I say quite honestly, as I have said for years, that I am willing to retire. I have spoken seriously to our Hon. Secretary about it. But I should retire with great reluctance. Indeed I am proud of being your President, and it is always a pleasure to meet my friends, particularly some of the old Indian acquaintances, and to recognize what valuable work they give for the better understanding of affairs between this country and India.

However, I quite recognize that I am five years older than the Association, and people should not hang on too long. So at the slightest breath, though I should retire with great regret and reluctance, I should say you were perfectly right. In the meantime, I thank you for your acceptance of the resolution to-day and Sir Malcolm Seton for the kind words he has spoken.

Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson proposed the following gentlemen for election as members of the Council: Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, the Rt. Hon. Sir Shadi Lal, Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran; and the re-election of the following members of Council: Sir Charles Armstrong, Lady Bennett, F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., John de La Valette.

Mr. Kenneth Keymer said: It is a very great privilege to be asked to second this motion. These names are well known to us. They do not need any introduction. If I make a further reference to Mr. Brown, I do so because I feel his untiring energy and the spirit which he engenders are typical of these other names.

The motion was carried.

On the motion of Mr. H. B. Holme, seconded by Mr. K. K. Lalkaka fourteen members were elected to the Association.

The Chairman: I thank all those who have attended here this afternoon. Before we break up, I should like to thank members of the Council for their regular attendance at meetings. It is always good to see them there and also to get new ideas and hear different opinions. Also I must again refer to Mr. Brown. I thank him too in connection with the general work of the Association. We all esteem and recognize the wonderful energy he devotes to furthering the interests of the Association. (Applause.)

Sir Louis Dane proposed a vote of thanks to the President for his services in conducting the proceedings, which was carried by acclamation, and the meeting closed.

LORD LAMINGTON'S RECEPTION

By Lady Seton

Blue skies and soft southerly breezes greeted us all on Friday, July 17 (one of the very few fine days of a disappointing month), when Lord and Lady Lamington gave an afternoon reception to the members of the East India Association on the Terrace of the House of Lords. They received their guests, numbering over 500, at the entrance to the Terrace, where tables were laid, each for about ten or twelve persons. This enabled friends to sit together, and many a happy meeting took place between old colleagues who had perhaps not met for long.

The scene was an animated and beautiful one—the broad river with fine buildings in view whichever way one looked, and the gay dresses of the ladies against the soft stone tints of the old walls. Our Western costumes were put completely in the shade by exquisite embroidered saris worn by the many well-known Indian ladies who were present. A few Indian gentlemen wore *pagris*, and looked completely happy, while the European hat was inclined to float away on the breeze, and was sometimes only retrieved just in time before it dived over the river parapet.

The Association has enjoyed many entertainments in the past, but surely never a more delightful one than this. The wide spaces of the Terrace allowed visitors to stroll up and down after tea, finding at every turn another and another old friend. And long before this pleasure had palled Lord Lamington had another one ready. Small parties were made up and personally conducted all over the House of Lords—to the magnificent library, where the death-warrant of King Charles is shown; to the Chamber of Princes with its historic paintings of royal figures of the past; to the Royal Gallery, through which our Kings and Queens proceed in their State robes to the opening of Parliament, and where an echo of the Great War exists in a shrapnel wound on one of Maclise's historical wall-paintings. Finally, through the Chamber itself, past the Throne and the Woolsack.

It was gratifying to notice that the Secretary of State for India had made time to come and meet members of the Association.

Lord and Lady Lamington's guests will long remember with gratitude this delightful reception, which helps us once more to realize how fortunate the East India Association is in its President.

THE FUTURE OF PARLIAMENT IN JAPAN

By Ernest H. Pickering

(Late M.P. for Leicester, W., and author of *Japan's Place in the Modern World*.)

"How far can good come out of evil?" "How far can we hope that when the night is darkest the dawn is nigh?" This is the sort of question, alas! that we are asking far too often these days. Throughout the world events have been happening which bruise the hearts of men of goodwill and numb the intelligence with a sense of futility. The old optimism which could complacently await the broadening down of liberty and all other desirable things "from precedent to precedent" seems to have been crushed under the burden of one conflicting precedent after another, all of them bad. Now we are in the position of drowning sailors, clutching at straw after straw amid the wreckage of our schemes, in the hope that somehow we shall find one that will bear us to safety. That is the position, not only of liberal-minded observers, but also of the Japanese themselves, in regard to the position that has been created by the terrible incident of February 26. On the surface at least things are actually much better than they have been for many years, and hence we begin to wonder whether this evil incident may not prove to be a real beginning of better times.

The proceedings in the special session of the newly elected Parliament have breathed a freedom and a frankness in relation to the most acute and contentious problems such as I have not known for many years, certainly not since the Manchurian incident in 1931. To some extent one must admit the change began before February 26, and is all of a piece with that tendency to rehabilitate Parliamentary control which I ventured to point out more than a year ago. Certainly, the results of the General Election, which were known a week or two before the incident, were evidence of a greater determination on the part of the people to elect members who strongly advocated radical social reforms and were most critical of the work of the Government in that respect; and it is almost certain that the results of the General Election were not without their influence on the leaders of the February rebellion. But during those few last days of February in which the very highest men in the state were murdered or threatened with murder, and Tokio was threatened with such a terrible struggle between the Army and its own rebels that in

certain districts the civilian population had to be deported wholesale from its homes and numerous Red Cross hospitals were improvised, it looked as if every liberal hope might well be crushed and all that was dark and reactionary might triumph.

Instead, as I have said, the opening of the extraordinary session of the Diet on May 4 was like the beginning of a new era of greater liberalism than has been known for many years. The new Premier, Mr. Hirota, and his new ministers have, for the most part, expressed most liberal sentiments and have invited the frankest and freest criticism from the two Houses. And, despite the fact that, for reasons that seem to have most relation to the internal affairs of the Army itself, martial law still prevailed, the newly elected representatives spoke as boldly and freely as if the suppression of free speech and political murders were things quite unheard of in Japan. The only restriction of any importance was the refusal of the War Minister to lay certain details of the February incident before the House, except in camera. But this amounted to very little. For actually the War Minister was concerned only to keep back details which had a special and peculiar relation to Army discipline, and even then the Diet members refused to accept the responsibility if any of these details leaked out. What he said in public was evidence enough of sincere desire to meet the criticisms of the members, whose free and candid criticisms received equally free and candid replies.

It is Thursday, May 7, however, which stands out with peculiar significance, with Mr. Takao Saito, of the Minseito, as the hero of the occasion. His speech of interpellation proved to be one of the boldest statements of liberal ideals that Japan has ever heard, and, coming when it did, it may well prove to be one of the great landmarks in Japanese history. He began his speech by reminding the Premier that his Government must prove itself different from preceding governments by actually carrying out the reforms it promised, and related the recent incident and other incidents to the failure of previous governments to fulfil their promises. To a great extent, the governments of recent years had been super-Parliamentary, and little or no good had resulted. In the future, the Government must make full use of Parliament to keep itself in close touch with national needs, and act accordingly. But the part of his speech which actually had the House trembling with excited and awe-stricken appreciation was where he dealt with the participation of the Army in politics, where he uttered such words as have never been publicly uttered before, but which would have been all for the good of Japan if they had been uttered at any time, especially during the last five years. He referred not only to the incident of February 26, but to that of

May 15, when Premier Inukai was assassinated, and also to incidents whose details have never been made public. Then, after showing that all such activities were not only bad in themselves but also contrary to the Imperial Rescript to the Army and the Constitution, demanded what was the War Minister's own opinion, and urged fundamental reform of the Army itself. I will give a few extracts from his concluding sentences, which moved the whole House to enthusiastic applause:

"The road which our country must take is nothing other than that of the parliamentary government which the Emperor Meiji inaugurated for all time. Parliamentary statesmen should express their views in the Diet without flinching and enforce policies which they deem proper. If radical leftist thought is harmful to the nation, extreme rightist thought is equally pernicious. We must with determination dislodge all those elements which plot the destruction of the state in the name of the proletarian masses, or those who seek to realize their political ambitions by conspiring with adventurers outside the political field.

"To have put to the sword Finance Minister Takahashi, Inspector-General of Military Education, General Watanabe, and Viscount Saito, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, in whom the Emperor placed much confidence, is an action which cannot be sufficiently denounced, and which was, at the same time, so utterly futile and meaningless.

"What did some quarters of the army do at the time when the Cabinet was formed? They declared that no political party men should join the new Cabinet, causing embarrassment to the Premier whom the Emperor had appointed in his task of choosing ministers, and prevented members of the Diet elected by the will of the people from becoming members of the Cabinet. Why should they do this? The people now have many things to say and debate. But freedom of speech has been restricted and one must stifle his complaints and remain silent. The people can only sympathize with each other and express their indignation by mute gestures."

After speaking for an hour and a half, Mr. Saito concluded, "If I seem to have spoken harshly it was for the sake of reviving parliamentary rule in this country."

According to Japanese parliamentary practice the various ministers whom he had interpellated during the course of his speech made brief replies, that of the War Minister being particularly important, despite its brevity. Said the War Minister: "I am completely in accord with the views of Mr. Saito. The principles of the Army are those which are stated in the Imperial Rescript to the Army. I think you are aware that I have conveyed this point to the Army. The right to vote or be elected or express

opinions by writing or other channels, in short, all political actions, are prohibited in the ranks of the Army. We are fully aware of that."

It is something to have drawn this admission from the Army Minister, but the chief value of the speech is that it has inspired all Parliamentarians and all varieties of liberal opinion with a new and greater courage. I do not wish to mislead anyone from a full comprehension of the actualities in Japan, actualities which may at any moment lead to serious disruptive activities within and aggression without, but, all the same, I am convinced that the great mass of educated opinion, especially within academic circles, is fundamentally liberal and constitutional in its outlook. The reason why this important body of opinion has so long been timid and indecisive in its expression is largely a doubt whether Japan's present serious difficulties are not beyond solution along normal lines. Across their doubt and gloom Mr. Saito's bold utterance has swept like the breath of dawn. For he has again lifted up the banner of Parliamentarianism as the only possible choice for a solution of present problems, including that created by the despairing appeal to forceful methods to cure the country's ills. Truly, from my conversations with the best type of politicians, who, through good and ill report, have served well the cause of Parliamentary government, and also with leaders in the academic world, I feel I shall not be exaggerating if I declare that the liberal forces of Japan are now feeling much as Wordsworth felt when he cried, "Bliss was it then to be alive." Mr. Saito's courageous lead has inspired the whole Parliament, and the whole Press, to a remarkable display of free speaking. Not only have members of the two great parties of the Minseito and Seiyukai assailed the Army for their interference with politics, and boldly criticized the various proposals brought forward by the Government, but even the few newly elected members of the Social Mass party have not shrunk from wringing the withers of the capitalists and often bringing the whole House to a state of wild disorder by their fiery utterances. Particularly significant is the way in which the House has received the Seditious Literature and the Protection of Mobilization Secrets Bills. The former has been condemned on the ground that even legitimate criticism such as Parliamentary government demands will be banned, and not even the Government's assurance that no sort of an appeal to "patriotism" would be allowed to protect utterances deliberately advocating the use of force have made it acceptable to a Diet which strongly professes itself devoted to freedom of speech. The latter has mainly been condemned on the ground that it can achieve nothing useful, but may yet bring quite innocent citizens and also foreigners, honestly conducting legitimate inquiries,

within the reach of the law. The Session is not yet ended, but it seems hardly likely that the Government will get either of these Bills passed. Even if they do, then the numerous concessions which have been made during the debate will certainly hamper even the peculiarly zealous Japanese police when they come to apply the law.

I hope that the foregoing will make it quite clear that not for many years has the Japanese Parliament shown itself so courageous against the Army or given such strong evidence of a determination to assert the predominance of Parliament in the government of the country. And this despite the fact that only just over two months earlier the young military "patriots" had given the most convincing proof yet of their ability to remove by murder even the very highest representatives of constitutional government. On the occasion of previous similar exploits the young "patriots" had been popularly regarded as heroes, had only suffered the mildest of punishments, whilst the Parliamentarians had shivered in fear and submitted to the formation of governments and the framing of policies with scarcely a word of criticism. How is it that the result has been so very different this time? How is it that the young "patriots," so far from being hailed as heroes, are almost universally condemned, not only by liberals, not only by proletarians, but by all sections of society, even in military circles? How is it that this time, not only have the ringleaders either sought self-inflicted punishment by means of suicide or have suffered extreme penalty (or, if that is rather too previous, are about to suffer it) at the hands of the authorities? How is it, in short, that this murderous enterprise has apparently so completely failed that the very Parliament which it intended to cow is more courageous than ever before?

The answer simply is that this time the self-styled patriots have gone too far. On previous occasions, although most decent people have been terrified and disgusted with their enterprise, they have given little general offence, because the men they cut off were not generally popular figures, and could be presented with, at least, a slight semblance of truth, as in league with the capitalist interests. But these latest victims were, in the first place, members of a ministry of the strong "national" type framed to meet the very emergency created by the murder of Premier Inukai on May 15, 1932; and, in the second place, they were men of a peculiarly honourable character and in the pocket of nobody. To mention only one, Mr. Takahashi, the octogenarian Minister of Finance, he was admired and respected by those who did not approve of his financial measures because they knew the absolute integrity of purpose which inspired him as well as the dreadnought courage which sustained him. It may well be that certain

elements in the Army have never forgiven the straight speaking on Army expenditure and the warning on investing too much Japanese capital in Manchukuo, which formed the substance of his inaugural speeches on returning to the Ministry of Finance at the end of 1934. Certainly the brutal assassination of such a man and others equally highly respected fell like an insult on all that is most decent in Japanese life, from the very highest to the lowest circles. Moreover, the rebels in the manifestos which they scattered abroad created an impression of disloyalty to the Emperor himself; for they declared that their main object was to get rid of "those influences nearest the throne" of whose policy they disapproved. It is said that even Prince Saionji himself, than whom none is nearer to the Emperor in the highest matters of state, was in danger of death.

How nearly the Emperor himself was affected was rumoured on all sides, and at a later date the Imperial Household itself gave definite proof of it. In the reconstruction of the Ministry which followed the incident, Mr. Matsudaira, who is well known to us as the late Japanese Ambassador to London, was appointed Minister of the Imperial Household, to which he is most intimately related as father-in-law of Prince Chichibu. On April 29 last, the Emperor's birthday, it was his duty to issue the official statement, and in the course of it he spoke as follows:

"I am most happy to be accorded the privilege of observing His Majesty completing thirty-five years in perfect health, despite the fact that so many political and military affairs are occupying His Majesty's august attention and demanding judgment.

"Especially in the February 26 incident, His Majesty did not leave State affairs until late at night, and it was not rare to see His Majesty keeping all-night vigil, receiving reports and audiences. It was with much trepidation for His Majesty's health that those close to the Throne watched His Majesty indefatigably at work. Fortunately no effect of the pressure of work has been perceived in His Majesty's appearance. We are struck with awe when we think His Majesty is still in military uniform attending to affairs of State that have increased in volume because of the Tokio incident."

Stripped of all its ceremonial terms and courtly reticence, this statement clearly indicates that the Emperor took a most serious view of the rebellious incident, and strengthens the conviction that the Emperor and those nearest to him are opposed to all those movements which would interfere with the orderly development of the Parliamentary system in Japan. It is well that certain elements in Japan should be made to realize that the present constitution is an Imperial gift, and that to use force to interfere with the legitimate operation of its machinery is nothing less than

treason. Recent domestic and also foreign difficulties, such as the Manchurian affair, have certainly interfered with the normal functioning and development of the Parliamentary system. It may also happen that, in order to meet peculiar Japanese conditions, the Parliamentary system will suffer some modification in the near future. But there can be little doubt that, in the highest quarters, it is held that loyalty to the Emperor demands loyalty to His Parliament. And the Emperor has said as much as clearly as any Emperor may. There is not only the statement of His Majesty's Minister, Mr. Matsudaira, which I have just quoted, but the actual words of the Emperor himself on the occasion of his opening the special session of the newly elected Parliament a few days later, when he said:

"We regret the outbreak of the recent incident in Tokio. It is expected of our faithful subjects that they will unite as one, Government and people, civilians and military, in order to promote the development of the national fortunes." This is the first time in the history of modern Japan that the Emperor has ever expressed his own personal feelings in a political issue of this sort. His action is unprecedented and that has made the people realize that the present state of things demands from them an unprecedented response.

For a time after the incident no one was quite sure of anything, least of all of what his own response ought to be. But week by week the situation was clarified. Take, for instance, the wholesale changes in the higher commands of the Army. Never before have seven generals been retired simultaneously; and included in these seven is General Sadao Araki, one-time Minister of War. He has for long been the ideal and leader of nationalistically-minded youth in the Army and elsewhere, and for a few brief moments after the recent assassinations his name was bruited as Dictator. But now he is on the retired list, and so deprived of any sort of official connection with the Army. What I know of General Araki leads me to think that he is not only more reasonable, but also more loyal to the Emperor and the Constitution than many of those who acclaim him leader, but all the same his intensely nationalistic idealism has been an encouragement to those who delude themselves that "patriotism" is a magic word which can justify any folly and brutality they choose to perpetrate. This wholesale retirement of generals did much to restore public confidence which had been badly shaken by the fact that Premier Hirota, in forming his Cabinet, persisted in the practice followed by his two immediate predecessors of almost ignoring the great political parties, and, at the same time, submitted to a certain amount of dictation from the Army. Mr. Saito strongly condemned him for this in the speech to which I have referred.

Then, just before the new Diet met it became known that every encouragement was being given to it to express its feelings freely and without fear, and later the Premier himself gave clear expression that such indeed was his wish, and the other ministers, including the Minister of War, supported him in this matter.

The simple truth is that this latest incident, in which the highest statesmen were marked down for assassination, not for any sort of personal defect, but merely because they happened to be strong pillars of the present political and economic order, has at last made those in authority realize that the inspiration of all this is not so much Militarism as something very like Communism. The chief blame falls on the Army High Command, which by encouraging, or at least not frowning upon, the incursion of military men into politics, has caused the Army to become the channel for fanatical and revolutionary ideas which threaten to overturn the whole existing order, including the Emperor himself. This is not to say that the young rebel officers either call themselves Communists or intend disloyalty to the Emperor; but that is because, as Mr. Saito pointed out, their ideas are all mixed up and incoherent. He attended the trial of the murderers of Premier Inukai, and listened to the arguments they put forward; but, he regretted to say, "their thought is very simple and their mind too narrow to understand the complications of the state and society. This is not surprising. They are young men of only 22 to 30, maybe well enough trained in matters military, but lacking even an elementary knowledge of politics, diplomacy, finance, and economy. . . . Even when they demand a form of Government of which the Emperor shall be the centre they do not know what they mean." Indeed, as this last incident has shown, they have brought forth a confused medley of ideas, and are innocently trying to father them on the Emperor of Japan. It looks as if even the Army authorities have at last realized that the only way to prevent a general upheaval, to say nothing of what is from their point of view a still greater evil—namely, the disappearance of all Army discipline—is to rally round the Constitution and strengthen the functioning of the Parliamentary system.

What is not to be denied is that, apart from their brutal methods and primitive ideology, these young Army rebels have a lot of right on their side. Space prevents my developing this fact at any length, but, domestically, the state of Japan is pretty bad. Almost half the population of Japan is still agricultural, and the state of agriculture is most deplorable. It is both impoverished and over-taxed to a degree which makes the state of our own agriculture by comparison, highly prosperous. And the majority of the officers in the Japanese Army are small farmers' sons, and intimately acquainted with the suffering and injustice under which their families labour. Moreover, there is a growing tendency to point out many injustices and cruelties in the recently acquired prosperity of Japanese industry, all of whose profits show a tendency to concentrate into the hands of two or three great concerns; and the youth of Japan, especially the youth in the Army, are genuinely eager to have all these wrongs put right.

And they will certainly have to be put right. If those who wish to maintain the present order and constitution are resolved to put a stop to these illegitimate, stupid, and cruel outbreaks on the part of Army rebels, then they must show themselves fully alive to the evils which have led to them. Again I would refer to Mr. Saito's admirable speech, which makes exactly the same point. Another leading member of the same party to which Mr. Saito belongs (the Minseito) said quite bluntly to me that he himself would do all he could to persuade his party to adopt the ideals of greater justice in industry and agriculture for which these young men stood, in order to prevent a recurrence of their methods!

What the world perhaps finds difficult to realize, and what the Japanese themselves are only just beginning to realize, is the extraordinarily small part which political ideas, as we understand the term, have played in that country's development. The great political parties still lack anything really worthy to be called a political platform, and one of the greatest services rendered to Japan by Mr. Saito is the clear way in which he has called attention to the fact. Said he:

"In present-day Japan the idea of and the movement for reform are exceedingly popular. Nobody who does not talk about reform can find acceptance anywhere either as a thinker, statesman, or patriot. And yet of the purpose of this reform or the method by which it shall be accomplished nobody seems to have any clear idea. There are those who advocate reform in their speeches, others advocate reform through the medium of the Press, and there are those who venture to seek reform by means of violence. Yet is there one among the lot who has any radical acquaintance with the present state of the world, any clear knowledge of the state of things at home and abroad, any one who has any plan of reformation based on any principle which goes down to root causes and possesses also the virtue of practicability? If there is, I have yet to meet him. Here we have people criticizing the administration. But how do they hope to reform it? Their slogan is the Showa Reformation (Showa is the name of the present Emperor's reign); but how do they set about achieving it? In spite of all their talk about this Reformation they do not know the first thing about it. In a word, there is no truth in all this theory of a Showa Reformation, such as is put forward by

those who have failed to accomplish anything, by disappointed politicians and superficial scholars. Yet ignorant people are influenced by these agitators. Here and there they plot their dangerous plans. It is a disgrace to any civilized nation."

It is the duty of the political parties to shape a definite programme of reform, such as may meet the present emergency. It was encouraging to note the enthusiasm which greeted Mr. Saito's suggestion that disarmament must be an essential part of this programme. It required a good deal of courage for a civilian to speak as he did. "The whole idea of national defence must be changed," he declared. "If we are told that our diplomacy is successful, when all the time there is this competition in armaments, then it is a lie. We do not want such a false diplomacy. We want a true diplomacy, and the test is that it should bring disarmament." At the moment all eyes are inevitably turned on Mr. Saito and on the party to which he belongs to provide a real programme; at public meetings Mr. Saito has declared that he is willing to sacrifice his life to that cause. The question, then, on which so much hangs is whether Mr. Saito, or any of the political parties is capable of rising to the occasion. Certainly the brief Diet Session which is just ending has revealed a much surer grasp on essentials than we could have hoped a few months ago. The demand for ministers who shall be representative of the Diet elected by the people, the protests against bureaucratic interference, the opposition to the Government's efforts to guide and control thought and speech, and, not least of all, the frank recognition that not only must agriculture be relieved but that the industrial workers must be allowed better wages, better conditions and greater security; all this, together with the bold declaration that politics is the business of the politician and not of the soldier, promises well.

But the past record of the existing parties is far from encouraging. To no small extent it is their failure that has led to the use of violence. Yet it is as well to remember that the parties are much more conscious now of their failure than ever before; and, at least, it has been made clear from the very highest quarters that they are to be given another chance to save their country. I am rather intimately acquainted with the leaders of the Minseito Party, and I know that there are those among them who are determined to make every effort to persuade their colleagues to frame and accept a programme which can achieve the reforms so ardently desired and so urgently necessary. It seemed to me a sign of grace that one of these men should go so far as to say that he intended to try to persuade his party to adopt the ideals of the recent rebels in order to prevent a recurrence of their methods. The methods of force would inevitably prevent any

real reform, for they would mean the proscription of all intelligence and the enthronement of zealous incompetence in its place. The present need is for an intelligence fully conscious of the prevalent injustices and resolved to seek a genuine cure. We are now eagerly waiting to see if the political parties can furnish it. If they can, then the future is bright for Parliamentary Government, which, in itself, will do much to consolidate the peaceful relationships of Japan with the rest of the world.

Tokio.

JAPAN'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

By E. H. Anstice

Sixty-four years ago, in 1872, Japan established compulsory primary education. Thus education, which up to that time had been left entirely to private enterprise, became the business of the State, and in the years which have followed has been made increasingly so. Today it may safely be said that from kindergarten to university the child is under official control. A few private institutions do, it is true, exist, but their number is small, they are for the most part unimportant and their scope and opportunities are strictly limited. Their existence cannot be said to mar that beautiful picture of an educational system controlled through all its stages by the State and in the presumed interests of the State which Japan presents to the bureaucratic mind.

Ninety-nine and a half per cent. of the children of primary school age are attending school and the vast majority of them are to be found in the State mixed elementary schools. The children of all classes, rich and poor, high and low, attend these schools and graduate from them. With this, for most children, education ends; only some 25 per cent. pass on either to a boys' middle school, a girls' high school, or a business school. Of those who do pass on over 60 per cent. go to one of the last-named, the growth and steadily increasing popularity of which is one of the features of recent years. They are the most flexible of Japan's educational institutions; the curriculum is left elastic to allow of its being fitted to the special needs of industries, trades, and localities; the organization is devised to allow students to take only the special subjects they wish and for the period they desire. Not only those wanting a full five years' course are admitted, but also the many who want simple instruction for a year or so.

The girls' high schools, which also have increased considerably in numbers in the last ten years, are attended by 18 per cent. These schools again are comparatively flexible. The normal course is one of five years with a curriculum of the usual girls' secondary school type, but variations are allowed. They are permitted, if they wish, to give a supplementary course of one or two years, and after this there is a post-graduate course for those who want further education up to the standard of the boys' higher schools. The high school represents normally the end of a girl's educational career. A few go on to the various colleges for women, a few to the higher normal schools, a few more again go

to be trained as business school teachers. Colleges, it must be emphasized here, hardly mean in Japan the same thing as in England. They are organs for training adolescents in some department of professional study—in pharmacy, for example, or dentistry, or music, nursing, art, domestic economy, etc. Rather surprisingly, many of them are private institutions. In all there are 116, of which 41 are for women.

The boys' middle schools, to which entrance is gained by examination in face of keen competition, take 17 per cent. In these the curriculum includes morals, civics, the Japanese language, Chinese classics, Japanese and foreign history and geography, mathematics, science, technical studies, woodwork, art, physical exercise, and a foreign language. The course is for five years, and its completion at the age of 18 plus (Japanese reckoning, in English 16 to 17) marks the end of their school life for some 50 per cent. of their members. The rest proceed to the higher schools (24 per cent.), the higher trade and technical schools (24 per cent.), the colleges (50 per cent.), or go to be trained as teachers in business or middle schools (2 per cent.).

The nature of the college has already been indicated. Of the higher trade and technical schools there are fifty odd with three-year courses in either commerce, agriculture, engineering, or navigation. The higher school, or "kotogakko," has nothing exactly like it in the English educational system. There is keen competition to get into them. At the better known and more fashionable there may be as many as 1,000 candidates for 200 places, and these candidates will have come from Hokkaido in the north and Formosa in the south, as well as from all over Japan proper. They come in between the middle school and the university, giving a three-years' course in either literature or science, and are definitely designed to lead on to the university.

There are 46 universities, 24 of them being private institutions. The higher one gets up the educational ladder, indeed, the more scope one finds is given to private enterprise. For one thing the Government itself has either been unable or unwilling to find the money for higher education, and has therefore hardly been able to forbid private benevolence repairing the deficiency. Secondly, possibly, it is thought that the Government having had control over the young idea in its earlier and more impressionable and malleable years, a little more latitude can safely be allowed later on.

Every university has to have one or more faculties and to provide a post-graduate course in each faculty. The normal course lasts three years (four years in the case of medicine), at the end of which and after passing a recognized examination the student assumes the degree of "gakushi" or learned gentleman. A two-

years' post-graduate course or the presentation of a thesis gives a doctor's degree.

A word should be said here as to the training of teachers. Every prefecture has to maintain at least one normal school for training primary school teachers and one institution for training teachers in the business schools. For the provision of girls' high school, boys' middle school, and technical school teachers the Government itself maintains four higher normal schools with a two-, three-, or four-year course. They are open to graduates of middle schools or their equivalent, and students in them are given financial grants either by the Government or the local authorities. These grants, it may be noted, are the only form of scholarship given in Japan. Higher school, college, and university students are also granted teachers' certificates on graduation, if approved by the proper authorities. For training teachers in higher grade business schools there are institutions attached to certain Government universities and colleges. The higher schools are staffed mainly by university graduates who have been granted a professor's license by the Department of Education.

So much for the educational machine, on the whole a very good and reliable machine. It has, of course, its defects. In the first place the type of education given is criticized as being too literary and academic. There is a growing number of business schools, but the bulk of these are in a sense only educational offshoots, many of their students putting in just one or two years. Fifty per cent., in fact, are only part-timers. The main trunk of the educational tree goes up through the middle and higher school to university, and here the criticism is undoubtedly well-founded. Business men are making in Japan the same complaints as their counterparts in England. One reason for the growth in the number of business schools is said to be the business man's discontent with the average higher school and university graduate. These institutions are designed, it is alleged, chiefly for training young men for the Government service and the professions, and not for the needs of modern social and commercial life. They are tools, says one critic, for stuffing young people's minds with a mass of undigested ideas.

Curricula have certainly tended to become too stereotyped and methods too mechanical. Too much stress is laid on the acquisition of book knowledge and on memory work, while abstract speculation is encouraged at the expense of the concrete. Attempts are increasingly being made to remedy this, but no appreciable result is yet to be seen. Partly this is due to the "haikara" complex of the Japanese student himself. He is perpetually trying to run before he can walk, preferring the complex he cannot understand to the simple. He would, one sometimes thinks, rather be a failed B.A. than a passed matric. Thus he walks around with the works of Shaw and Mills, of Galsworthy and De Quincey under his arm, delving his way laboriously at odd moments into each with the aid of a dictionary, when he can hardly string together two sentences of correct English or understand the tenth part of a simple conversation, and scorns, moreover, to be taught the simple elements he has neglected. That would be beneath his dignity. The more abstruse the subject, the more he wishes to study it, even if he cannot understand it, and in the same way his teachers often prefer to display their own erudition rather than descend to a little simple instruction in the rudiments. Admittedly the student frequently justifies himself eventually of his "haikaradom," and reveals himself as a very capable scholar, but unfortunately the demand and scope for scholars is limited. A more practical turn of mind, a more utilitarian bent is required of the majority. The result of the too academic trend of their education has been that large numbers of higher school and university products have, on the completion of their education, found themselves in a world which had no place for them.

Another defect in the system is the importance ascribed to examinations, and the strain the effort to pass them imposes on youthful minds. Competition to get into the middle schools is extremely severe, and the strain of cramming for the entrance examination cannot but be harmful for the youngsters who have to take it. To a lesser degree the same remarks apply to the entrance examinations to the higher schools and universities.

We have dealt so far with the structure of Japan's educational system. What of its aim and intention, of the spirit that inspires it. One cannot do better than quote the Imperial Rescript of 1890. "Be filial," it says, "to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation, extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate the arts and thereby develop your intellectual faculties and perfect your moral power; furthermore advance the public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should any emergency arise offer yourselves courageously to the State and thus guard and thus maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with Heaven and Earth.

"The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching of Our Imperial Ancestors and to be observed by Their Descendants and subjects infallible for all ages and true in all places."

The chief end of education, as Japan's rulers see it, is to inculcate loyalty, loyalty to parents, to the family, to friends, to the State, and above all to the Emperor as the living embodiment of

the State. However, there can hardly be loyalty without belief, and so there must be inculcated a supreme and unswerving faith in Japan's Heavenly Task. Japan's earlier history is to be found in the "Kojiki," a collection of myths and legends recounting the doings of various gods and goddesses who first created Japan and then peopled and ruled her. For any native scholar to express doubts of the literal authenticity of these stories would be, to say the least, unwise. Many are incorporated in the "Tokuhon," the textbooks from which the Japanese characters are learnt, and form a basis on which to build up that theory of Japan's divine origin, the divinity of the reigning family, and her Heaven-appointed mission, which is instilled into the mind of young Japan from the very first moments of his or her school-days.

On stated holidays there are special patriotic ceremonies, the core of which is the reverencing of the imperial portraits as for a few brief moments they are revealed to view. These portraits form a school's most cherished possessions, carefully locked up when not thus put on view, often with a teacher specially detailed at night to watch over them in case of fire. Men have been known to give their lives in the attempt to save them from destruction, and to commit suicide on their loss. Patriotism, indeed, takes on some of the mystic significance of a religious belief, and Japan's rulers in seeking to make Japan mistress of the Far East are only, therefore, in the eyes of the Japanese people and themselves, working to a divinely appointed conclusion.

Elementary schools, says an Imperial Ordinance, are designed to give children the rudiments of moral education especially adapted to make them good members of the community, together with such general knowledge and skill as are necessary for the practical duties of life, due attention being paid to their bodily development. Morals or ethics form an important subject in the school curriculum from the elementary to the higher school, and the basis of this ethical instruction is the patriotism already described. Moreover, this instruction is largely given by Army officers seconded for the purpose, who combine the office of moral preceptor and drill instructor. It is perhaps not to be wondered at, therefore, if this moral patriotism takes on at times a somewhat militaristic flavour, making a willingness to fight and die for one's country its highest form of expression, and breeding that spirit of blind self-sacrifice which manifested itself, during the Sino-Japanese hostilities round Shanghai in 1932, in the three heroes who, loading themselves with high explosives, crawled forward as human torpedoes to blow up the enemy's wire entanglements.

This spirit of loyalty and filial piety on which so much educational stress is laid is not without its importance in industry. Despite the vogue which "Das Kapital" had a few years back, when it was a best seller, despite the import of socialistic ideas, the formation of trades unions and a labour movement, and the emergence of a strike philosophy, paternalism is still the prevailing characteristic of Japan's industrial world. It is the remedy for discontent approved by the State, the one put forward by employers as the cure for workers' grievances, it is an attitude to which the workers themselves respond. Western Labour's philosophy of the cash nexus has not so far properly "caught on" in Japan. The Japanese worker on the whole feels himself a part of the concern for which he works, has a much greater sense of loyalty to it than the average English worker. He takes a pride in the efficiency of his own concern and in achieving a maximum output. Often he is prepared to attend classes so that he may the better understand his work. If he can think of a method of improving it, he is proud and glad to do so, and the last thing that would occur to him would be to oppose the introduction of new and improved machinery because it might mean the employment of fewer people. Japanese mills, for example, have for years been using mechanical looms which require only one operative to eight or even more machines, whereas Lancashire cotton operatives refuse altogether to permit their adoption. It has yet to be proved that the Japanese worker has suffered as a result of his complaisance. Certainly many observers see in the character of the Japanese worker and his attitude to his work one of the reasons for the remarkable progress and expansion of Japanese industry of recent years.

Education in Japan is definitely an instrument in the hands of the Government to ensure compliance on the part of the people with its views. "Now," Lowe is reported to have said after the Reform Bill of 1870, "we must educate our masters." Such a remark could never be made in Japan, where, despite all the democratic trappings of manhood suffrage and parliamentary institutions, no politician has ever seriously entertained the idea of the people as masters. There is, of course, the danger that the people themselves might come to think they ought to be, and therefore they are carefully instructed against such an eventuality. It follows that education must be empiric and categorical rather than an encouragement to think, hence the remarkable readiness, commented on by all observers, of the Japanese public to believe what it is told.

When one realizes how for years now every Japanese has been brought up to believe in the supreme duty of patriotism, a patriotism interpreted as obedience to the powers that be, when one remembers the thoroughness with which the educational

system is officially controlled, it is easy to understand the change that has come over Japanese public opinion in the last four or five years. In 1930 the wind seemed set fair for liberalism, not only in matters internal, but in foreign policy also. There was a growing Labour Movement, trades unions had been accorded a certain amount of recognition, and legislation had been initiated to accord them more. Working conditions had been improved, and social legislation of various kinds was in preparation. The London Naval Treaty, in spite of naval and military opposition, had been ratified, and Baron Shigemitsu was pursuing a more conciliatory policy towards China than for years. The League of Nations had a good press, and a League of Nations Union was at work with the Government's tacit approval. Today instead of this there is a narrow and narrowing nationalism. In the middle schools the hours devoted to the study of English have been reduced; in some cases the teaching of English has been abandoned altogether, while the Department of Education looks on unprotesting. Textbooks on civics and philosophy are being overhauled, and teachers are being disciplined in order to prevent the spread of liberal ideas.

There can be little doubt that the Japanese people, if not wholly enthusiastic for the Manchukuo adventure and its corollary in North China, certainly do not actively disapprove of it. How could they when it is justified by every tenet of the patriotism in which they have been brought up. "My country right or wrong" is not a sentiment a Japanese could hold, for the simple reason that it would never occur to him that his country could be wrong. By virtue of her divine origin, divine guidance, divine ruler, and divine mission Japan must always be right.

The completeness of Japan's educational system and the thoroughness with which it is controlled has undoubtedly been a great factor in Japan's rise to the position of a first-rate Power. It has given her an educated proletariat and a supply of intelligent and efficient workers for her industries, who are yet content to remain workers and to do their duty in the station of life in which they find themselves. It has given her a population animated by a patriotic singlemindedness which gives tremendous weight and drive to her efforts at expansion. On the other hand, the pervasiveness of official control and the strict regimentation of thought has prevented education being the force that it should be. Experiments in new methods are far too difficult to initiate, and original thought is much too circumscribed. Regimentation has resulted in a political apathy on the part of the public, which leads it to acquiesce in practically anything the Government of the day likes to do in its name. The most violent upheavals can occur without the manifestation of anything more than a polite

spectator's interest. A section of the Army can stage a minor revolt in Tokyo and murder, and Tokyo goes on its daily round apparently totally unconcerned. The Army and the politicians are left to come to an arrangement, and when it is all over the people acquiesce in the new regime peaceably as they had done in the old.

Education in Japan instead of smoothing the way to change and progress by permitting and encouraging the free play of the intellect operates rather to perpetuate the mental *status quo*, with the result that Japan today is in many respects strangely out of step with the rest of the world, strangely indifferent to much that is best in modern thought. One of the paradoxes of the Far East is that the Japanese people, so kindly, courteous, and considerate in their private and individual relationships, become so arrogant and overbearing at the wave of the national wand. "I love the Japanese people," remarked a friend of long residence in Japan, "but I hate this thing called Japan." Many of us, whose years spent in Japan form some of our best recollections, have felt the same thing. The world at large, however, rarely gets to know the Japanese people; it hears only the official voice. If, in consequence, it is becoming antagonized, and is coming more and more to look upon Japan as the bully of the Eastern world, it is very largely the fault of an educational system which has taken the wrong turning.

THE RISE OF LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIA*

By Rajani Kanta Das, M.Sc., Ph.D.
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Labour legislation is one of the most important institutions of modern society. The origin and growth of labour legislation may be ascribed to several social forces, of which the most important is the development of organized industry, where considerable numbers of men and women and even children are employed under conditions from which they are unable to protect themselves. It has thus become a duty of the State to enact adequate legislative measures in order to control the working, and in some cases even the living, conditions of the workers. The gradual democratization of society may be described as being another cause, inasmuch as mass education, adult suffrage, the public press and the growing sense of social justice have created new aims and ideals for self-realization among the working classes, thus giving rise to the demand on their part as well as on that of philanthropists for better conditions of life and labour. The most important factor in the development of labour legislation in recent years is the International Labour Organization, which has since its inauguration in 1919, as part of the League of Nations, adopted draft Conventions and Recommendations for improving labour conditions all over the world.

The origin of labour legislation in India may be traced back to the thirties of the last century, when, immediately after the abolition of slavery, various British Colonies turned to India as a source of cheap labour supply, and considerable numbers of Indians began to emigrate as labourers under various contracts. The Government of India undertook legislative measures for the regulation of recruitment and employment of Indian emigrants under the indenture system. Although this legislation† was undertaken to facilitate emigration to foreign countries rather than to regulate the employment of labour within the country, it had a great effect upon the development of labour legislation, especially in connection with the recruitment and employment of tea-garden labourers in Assam.

* *Cf.* the present writer's article on "Labour Legislation in India," *International Labour Review*, November, 1930.

† Emigration legislation has developed into an important institution in India. The emigration of Indian labour under the indenture system was, however, abolished in 1922.

The influence of emigration legislation is evident also in the first two labour Acts in India—namely, the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act of 1859 and the Employers' and Workmen's (Dispute) Act of 1860, both of which contained criminal penalties for breach of contract. They were enacted for the benefit of employers rather than that of employees and, although the former was widely utilized by employers all over the country and the latter remained on the statute book for over two generations, they were merely passing phases in the development of industrial relations and scarcely developed into permanent social institutions.

From the very beginning, labour legislation in India has developed in connection with the welfare of the workers in some specific industry, but in recent years there has also grown labour legislation with reference to the welfare of the workers in general rather than with that of the workers in any specific industry. Legislative measures for the regulation of the working and the living conditions of the workers may thus be classified under two main headings—namely, specific and general legislation.

1. SPECIFIC LEGISLATION

Specific legislation relates to labour conditions in such industries as plantations, factories, mines and transport. Beginning with the early sixties, these specific legislative measures have grown independently and each has become an important social institution. In recent years there has grown, however, a tendency towards uniformity in several provisions of these measures—*e.g.*, minimum age and hours of work. This is due partly to the influence of the International Labour Conference, which has formulated Conventions with reference to workers in all industries, and partly to the rise of general labour legislation within the country itself, which deals with such subjects as compensation and trade unionism relating to workers in all organized industries.

Plantation Legislation*

Plantation was the first organized industry in India in which workers came under legislative control. The main object of legislative measures for labour and emigration for plantations was, especially in the beginning, the control of contract between planters and labourers. While providing the latter with steady work, adequate wages and sanitary conditions, the Government attempted to guarantee the former the security of the services of their labour force, for the recruitment and transportation of which they had often to spend considerable sums of money.

* *Cf.* the present writer's treatise on *Plantation Labour in India*, Calcutta, 1931.

Plantation legislation began to develop in connection with the cultivation of tea, which was one of the earliest of the plantation industries. Although experiments were made earlier in the nineteenth century, real progress in tea planting began about 1851. By 1859, 51 tea gardens had come into existence in different parts of the country, but most of them were located in Assam. The scarcity of the population in the province and its distance from the more densely populated areas made the supply of labour to tea gardens both complicated and expensive, and there grew up a body of contractors or professional recruiters who resorted to all kinds of devices to recruit and forward labour from Bengal and other provinces to Assam. This uncontrolled recruitment by speculators gave rise to great abuses, to control which there were passed a series of legislative measures from 1863 to 1901. By these measures, recruiters were licensed, emigrants registered, sanitation provided on the way to labour districts, the period of labour contract fixed at from three to five years, and the scale of wages determined. Desertion and indolence on the part of labourers under contract were also made punishable by law, and planters were empowered to arrest all absconders without warrant. In short, workers on the Assam tea gardens were brought completely under the indenture system.

Besides the Assam Labour Emigration Acts there were also other Acts and Codes which sanctioned penalties for the breach of labour contracts. The Workmen's Breach of Contract Act of 1859, originally enacted for "the punishment of breaches of contract by artificers, workmen and labourers in certain cases," was resorted to by planters for the employment of their labourers, and the Madras Government had also passed the Planters' Labour Act, 1903, providing criminal penalties for breach of contract. A temporary Act was also passed by Coorg in 1926 for the same purpose.

The Assam Labour and Emigration Act of 1901 was amended in 1908 and 1915, by which the indenture system and the recruitment by contractors were abolished and provisions were made for the creation of an Assam Labour Board for the supervision of recruitment by garden *sardars* under local agents. Other Acts and Codes providing penalties for criminal breach of contract were also abolished between 1925 and 1929, and the Coorg Act came to an end in 1931.

In spite of the amendments of 1908 and 1915, some of the defects of the Assam Labour and Emigration Act of 1901 regarding the recruitment of labour for Assam still remained, and the Government of India took steps for its further amendment in 1926 and even drafted the Assam Recruitment Bill in 1928. In the meantime, the Royal Commission on Labour in India, appointed in 1929 for investigating labour conditions in industrial undertakings

and plantations and making recommendations, made its report in 1931. The Commission found the Act of 1901 to be unintelligible to almost all people, obsolete in many parts, and obstructive to the free flow of labour to Assam tea gardens, and made recommendations for the enactment of a new Act with the threefold object of (1) the freer movement of labour, (2) the greater security to labourers, and (3) the better administration of the law. These recommendations were incorporated by the Government of India in the new Tea Districts Emigration Act of 1932, which came into force on October 1, 1933. The main provisions of the Act are as follows:

(1) Subject to the control of the Government of India, local Governments are granted powers to control the forwarding or both recruitment and forwarding of assisted emigrants—*i.e.*, those emigrants who secured assistance of any kind in going to Assam—by locally licensed forwarding agents or recruiters and certified garden *sardars* through prescribed routes with proper arrangements for food, shelter and medical inspection. The application of these provisions may be partially or completely relaxed in case of certain areas.

(2) Every emigrant labourer—that is, a person who has last entered Assam as an assisted emigrant and was employed on a tea estate—shall have the right of repatriation at the expense of the employer after three years of service or even earlier in certain contingencies or any other sufficient cause.

(3) The exercise of the power and the discharge of the duties under this Act should be conferred upon a Controller of Emigrant Labour and one or more of the deputies to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council and to be maintained by an annual cess to be paid by employers.

The Act is intended to apply only to emigration for work on tea plantations, but power is retained to extend its application to other industries in Assam. Children under 16 and married women cannot be assisted for emigration unless the former are accompanied by their parents or guardians and the latter have the consent of their husbands. The Assam Labour Board was abolished and the Controller of Emigrant Labour was appointed immediately after the Act came into force.

Factory Legislation*

The most important labour legislation in India, however, relates to factories. The first cotton mill was established in Bombay in

* *Cf.* the present writer's treatise on *Factory Legislation in India*, Berlin, 1923.

1851, and by 1872-73 there were 18 cotton mills employing about 10,000 workers, many of whom were women and children. The rapid growth of the cotton mill industry in Bombay gave rise to the spirit of rivalry among the Lancashire cotton manufacturers, and their agitation for the control of labour conditions in India, which was supported by philanthropists both in England and in India, led to the appointment of a Factory Commission in 1875 and to the enactment of the first Indian Factories Act in 1881. This Act defined "factory" to be any premises using power machinery and employing 100 persons or more for four months or more in the year, and "child" to be any young person below 12 years of age, and fixed the minimum and maximum ages for employment at 7 and 12 respectively, and the hours of work at 9 a day with an interval for rest of 1 hour, and a weekly holiday.

The insufficient protection of children and the failure to regulate women's labour were among the causes of the revival of agitation for the immediate amendment of the first Act, and the appointment of Factory Commissions in 1884 and 1890. On the recommendations of the latter Commission, the Factories Act of 1881 was amended in 1891. By this amendment, the definition of "factory" was extended to include 50 persons or more and Local Governments were granted powers to apply it to premises employing 20 persons or more. The hours of work for women were limited to 11 a day, with an interval of rest of an hour and a half, or proportionately less for a smaller number of hours. "Child" was defined to be any person below 14, and the minimum and maximum age limits for employment of children were raised to 9 and 14 respectively, and their hours of work were limited to 7 a day, with an interval or intervals of rest amounting in aggregate to half an hour.

The amendment of 1891 was followed by prolonged depression in the cotton mill industry, but a boom in 1904-5 led to excessive hours of work and raised the question of regulating the hours of work of adult male workers. Investigation into the matter was made by a Textile Commission in 1906 and a Factory Labour Commission in 1907; and, on their recommendations, the Government of India passed a new Indian Factories Act in 1911. The main provisions of the Act were as follows: (1) The hours of work of men and children in textile factories were limited to 12 and 6 a day respectively; (2) children were required to produce a certificate of physical fitness in addition to that of age; and (3) women and children were prohibited from employment in some dangerous work.

The war broke out soon after the Factories Act of 1911 came into force. With the coming of peace there was inaugurated the International Labour Organization, as a part of the League of

Nations, under the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Under its auspices, the first International Labour Conference was held at Washington, D.C., in 1919, and, among other things, Conventions were adopted on hours, minimum age, night work of women and night work of young persons. The Hours Convention, while adopting a 48-hour week and an 8-hour day for all countries, accepted a 57-hour week for Japan and a 60-hour week for India. The Minimum Age Convention fixed 14 years as the minimum age for the admission of children to employment in industrial occupations for all countries except Japan and India, for which the age of 12 years was provided; in the case of Japan, however, it was provided that children over 12 years of age might only be admitted to employment if they had finished the course in an elementary school. The Night Work of Women Convention prohibited the employment of all women and girls at night, although it permitted India to suspend the prohibition in respect of industrial undertakings other than factories as defined by the Indian Factories Act. The Night Work of Young Persons Convention, while prohibiting the employment of young persons under 18 years of age at night, fixed the ages of 16 and 14 for Japan and India respectively, and in the case of India limited the application of the Convention to factories only.

Of these Conventions, those relating to hours of work and night work of women and young persons were ratified by the Government of India in 1921, while the principles of the Minimum Age Convention, though not ratified, were accepted as regards factories covered by the Indian Factories Act. In consequence, the Indian Factories Act of 1911 was amended in 1922, making some important changes in its provisions.

The most important of these amendments were as follows: (1) The scope of the Act was extended to include all industrial undertakings using mechanical power and employing 20 or more persons, and to give Local Governments the power to apply the law, by notification, to establishments employing 10 or more persons and working with or without mechanical power; (2) the hours of work for all adult workers, including both men and women, were restricted to 11 in any one day and 60 in any one week; (3) "child" was defined to be a person who was under 15 years of age, and the minimum and maximum ages for the employment of children were raised to 12 and 15 years respectively, and their hours of work limited to 6 a day; moreover, in addition to medical examination for age and physical fitness before admission to employment in factories, children were required to undergo re-examination for continuing work, if thought necessary by an inspector, and their night work was prohibited; (4) all workers were granted a period of one hour's rest for work exceed-

ing 6 hours, which could be divided into two periods at the option of the workers; they were also granted a day of rest in a week, and no worker was permitted to go without a holiday for more than 10 days at a time; (5) in case of overtime, workers should receive at least one and a quarter times the normal rate of pay; (6) women and young persons under 18 were prohibited from employment in certain lead processes; (7) the Governor-General in Council was empowered to make rules for the disinfection of wool in factories affected with anthrax.

The Factories Act of 1911 was again amended in 1923 for effecting some minor changes for administrative purposes, and also in 1926 for providing the infliction of penalties on parents or guardians for permitting children to work in two factories on the same day. It was again amended in 1931, enabling the Local Governments to make rules providing for precaution against fire in factories.

In the meantime, the Royal Commission on Labour, referred to above, made, *inter alia*, several recommendations for the amendment of the Indian Factories Act, on the basis of which the Government of India drew up a Bill with a threefold purpose: (1) The reduction of the hours of work; (2) the improvement of the working conditions; and (3) the better observance by factories of the provisions of the Act. The Act was passed in 1934 and came into force on January 1, 1935.

The most important provisions of the Act are the following:

(1) The definition of a factory has been made more precise and extended and a distinction has been made between seasonal and non-seasonal factories, the former working for a season—that is, 180 days or less in a year. Moreover, Local Governments have been granted power to apply the Act, in full or in part, by due notification, to any premises working with or without machinery and employing 10 persons or more.

(2) The Act lays down a 54-hour week and a 10-hour day for all adult workers in non-seasonal factories, but retains a 60-hour week and an 11-hour day in seasonal factories. Adult workers in non-seasonal factories with continuous process may, however, work 56 hours in any week. As regards overtime, a worker is entitled to payment at the $1\frac{1}{4}$ rate for work exceeding from 54 or 56 to 60 hours a week in a non-seasonal factory, and at the $1\frac{1}{2}$ rate for work exceeding 10 hours a day in a non-seasonal factory and exceeding 60 hours a week in either a seasonal or non-seasonal factory.

(3) The hours of work of children (persons between the ages of 12 and 15) are reduced from 6 to 5 a day, and those of women from 11 to 10 a day in both seasonal and non-seasonal factories. Adolescents, who are a new category of protected young persons between the ages of 15 and 17, may not be employed as adults without a medical certificate of physical fitness.

(4) The period over which a working day may be spread is fixed at $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours for children and 13 for adults, whether men or women. Women and children may not be employed before 6 a.m. or after 7 p.m., but the Local Government may, by notification in the local official gazette, vary these limits so as to make the working day fall within any span of 13 hours between 5 a.m. and 7.30 p.m.

(5) The Local Governments have been empowered to make rules: (*a*) prescribing standards of artificial humidification; (*b*) protecting workers against the effects of excessive heat; (*c*) requiring any factory employing more than 150 workers to provide adequate shelter for the use of workers during the periods of rest; (*d*) requiring any factory employing more than 50 women to reserve a suitable room for the use of the children of such women, and prohibiting the admission of children under the age of 6 into any part of such factory in which a manufacturing process is carried on; and (*e*) requiring factories to secure a certificate of the suitability of any building which is new or in which any structural alteration has been made. The Governor-General has also been empowered to declare the nature of what are regarded as hazardous operations and to secure the protection of all workers engaged in those operations.

Contrary to the draft Convention of 1919 the Factories Act of 1934 granted powers to Local Governments to exempt women holding supervisory positions in factories from the provisions prohibiting night work. This was, however, quite in harmony with the revised Convention of 1934. The Government of India ratified this revised Convention in September, 1935, but at the same time amended the Factories Act of 1934 prohibiting entirely the night work of women in Indian factories in any capacity whatsoever, on the ground that it was contrary to the social custom in India.

The Factory Act of 1934 was further amended in 1936 with a view to clarifying and extending the definition of a factory. An ambiguity arising as to whether work employing 10 persons or more and done partly or wholly in the open air should be included among the premises to which the Local Government could, under Section 5 (1), apply the Factories Act, and the Government of Bombay finding difficulty in applying the existing Act to open-air undertakings—*e.g.*, *dhobighats* (laundries) in Ahmedabad—where the conditions of work required legislative control, the Government of India amended the Act in April, 1936, granting local Governments power to notify as factories, whenever necessary, all industrial undertakings which carry on their work partly or entirely in the open air.

Mining Legislation

The next important class of labour legislation in India relates to mines. Modern mining was introduced in India early in the nineteenth century; but the necessity of regulating employment of labour was not realized by the Government until the nineties. The absence of foreign competition and the nature of the mines, which are mostly near the surface, are partly responsible for the tardiness in undertaking mining legislation. The increased employment of labourers, specially of women and children, in an industry which is especially subject to insanitary conditions and accident, led to the appointment of a Mining Inspector in 1893. A Mining Committee was also appointed in 1895 for drafting rules, on the basis of which a Bill was prepared in 1899 and passed into law in 1901.

By this Act a mine was defined to be any excavation for minerals which is deeper than 20 feet below the level of the adjacent ground. The Government was given power to frame rules for regulating the conditions of work, and provisions were made for the establishment of Mining Boards which could be consulted on the question of such regulations. The Act also made provision for the appointment of a chief inspector, who was to be granted power to prohibit the employment of children under 12 and of women in a mine where conditions, in his opinion, were dangerous to their health and safety.

The Act of 1901 proved to be defective on several grounds, such as: (1) Lack of provision for regulating the conditions of employment; (2) inadequate provisions for regulating child and woman labour; (3) lack of definite division of administration between the Central and Local Governments. The mining industry also received a new impetus during the war, and the unrest among workers, especially that in the coal mines in 1920, drew public attention to the necessity of regulating labour conditions in mines. Moreover, the ratification by the Government of India of the Hours Convention of the International Labour Conference, which stipulated its application also to mining industries, made it necessary to amend the existing law. In 1923, a new Indian Mines Act was passed which came into force on July 1, 1924. The chief provisions of the Act were as follows: (1) The extension of the definition of a mine to any excavation, irrespective of depth, for searching for or obtaining minerals; (2) the limitation of the weekly hours of work to 54 underground and 60 above ground; (3) the limitation of the working days to 6 a week; (4) the prohibition of the employment of children under 13 years of age in the mines.

One of the fundamental defects of the above Act was the absence of any statutory limitation of daily hours of work. The Government of India had, however, promised to consider the matter in consultation with the Local Governments, and a new amending Act was passed in 1928, making unlawful the employment of any person for more than 12 hours in any one day. The Act came into force on April 1, 1930.

Another important question raised in connection with the Act of 1923 was the exclusion of women from employment in mines. Although the proposal was rejected, provision was made by which Government could make regulations for prohibiting or restricting such employment. The Government of India, in consultation with the Local Governments and mining associations, promulgated the regulations, under Section 29 of the Indian Mines Act of 1923, by which the employment of women underground was prohibited from July 1, 1929, in some of the mines and at the same time provision was made for the gradual elimination of women from underground employment in other mines. By these regulations the employment of women underground in mines will come to an end by July 1, 1939.

In the meantime, the Government of India took steps to amend further the Indian Mines Act of 1923. The amendment of the Act was recommended by both the Select Committee on the Bill in 1928 and the Royal Commission on Labour in India in 1931. In the same year the International Labour Conference at its Fifteenth Session adopted a draft Convention limiting the hours of work in coal mines to $7\frac{3}{4}$ a day underground and 8 hours a day and 48 hours a week above-ground. On the recommendation of both Chambers of the Indian Legislature for the consideration of the draft Convention and in consultation with the Local Governments and Administrations, the Government of India passed the Indian Mines (Amendment) Act of 1935, which came into force on October 1 of the same year.

By this amendment, the hours of work are reduced from 60 a week and 11 a day to 54 a week and 10 a day respectively above-ground, and although the weekly hours of work underground were kept as before—that is, 54—the daily hours were reduced from 12 to 9 underground, the latter being counted from the moment of leaving the surface until the return to the surface; the minimum age for employment of children is raised from 13 to 15, and children between 15 and 17 can be employed underground only on the certification of physical fitness by qualified medical practitioners. Provision is also made for miners to have the same number of representatives as the mine owners on the Mining Board. Moreover, mines are required to record all accidents incapacitating persons for 24 hours or more, and Local Governments

are required to publish the reports of Committees and Courts of Enquiry appointed by them under the Act.

The Mines Act of 1923 was again amended in 1936 for the purpose of securing greater safety and especially providing for adequate safeguards against fire in mines. Following fires at collieries in 1935 and 1936, causing the loss of life, the Government of India decided, in consultation with Local Governments, mining interests and technical experts, to appoint an expert committee to investigate the whole question of safety in mines and at the same time to provide temporary measures by legislative action. A Bill further to amend the Mines Act of 1923 was therefore introduced into the Legislative Assembly on April 8, 1936, and passed by the Assembly and the Council of State and assented by the Governor-General in the same month. The Act was immediately promulgated for general information. By this amendment the power of the inspectorate is enlarged to include the issue of orders to individual mines to take precaution against the premature collapse of any part of a mine and the danger of consequent outbreak of fire, and the Governor-General in Council is granted additional power to make regulations against apprehended danger more speedily than is possible under the present provisions which require previous publication and reference to the mining boards. The new powers remain in force only for two years in both cases. Moreover, the Governor-General in Council is granted power to make regulations by notification in the *Gazette of India*, requiring groups of specified mines to establish central rescue stations under prescribed conditions, and providing for the formation, training and duties of rescue brigades.

One of the important provisions of the Mines Act is the establishment of boards of health to look after the health of local mining areas. This has been further extended by the Bengal Mines Settlement Act of 1912 and the Bihar and Orissa Settlement Act of 1920. The main object of these Acts is to make provisions for sanitary arrangements and housing accommodation in mining areas.

Transport Legislation

Transport legislation is yet another class of specific legislation. Transport is a general term applicable to several classes of industries which have no basis of unity except that of serving the same common function of communication. There is therefore no body of law which may properly be called transport legislation. The most noteworthy series of legislation which have developed for transport are those which relate to railways, shipping and docks.

The most important transport legislation is that for railways.

The railways began to develop in India about the middle of the last century, but no question was raised of regulating the hours of work of their employees until the International Labour Conference adopted the Hours Convention in 1919, prescribing, among other things, that the principle of a 60-hour week should be adopted "in such branches of railway work as shall be specified for this purpose by the competent authority." A Convention relating to the weekly rest was also adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1921. These Conventions were ratified by the Government of India and given effect to in the Indian Railways (Amendment) Act in 1930, adding a new chapter with reference to the hours of work and periods of rest of railway servants.

The most important provisions of the Act are as follows: (1) The hours of work of railway employees should not exceed 60 a week on an average in any month in the case of all staff coming under the Act, except those whose work is essentially intermittent, for whom the maximum is 84 hours in any week; and (2) a railway servant shall be granted, each week commencing on Sunday, a rest of not less than 24 consecutive hours, except when the work of such servant is essentially intermittent or he is among certain classes of railway servants specified by the Governor-General in Council, for whom periods of rest on a scale less than the above is prescribed. Owing to industrial pressure, all the railways have not yet been brought within the scope of the Act, but all the State-managed railways, with the exception of those in Burma, have complied with the Act.

Another series of transport legislation is that relating to shipping, for the regulation of which a consolidating Act amending the Indian Merchant and Shipping Act was passed in 1923. The Government of India ratified the draft Convention of 1921 on the minimum age for the admission of young persons to employment as trimmers and stokers and also the draft Convention on compulsory medical examination of children and young persons at sea as well as the draft Convention concerning seamen's articles of agreement of 1926, and amended the Indian Merchant Shipping (Amendment) Act in 1931.

The amending Act makes the following provisions regarding the employment of children and young persons on board ships: (1) No young person under the age of 14 shall be employed in a ship except under certain conditions—*e.g.*, when they are employed at nominal wages and are under the charge of their fathers or other near relatives; (2) no young person under the age of 18 shall be employed as a trimmer or stoker except under certain conditions; and (3) no young person under the age of 18 shall be employed in a ship without a medical certificate of physical fitness. Under notification of December, 1931, the Government of India

also restricted the hours and nature of work for trimmers and stokers.

The Indian Ports Acts form yet another series of transport legislation. The Indian Ports Act of 1908 was amended in 1922 for giving effect to Article 6 of the draft Convention of the International Labour Conference of 1919 and for authorizing local Governments to prohibit the employment of children under 12 years of age at ports. By an amendment in 1931, all such children were also prohibited from handling goods anywhere within the ports to which the Act applies.

The most dangerous occupation in ports and docks is, however, the work of loading and unloading ships. The Government of India ratified the draft Convention of the International Labour Conference of 1929 as modified in 1932 concerning protection against accidents in the loading and unloading of ships and gave effect to it in the Indian Dock Labourers Act of 1934, authorizing the Governor-General in Council to make regulations to safeguard the dock workers from practically every danger to which they may be exposed in their calling or against which the revised Convention required protection.

2. GENERAL LEGISLATION

Besides the above legislation for the regulation of labour conditions in specific industries there has also grown up in recent years another series of legislative measures which are generally applicable to all workers alike, irrespective of the industry in which they are employed. Some of these measures have been undertaken by Local Governments and others are under the jurisdiction of the Central Government. They relate to welfare, including the employment of children, maternity benefit and industrial housing, as well as protection of wages, workmen's compensation, trade unions and industrial disputes.

Social Welfare Legislation

The series of legislation relating to the welfare of women and children in general as well as to industrial housing may be referred to as social welfare legislation. They include the Employment of Children Act of 1933, Maternity Benefit Acts passed by various Local Governments since 1929, and also the Industrial Housing Act of 1933, and together lay down the foundation of what may be called the home life.

Reference has already been made in connection with the specific labour legislation regarding the protection of children employed in factories, mines and transport industries. But there was left an

anomaly by which parents or guardians could secure loans or advances on agreement, either written or oral, mortgaging the labour of their children in several industries. On the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour, the Government of India passed the Children (Pledging of Labour) Act in 1933. By this Act any agreement to pledge the labour of a child under 15 has been made void except under certain conditions, and parents and guardians, as well as employers, making such an agreement are liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 50 or Rs. 200 respectively. The Act came into operation immediately after the enactment, with the exception of the penal clauses which came into force on July 1, 1933.

Another item of welfare legislation relates to maternity benefit, the importance of which was realized after the adoption by the International Labour Conference of a draft Convention in 1919. Although the Government of India introduced a system of maternity benefit for their own employees they opposed a private Bill to that effect introduced into the Legislature in 1924. The question was, however, soon taken up by Provincial Governments, and a Bill, introduced in 1928, was passed by the Bombay Legislative Council in 1929. A similar Act was passed by the Central Provinces and Berar in 1930. The Bombay Maternity Benefit Act was amended in 1934 and was extended to Ajmer-Merwara. A similar Act was passed by the Government of Madras which came into force on April 1, 1935.

The essential features of the Maternity Benefit Acts are as follows: (1) All of them relate to women working in factories, and in Madras the Act is specifically limited to non-seasonal factories; (2) in all cases the entire cost is to be borne by employers; (3) the maximum period for which the benefit is available is eight weeks in Bombay, the Central Provinces and Ajmer-Merwara, and seven weeks in Madras, being four or three weeks before and four weeks after the birth of the child; (4) the amount of benefit is 8 annas a day in the Madras Presidency, as well as in the cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Karachi in the Bombay Presidency; in the rest of the Bombay Presidency and in the Central Provinces the benefit is at the average rate of the woman's daily earnings calculated on the wages earned during a period of three months preceding the day on which she is entitled to receive the benefit, or at the rate of 8 annas a day, whichever is less; (5) the woman must be in the service of the employer, from whom she claims benefit, for 9 months in all the provinces, and she must not work in any other place during the period in which she receives the benefit. Moreover, she cannot be discharged from her employment within the period during which she is entitled to benefit.

The last, but not the least important, social welfare measure

relates to industrial housing, the need of which has been increasingly felt, especially in large industrial centres, such as Bombay, Calcutta and Ahmedabad, where, owing to the scarcity, employers are often unable to acquire land unless they pay an exorbitant price. On the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Labour, the Government of India passed an Act amending the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 in 1933. By this Amendment an industrial concern, whether owned by an individual, association or company, is able to acquire land compulsorily for the purpose of erecting dwelling houses for its workmen or for providing amenities—*e.g.*, sanitation, sewage and other services directly connected therewith. The Local Governments are granted power to ensure proper construction of such dwellings on land acquired under this Act.

Protection of Wages Legislation

Another important series of recent legislative measures is that for the protection of wages with a view to regulating the delay in payment of, and the deductions by way of fines or otherwise from, the wages earned as well as the protection against attachment of wages, the imprisonment for debt and the besetting for collecting debts.

The most important measure is the Payment of Wages Act. The question of regulating delay in payment of wages and deductions from wages in respect of fines, etc., came into prominence in 1925. Enquiries into the matter by the Government of Bombay and the Government of India in 1925 and 1926 respectively revealed the existence of these evils, and the Government of India formulated legislative proposals for their control in 1928. The Royal Commission on Labour made several recommendations for legislative regulation in 1931, on the basis of which the Government of India passed the Payment of Wages Act in April, 1936.

The main provisions of the Act are as follows:

(1) The Act applies only to wages payable to persons receiving less than Rs. 200 a month and employed in factories and upon railways. It may be extended by the Local Governments, after giving three months' notice in the local official gazette, to other industrial establishments.

(2) No wage period shall exceed one month and all wages shall be paid in cash and only on working days. Wages shall ordinarily be paid within seven days of the expiry of the period within which they have been earned in factories, on railways and in other industrial establishments employing less than 1,000 persons, and within 10 days in cases where 1,000 persons or more are employed, and within 2 days when an employee is discharged.

(3) Deductions from the wages may be made only in accordance with the provisions of the Act in the following cases:

(*a*) *Fines* may be imposed only on persons of 15 years or over, and only for prescribed and notified acts and omissions and after giving an employee a chance of showing cause against the imposition of such fines. They may not exceed more than half an anna in the rupee ($\frac{1}{32}$ on the wage), and may not be recovered by instalments or after the expiry of 60 days from the day on which they are imposed. All fines shall be recorded in a register and spent on workers' welfare.

(*b*) Deductions may be made for *absence* only for the period during which an employee is actually absent unless 10 or more employees absent themselves in concert and without any reasonable cause, in which case 8 days' wages may be deducted; for *damage or loss* when they can be directly attributed to the negligence or default of an employee, in which case the amount deducted shall not exceed the actual loss or damage caused to the employer; for *services* which have been accepted by the employee as a term of employment, in which case deductions shall not be more than the actual service rendered; for *advances* made before employment which may be recovered only from the first payment, and those made for wages not earned which may be recovered according to the prescribed rules. Deductions may also be made for the *payment of income tax* or to meet the requirement by the order of the court or other competent authority or for *subscriptions* to prescribed provident funds, etc.

(4) All claims arising out of deductions from or delay in payment of the wages shall be dealt with by special authority appointed by the Local Government. Such authority may direct the refund of the amount deducted or the payment of delayed wages, together with the compensation not exceeding ten times the sum deducted in the former case and not exceeding Rs. 10 in the latter. The application for the recovery of unpaid wages may be made by an individual or an employed group in certain cases. Malicious and vexatious complaints have been made punishable. Provisions have also been made for appeal to the court from these decisions.

(5) Infringement of the law is liable to prosecution, but such prosecutions should not be instituted unless a successful claim has been made under the provision mentioned above, and the authority appointed under the provision or the appellate authority considers a prosecution to be warranted.

Another evil connected with the payment of wages is imprisonment for debt as permitted by Section 51 of the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908. All male debtors are liable to arrest and imprisonment for six months in the execution of a decree for payment of more than Rs. 50 and for six weeks in case of smaller sums. On

the basis of the recommendation made by the Royal Commission on Labour the Government of India introduced a Bill further to amend Section 51 of the above Code into the Legislative Assembly on February 18, 1935. The chief provision of the Bill is the protection of honest debtors of all classes from detention in a civil prison and to confine such detention to a debtor who is proved to be recalcitrant or fraudulent.

The attachment of wages is another evil permitted by Section 60 of the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908. A moneylender can get an attachment on the wages of his debtor and can use the employer as the debt collector to the extent of half an employee's salary or of the amount by which that salary exceeds Rs. 20, whichever is less. The Government of India, on the recommendation of the Royal Commission of Labour, introduced a Bill into the Legislative Assembly on February 18, 1935, further to amend Section 50 of the above Code. The main provisions of the Bill are that salaries not exceeding Rs. 100 a month of all workers should be totally exempt from attachment and the pay of servants of Government, railway companies and local authorities getting from Rs. 100 a month should be exempt to the extent of the first Rs. 100 and half of the remainder.

There is another evil which constitutes a grievance of industrial workers. Instead of taking any legal proceedings for the recovery of the debt, some moneylenders use intimidation or even violence and pounce upon the debtor as he merges from factory gates or even inside the compound on pay day, thus ensuring their claims as first charge upon workers' wages. The Royal Commission on Labour recommended making besetting a criminal and cognizable act and defined it as "loitering within the precincts or within the sight of any gate or outlet of the establishment." In consultation with Provincial Governments, the Government of India, however, came to the conclusion that legislative action on the part of the Central Government was not called for. But the evil effects of the system cannot be denied and, at the suggestion of the Government of India, the Government of Bengal passed an Act called the Bengal Workmen's Protection Act in 1934. The Act aims at preventing the recovery of debts from certain classes of workmen by besetting their places of work, and provides that whoever loiters in or near any place of work—*e.g.*, factory, mine, dock, etc.—with a view to recovery of any debt from any workman employed therein shall be prosecuted with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with fine or both. The Act is at present applied only to Calcutta and the districts of 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah, but may be extended to other areas by the Government of Bengal.

Workmen's Compensation Legislation

The demand for compensation in case of accidents was made by workers as early at 1884, but it was not until 1922 that provision was made in the Factories (Amendment) Act of 1922 empowering the courts to pay compensation to injured employees out of fines imposed upon employers. The principle of legislation for compensation was, however, accepted by the majority of the Local Governments and employers' associations, and a Bill was introduced in 1922 and passed into law in 1923. The Act was amended in 1926 and 1929, giving effect to some provisions of the International Convention and Recommendation. In 1931 the Act was extended, by notification, to cover all persons engaged in aerial rope works.

Although amended and extended, the Act was found inadequate, and on the basis of the Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour the Government of India passed an Amending Act in 1933, which came into force on July 1, 1934. By this amendment the scope of the Act has been extended to new industries and occupations, the scale of benefits has been increased, the period of waiting for compensation has been reduced from 10 to 7 days, and widowed sisters and widowed daughters of the workers have been included among the list of the dependents for compensation, and the Governor-General in Council has been granted power to arrange for the transfer of compensation to a foreign country in case of a person residing abroad and also for the administration of the compensation awarded under the law of a foreign country for the benefit of a person residing in British India.

The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, as finally amended in 1933, is applicable to the following industries: (1) Factories (including those using power machinery and employing 10 persons or more, and also those not using power machinery but employing 50 persons or more); (2) mines; (3) plantations (cinchona, coffee, rubber and tea) employing 25 persons or more; (4) shipping; (5) the loading and unloading of ships; (6) shipbuilding; (7) building of houses (more than one story high); (8) construction of roads and highways; (9) operation of mechanical vehicles; (10) manufacture and handling of explosives; (11) generation of gas and electricity; (12) production and exhibition of cinematographical pictures; and (13) keeping of elephants and other wild animals. Among the accidents are also included a few occupational diseases, such as (1) anthrax; (2) lead, phosphorus, mercury and benzine poisoning; (3) chrome ulceration; and (4) compressed-air illness.

Compensation is payable to the workers for the injury caused by an accident arising out of and in the course of employment. It is

payable by the employers and the Act is administered by whole-time commissioners in the important industrial centres and by the judges of the small causes courts as *ex officio* commissioners in other places. The clerical staff in these services, as well as those workers whose salaries exceed Rs. 300 a month, are explicitly excluded from the scope of this Act, but the number of workers covered by the Act amounts to 6 million.

The scale of payment is determined by the rates of wages as classified under 17 categories ranging from a minimum of Rs. 10 a month or less to a maximum limit of Rs. 200 a month or more. These scales may be classified under the three following headings: (1) In case of temporary disablement, compensation is payable half-monthly, (*a*) at one-half of the monthly wages, subject to a maximum of Rs. 30 to a minor; (*b*) at a rate varying from full wages in the lowest wage classes to a maximum of Rs. 30 in the other wage classes to an adult. The maximum period for compensation for temporary disablement is 5 years.

(2) In case of permanent disablement, compensation is payable in the form of a lump sum, from which is deducted any payment which might have been made during temporary disablement. Where the disablement is total, the compensation is fixed at Rs. 1,200 for a minor and varies from Rs. 700 to Rs. 5,600 according to wage rates for an adult. Where the disablement is partial, the compensation is paid at a scale proportionate to the loss of the earning capacity.

(3) In the case of death, compensation is payable in the form of a lump sum, and is fixed for the death of a minor at Rs. 200, but that for the death of an adult varies from Rs. 500 to Rs. 4,000 according to the variation of the wages rate.

Trades Union Legislation

The trade union legislation is another important class of general labour legislation. Since 1918 trade unions have been growing both in number and in volume, but the importance of guaranteeing protection to their activities was not realized until 1920, when a labour leader was put under injunction for inducing workers to break their contract with the employers. In 1921, the Government of India accepted a resolution of the Legislative Assembly to take steps for the regulation and protection of trade unions and, after consultation with the Local Governments, passed the Indian Trade Union Act in 1926, which came into force on June 1, 1927.

The main object of the Act is to grant immunity from civil suits and from prosecution for criminal conspiracy to all unions which would be registered under this Act. The registration of trade unions has been made optional, but the auditing of funds is

compulsory. Outsiders are allowed to be on a union's executive committee and an additional fund may be established for political activities, but the general fund of a registered union may be spent only on specified objects. The Act was amended in 1928 with a view to defining clearly the procedure regarding appeal.

Industrial Disputes Legislation

The regulation of industrial disputes is another group of general labour legislation. Industrial disputes appeared in violent forms during and immediately after the war, especially in 1919 and 1920. Committees were appointed by the Governments of Bengal and Bombay to investigate the matter and to suggest remedial measures in 1921 and 1922 respectively. The Government of India even prepared, on the basis of the Bombay Committee, a Bill in 1924, but it was not until 1929 that the first Indian Trade Disputes Act was passed for five years. The two main provisions of the Act are as follows: (1) The establishment of two tribunals—*e.g.*, the Court of Enquiry and the Board of Conciliation; and (2) the prevention of strikes without notice in public utility services in the case of persons employed on monthly wages. It was brought into force by notification on May 7, 1929.

The Act was amended in 1932 with a view to removing an important defect under which those who served on the Court of Enquiry and Court of Conciliation were exposed regarding the disclosure of confidential information on trade unions or industrial undertakings. As it was only experimental for five years and was to expire on May 7, 1934, the Act was amended again early in 1934 for its prolongation.

In the meantime the Government of Bombay, which is more concerned with the establishment of industrial peace than any other province, passed the Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act in 1934 with a view to making further provision for the settlement of trade disputes by conciliation. The Act came into force on October 8, 1934. The main provisions are as follows:

(1) The appointment of a Government labour officer to look after the interests of labourers in the industry and to promote closer contact between employers and employees.

(2) The creation of a Conciliatory Board with the Commission of Labour as *ex officio* chief conciliator, who may be assisted by other suitable commissioners and who has the same power as a civil court.

(3) Obstruction to conciliation proceedings has been made illegal, and penalties may be as high as 6 months' imprisonment or fine or both. Picketing in respect of a strike during the pendency of conciliation proceedings is not prohibited, but any picket-

ing against conciliation proceedings has been declared illegal. The Act is, in the first instance, applicable to the textile industry in Bombay City and its environment, but may be extended to other areas whenever necessary.

Conclusion

The above survey indicates that although the regulation of specific conditions of work in each industry or organized industry in general has been the motive force of labour legislation, there are several other factors which have influenced the course of its development and determined its nature, such as international competition, class struggles and economic nationalism. But the most important factor in the development of labour legislation in recent years has been the International Labour Organization, which has not only set up new ideals for labour legislation by various draft Conventions and Recommendations, but has also brought together divergent interests, both national and international, of labour, capital and Government, to achieve definite results for the equalization and improvement of labour conditions all over the world.

In the foregoing pages it is also indicated that until now the Government of India has been guided by three fundamental principles in undertaking the enactment of labour legislation—namely: (1) The non-interference with the growth of modern industry which is badly needed in India; (2) the protection of workers, especially women and children, which is the motive force of labour legislation in all industrial countries; (3) the fulfilment of international obligations which the Government of India has, as a Member of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization, attempted to discharge in the form of ratification of several draft Conventions and the adoption of Recommendations and the application of their principles to the national labour code.

SOME ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD

By E. Rosenthal, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A., A.R.C.M.

In the following article no attempt has been made to give a comprehensive study of women's education in Hyderabad State, a subject which for adequate treatment would require a large tome of annotated information. During a residence of several years in the State, however, the writer had the good fortune to be closely associated with the work and development of what was then the Zenana College—now the Osmania University College for Women. She was also in touch with various other educational activities on behalf of Indian women, and the notes below are the result of her personal experiences and contacts. As education and social advancement are so closely allied, particularly in India, reference has also been made in this article to developments which are not strictly scholastic, although they are of definite educative value.

Of the very large number of social reforms and civic improvements which have taken place in Hyderabad State, since H.E.H. the present Nizam acceded to the throne twenty-five years ago, none is of greater importance to future generations than the progress effected in women's education.

A conspicuous landmark along the highway of advancement was the foundation, in 1924, of the Zenana College. This institution, which has become the Osmania University College for Women, originated through the efforts of Miss A. E. M. Pope, now Dr. Pope, M.A., D.Litt., Principal of one of the oldest girls' high schools in Hyderabad, and now Principal also of the Hyderabad Women's College. At the commencement of its career the College had only five or six students and a staff consisting of the Principal and one professor. According to the latest figures available there are now thirty-four students and eleven lecturers in the College, which is affiliated to the Osmania University of Hyderabad. In the High School attached to the College the numbers have now attained a total of five hundred and eighty pupils and thirty-one teachers.

Amonst the many useful activities of the Osmania University College for Women is the preparation of fully qualified women teachers. Hitherto, in Hyderabad as in other parts of India, the lack of trained women educationists has proved a very serious

obstacle to progress. The Government of H.E.H. the Nizam are giving financial assistance to young women of outstanding ability who have completed their studies at the Hyderabad Women's College, to enable them to take courses of vocational training in foreign countries. Two or three of the professors now on the staff of the College were educated in the High School connected with it, and then won Government scholarships which entitled them to go abroad. At the moment, one former student of the College, who passed the Osmania University Examinations very brilliantly, is at Oxford. Another has gone to Iran to work for her doctorate in Persian literature.

The Hyderabad girls who leave India to continue study deserve great respect and admiration. Many of them are *purdanashin* and some have never before left their homes. Although the Hyderabad Government's arrangements for the comfort and protection of the girls while abroad are excellent, the students require the true pioneer spirit to break through the hedge of conservatism which has surrounded them since childhood and which, but for their determination to advance, would prove an insuperable barrier to progress.

Purdah is still strictly maintained amongst a large section of Hyderabad ladies. Consequently, facilities are given for complete *purdah* to be observed in the Women's College and respective High School, although, of course, non-*purdah* girls are not required to conceal themselves from men. Recently two women students who have never been in *purdah* demonstrated their emancipated spirit by taking part with men in an Inter-College Debating Competition. This innovation, which created quite a stir, was warmly approved by educationists. Public opinion in H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions is veering towards the modification of *purdah*. Until its abolition has met with general approval, however, it is considered desirable that *purdah*, though old-fashioned, should continue to be in force in educational institutions intended for Hyderabad girls of the upper classes. At the present stage of social development, if *purdah* were suppressed, many conservative relations and guardians would object to their daughters and wards attending college and school on the ground that by so doing the girls would jeopardize their position in society.

As a result of the support given by the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam to the improvement of facilities for women's education, much talent and many first-class brains are being discovered amongst Hyderabad girls of gentle birth. The majority of the students in the Women's College are very alert mentally, and have no dread of hard thinking or of hard work, as proved by the fact that by far the most popular subject is Science. Sixty per

cent. of the girls at present studying for their degrees are taking the four years' Science Course, which comprises Botany, Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics, and Zoology.

Very properly Domestic Science with Hygiene are important features in the curriculum of women's education in Hyderabad State. Although mostly accustomed to large staffs of servants, the College students and High School pupils are excellent cooks and expert needlewomen. I have eaten many delicious and elaborate meals which they have prepared, and I have in my possession examples of their really beautiful embroidery and plain sewing.

One of the first students of the Osmania University College for Women to obtain a scholarship for England trained at Bedford as a teacher of Physical Culture. She is now fully qualified and on the staff of the Hyderabad Women's College. Under her guidance both students and teachers are evincing great interest in gymnastics and games. The girls excel at badminton and basketball, some are also good tennis players, and the opportunities afforded them for open-air exercise are proving most beneficial to their health.

While lecturer on English literature at the Women's College, I started Elocution Classes, both in the College and High School, and was surprised to find that a large percentage of the pupils possessed dramatic talent. Once they had overcome their shyness, these Indian girls interpreted remarkably well in English, and with obvious enjoyment, scenes from Shakespeare, Dickens, and many other English authors. Many of the students are linguists of no mean order. As English is compulsory in both College and High School, the majority of the girls speak and write this language almost as easily as they do their own tongue, which is Urdu. Several are good Persian and Arabic scholars and specialize in these languages for their B.A. examinations.

To assist the students with their literary work, with Dr. Pope as President, I started in the College a Zenana Centre of the well-known Poetry Society, the headquarters of which are in London. At the meetings of this Centre the students themselves read and recite poems of their own choice. A number have delivered quite notable addresses on the poets whose work they have studied for their examinations, and the majority of the girls have shown initiative in suggesting for lectures, readings, and debates, poetical subjects not included in any syllabus. Oriental as well as European poetry is frequently discussed and, thereby, another link of understanding, humble though it be, is being forged between East and West. In consequence of the enthusiasm of the pupils about the Poetry Society, and the glowing accounts of its activities which they gave to their fathers and brothers, I was asked by

several Muhammadan gentlemen to extend the scope of the Society in Hyderabad. As a result, under the patronage of some leading Hyderabad noblemen, I formed a Centre to which men could belong, and at present both the Zenana Centre and the Open Centre are flourishing. It is no exaggeration to state that their existence and prosperity are entirely due to the encouragement given in the first instance by *purdanashin* girls.

Another educational institution which is exercising an excellent influence over the daughters of Hyderabad aristocratic families is the Mahboobia Girls' School, with a large staff of English teachers. The pupils work for the Junior and Senior Cambridge Examinations and several, having passed successfully through this High School, have proceeded to the Osmania University College for Women to study for degrees.

During the past decade the Girl Guide Movement has aroused great interest throughout Hyderabad State, and it is well supported both by the Women's College and High School, the Mahboobia Girls' School, and other scholastic bodies. The outdoor existence and social intercourse which are conspicuous features of guiding are immensely appreciated by girls who, for the most part, in their own homes, are compelled to spend their time in overcrowded and airless zenana apartments.

Every Western woman who has the entrée into the zenanas of Hyderabad cannot fail to be impressed by the increase in health, happiness, and usefulness amongst women who enjoy the benefits of education. These women, realizing the value of instruction, are making admirable efforts to diffuse learning amongst their less fortunate sisters. One of the most effective channels by means of which their work is co-ordinated is the Women's Association for Educational and Social Advancement in Hyderabad-Deccan, of which a moving spirit is Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji, a distinguished Parsee lady, the wife of a high official of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. The activities of this association are far from being single track, and include the support of schools, the maintenance of a hostel for women workers, and the management of a women's debating society. The hostel is proving of definite educative value, because it is attracting women from the districts to live in the capital and train as midwives at the Zenana Hospital. The women's debating society, modelled on similar organizations in England, is helping the members to develop their natural gifts and to become eloquent public speakers. Sub-committees of the association have been formed to deal with the legal disabilities of women, to discourage early child marriage, and to exercise vigilance for the prevention of immoral traffic in women and children. By means of lectures the association is awakening in the women of Hyderabad a consciousness of their rights and

responsibilities. The association is stressing the need for adult classes for women, and has requested the Hyderabad Medical Department to extend medical inspection to all girls' schools in the dominions of H.E.H. the Nizam.

The Hyderabad Government have made grants to the women's hostel and to the schools established by the Women's Association for Educational and Social Advancement, and at the ninth session of the Hyderabad Women's Conference, which was convened by the association and held in November 1935, resolutions were passed urging that free primary education should be made compulsory throughout the State. It was also advocated that vocational training should be accessible to all girls who wish to earn their own living. The constitution of this Women's Association of Hyderabad State has been approved and accepted by the Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference, which is wholly a creation of the women of India, and has become their most representative body. The Hyderabad Women's Association was requested to collaborate in the scheme for the revision of educational methods in Hyderabad State which is now under consideration. A special committee of educationist members, with Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji as convener, submitted a memorandum, and later some of the ladies, in response to an invitation from the Reorganization Committee, gave personal explanations of their views on educational reforms.

Recently there has been a remarkable extension of the activities of Indian Ladies' Clubs in Hyderabad and the adjacent cantonment of Secunderabad. Thanks to the generosity of public-spirited citizens, anxious for the advancement of their womenfolk, and to the efforts of the ladies themselves, large and airy club buildings have been erected in spacious grounds, where members have all facilities for attending lectures and playing games in *purdah*. Amongst the foremost members who have done much to improve the status of the Hyderabad Ladies' Association Club is Lady Hydari, wife of Sir Akbar Hydari, the Finance and Railway Member of the Hyderabad Government. Lady Hydari has laboured devotedly for many years on behalf of the welfare of women and children in Hyderabad State, and is a generous patron of all movements for their progress.

In addition to the above-mentioned educational establishments for the higher education of women, there are in Hyderabad numerous Government, missionary, and convent schools where fine work is done amongst all classes of girls.

There are also many women's organizations, such as the Child Welfare Centres, the Y.W.C.A., the Andhra Ladies' Association, the Gujerati Women's Association. All these and several other bodies, in their particular spheres, are encouraging the

women of Hyderabad to take an equal share with men in serving their country and their fellow-citizens.

H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad has always evinced great interest in the women's movement, and by a generous donation of two lakhs of rupees greatly assisted the Lady Irwin College, founded in New Delhi by the All-India Women's Education Fund. This College was opened in 1932 to train women teachers in those vital branches of women's education, Home Science and Psychological Research. The students who pass through the College have a great future before them. Theirs is the task of instructing girls and women in all parts of India in the important subjects of Motherhood and Child Welfare.

Since her marriage to the heir to the throne of Hyderabad, H.H. the Princess Durr-e-Shewar Durdana Begum Sahiba, who has spent much of her life in France, has taken a great deal of interest in women's education in Hyderabad. Thanks to the support of the reigning family of Hyderabad, and to the assistance afforded by the Hyderabad Government, the prospects in the dominions of H.E.H. the Nizam for the extension and development of educational facilities for women are extremely satisfactory.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN BARODA

A SHORT summary of the work done by the Department of Archæology recently constituted by the Government of Baroda under Dr. Hirananda Sastri (formerly Government Epigraphist for India) may be found interesting to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

In the domain of Epigraphy valuable inscriptions have been secured in Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. The earliest inscription noticed is cut on a stile found at Mulvasar and is in Sanskrit. It is dated in the Śaka year 122 (=200 A.D.) and seems to be a record of a person sacrificing his life to save a friend of his. The latest is engraved on the Mandvi Gate at Baroda and records its construction in 1736 A.D. by Malharrao, the Governor of the district, in the reign of Damaji Rao (II.) Gaekwad. The earliest Muhammadan record studied in the year is dated in the Hijri year 807 (=1405 A.D.) and records the construction of a stepped well now known as Navlakhi Vav and lying in the Lakshmi Vilas Palace compound in Baroda, by Nasirud-Dunya wid-Din, a great Amir during the régime of Adam who was a fief holder of Baroda.

In the branch of Numismatics many important coins have been found and studied. The most noteworthy are the punch-marked ones or *Karshapanas*, both silver and copper, and the Avanti or Ujjain coins. The Karshapanas, go back to the sixth century B.C. Among the Ujjain coins there are a few specimens secured by the Director of the Department which bear symbols not known before. The place where these coins were found is now called Kamrej and is a town in the Navsari district of the Baroda territory. Ptolemy, the celebrated Egyptian astronomer and geographer, who made his observations while residing in Alexandria during the first half of the second century A.D., mentions it under the name of Kamane. In some ancient grants it occurs as Kamanijya. Kamrej was apparently an important trade centre and port during the early centuries of the Christian era and even earlier. Now the situation has altered as the river Tapti on which it lies has become unnavigable on account of the silt, the result being that it has been superseded by Surat. The old site from which these coins have been unearthed and which is largely under water has also yielded some terracotta figurines which remind us of the prehistoric finds secured from some of the oldest sites of India (Fig. *a*). A number of coins found come from Amreli. Some of these are of lead and appear to be Andhra

though their legends are not decipherable. The find of the Andhra coins in these parts of Kathiawar is interesting and indicative of the existence of the Andhra domination (*cir.* 300 B.C. to 200 A.D.) over Kathiawad or Sorath.

One of the Nasik cave inscriptions shows that Kathiawad was annexed by the Andhra King Gotamiputra Satakarni to his kingdom, and as this king ruled about the year 106 A.D. it will be evident that Sorath was an Andhra province about the commencement of the second century A.D. Soon after this time it came under the sway of the Kshatrapas Rudradaman, the *Mahakshatrapa*, who ruled it in 150 A.D., as is shown by his long inscription on the Asokan Rock at Junagadh.

Dr. Hirananda Sastri has also made excavations in two othe old sites—namely, Amreli and Mula-Dvaraka. At Amreli h found a number of interesting terracotta images both Brahmanic and Buddhist, urns with ashes and human bones, pottery of various kinds and coins, some of which, as stated above, appear to be Andhra, some Kshatrapa, Gupta, etc. These were found in a site which was formerly a graveyard. A large number of fragmentary bangles probably made of conches and showing various designs were unearthed at different depths (Figs. *b*, *c*, *d*). Th remaining portions of conches from which the bangles wer carved out have also been found. The latter will show that th bangles were made on the spot. A solid structure built of larg bricks (18 ins. × 13 ins. × 3 ins.) has also been exposed. A sha sunk at its centre revealed some carved bangle pieces, charcoa and two conches. The find of bangle pieces would indicate th the structure is a *samadhi* or the place where the remains of lady were entombed. Digging was continued and at a depth about 22 feet a boulder of modest size was reached. When this block was removed a small spring of good drinking water was seen showing that the water level here is 22 feet. From the fact that effigies or sculptures representing issueless men or women are very often kept near wells, tanks, or springs, it is not unreasonable to surmise that the structure was erected in honour of an immaculate woman—*i.e.*, a lady who died without an issue or rather a son. According to Hindu belief a male issue is needed to save the parents from falling into *naraka* or hell. This idea is expressed by the term *putra* applied to sons. If one dies without an issue his (or her) effigy will be put somewhere near water to give peace to the unfortunate soul. In the north of India, especially in the Punjab, such effigies are called *auntar* (an *apabhramasa* of Sanskrit *aputra*).

The way in which the bricks or the upper portions of this solid structure have fallen would indicate that it has suffered from some seismic catastrophe. The area round this structure is what



FIG. A. TERRACOTTA IMAGE FROM KAMREJ. 1935-36.



FIG. 5.—TERRACOTTA IMAGES AND HEADS EXCAVATED AT AMARAVATI (GANTŪR DIST.).



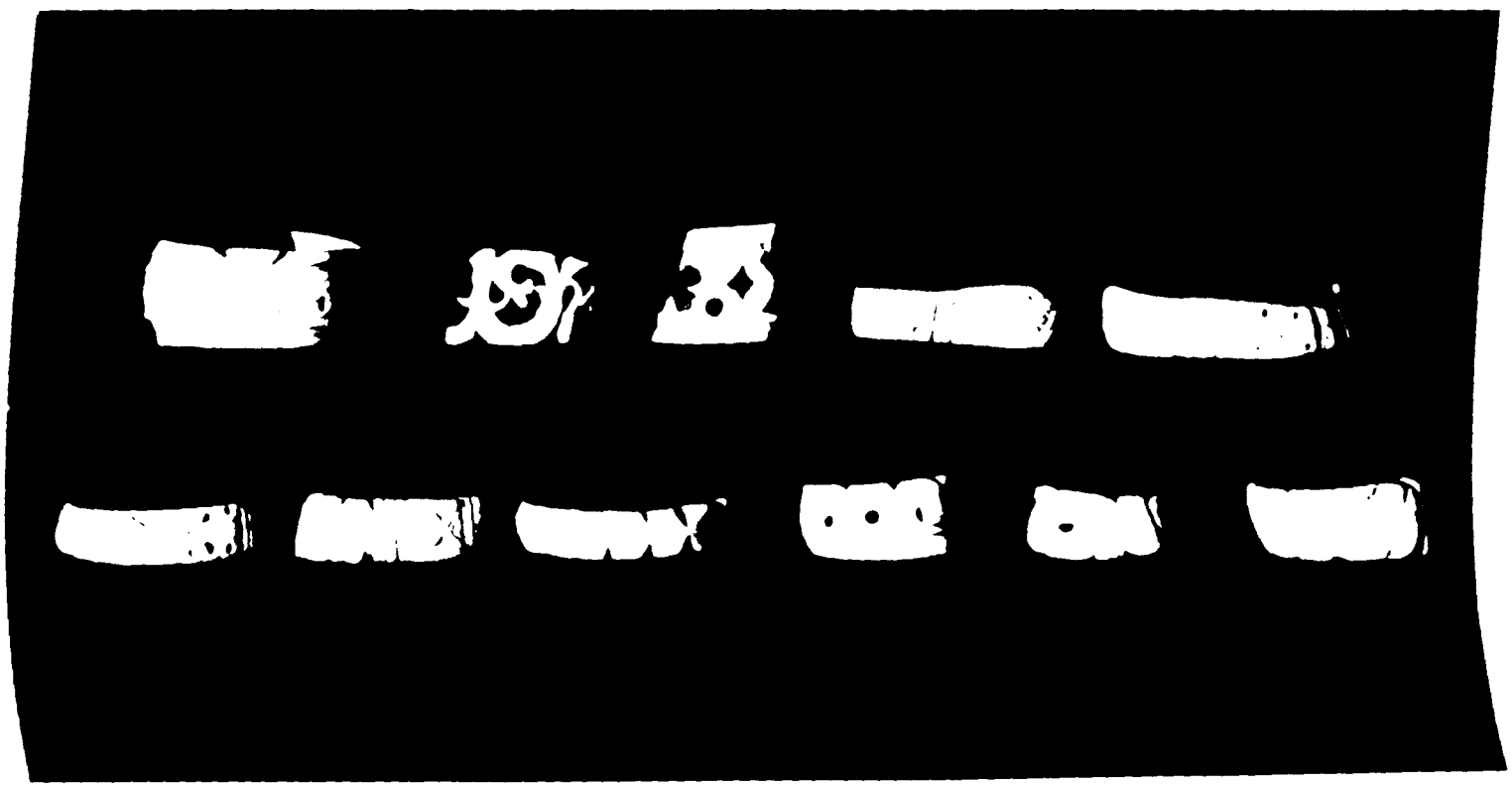


FIG. 4.—TERRACOTTA FIGURINES FROM AMRELI (KATHIAWAR), 1935-36.

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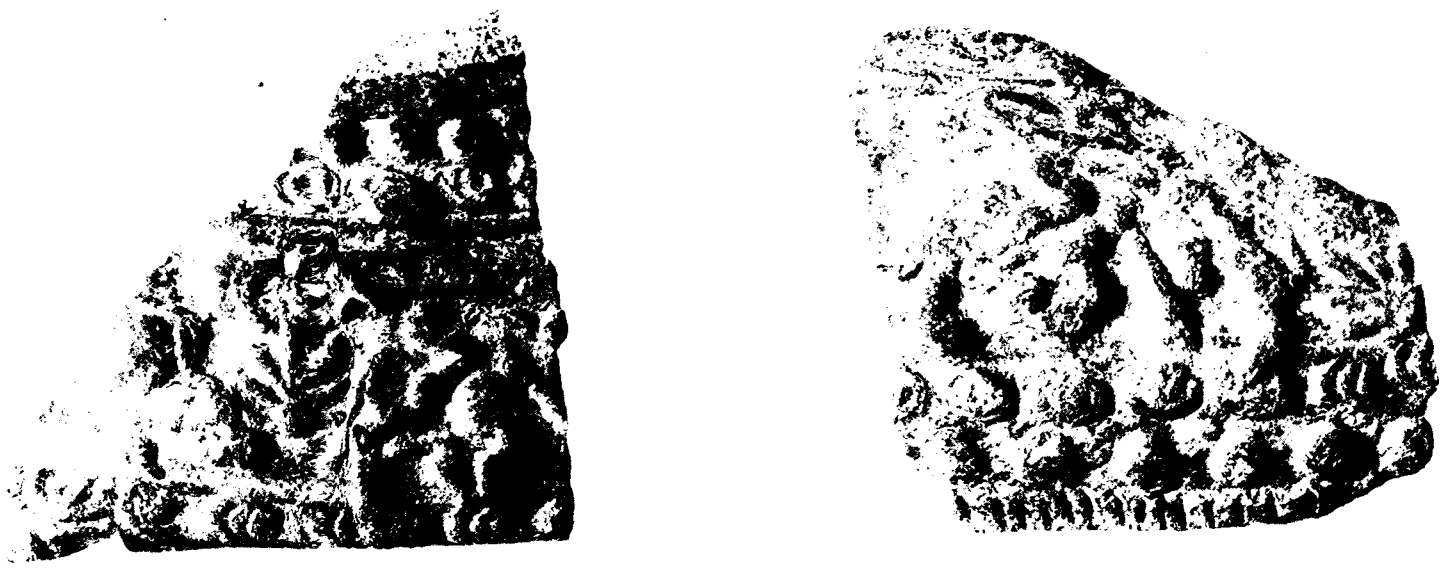


FIG. 5.—TWO FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY, REPRESENTING HUNTING SCENES, EXCAVATED AT AMRELI (KATHIAWAR), 1935-36.

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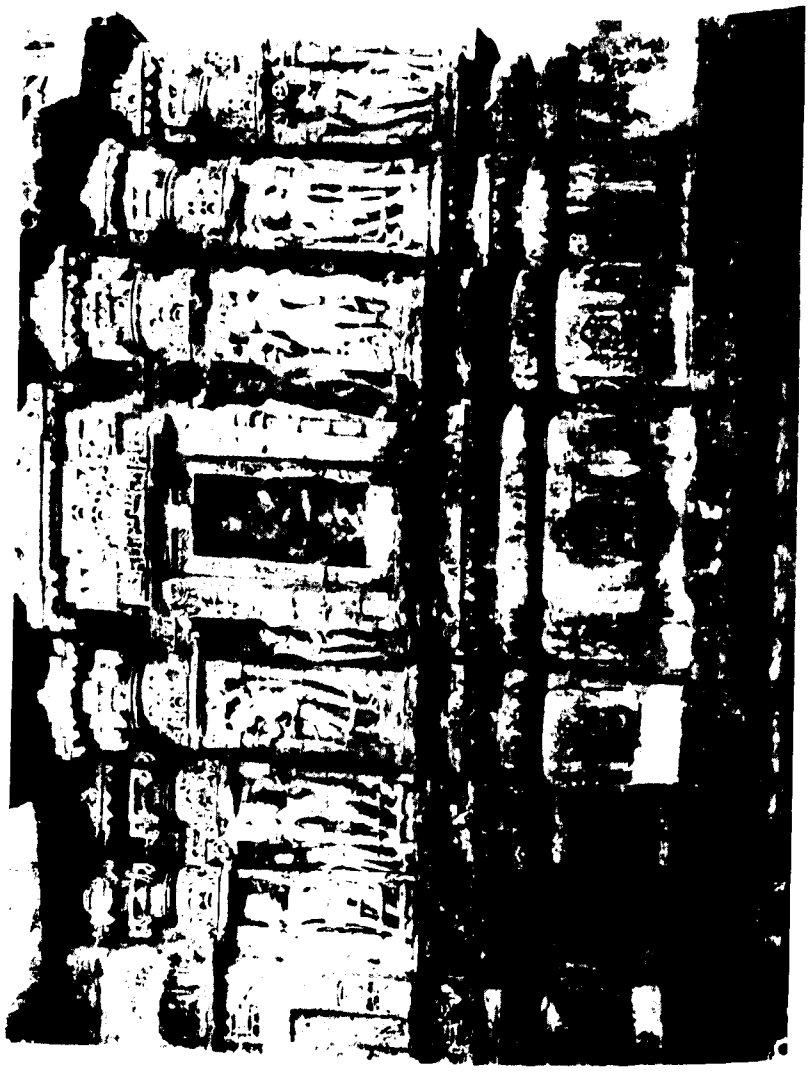


PLATE II.—JETTY IN THE WALL OF THE BUGHELA-NARA MAHALAYA (EMIL. XI-XII CENTURY A.D.) NAGRAPURA IN THE KHERALU

may be called a graveyard or the place where ashes were deposited or entombed. In some cases the ashes or remains were put in earthen pots which were buried, but in the majority of cases they were deposited in the ground and then stones, etc., were placed on them. This placing of stones reminds one of the human burial spoken of in the Rigveda.

The carving on the bangle pieces is of various designs (Fig. *d*) and shows that there must have been a local industry in these articles. These have not been chemically examined, but it is presumed that they are made of conches. But they resemble ivory pieces. Can we say that the word *ibha* can be applied to them also? Conches must have been brought from outside, from the nearest sea-coast. The fact that no complete specimen has been found is interesting, for it leads one to surmise that the bangles were intentionally broken and that they belonged to women who became widows and were thus not allowed to wear them. The practice of breaking the *chudis* of a widow still continues among the Hindus, especially high-caste Hindus.

On the opposite side of the graveyard—*i.e.*, on the river bank—foundations of brick buildings with one brick wall partition were found. These must have belonged to the old crematorium.

The figurines, pots, and other finds are represented in the accompanying photographs. Some fragments of pottery bear *shikar* scenes (Fig. *e*).

With a view to locating the old Dvarka or Dwaravati, the reputed residence of Lord Krishna, Dr. Hirananda Sastri has been excavating at the ancient site of Mula-Dvaraka, which is a small seaport of Baroda. Here he has dug out the remains of four different structures which are superimposed on one another; when one building fell another was erected on its remains. It is curious that no coins, sculptures, or inscriptions or other antiquities of the kind have yet been found. One copying stone with mineral colours and large fragments of some iron implement have been found at a depth of some 10 feet. A worn out complete figure of Maruti has also been dug out. Large lintels more or less carved have also been excavated. A mutilated large stone figure of Ganesa, the most favourite deity of the Hindu sculptors, already lay on this site. An old tank with stone steps and a stepped well of sweet water also exist close by. A small stepped well has now been opened not far off from the site of Mula-Dvaraka. It is interesting that foundations of buildings are very often seen in the sea itself at low tide, and that the remains of the old buildings which stood here point towards the sea which must have swallowed up the original buildings. As the present Dvaraka does not reveal any old remains one would infer from these finds and from other facts, such as its proximity to the Raivata hill and

Prabhasa, that Mula-Dvaraka, as its very name would indicate, stands on the locality of the antique Dvaravati, the abode of Lord Krishna.

The Director of the Department has taken a number of photographs of the monuments in the State and of the sculptures noticed on his tours (Fig *f*). Among the other activities of the Department mention should be made of the laudable efforts towards listing and conserving the old monuments of Baroda which are representative of the architectural genius of the State. Amongst these the priceless gates of the old Citadel of Dabhoi, the antique Darbhavati, the Sun Temple at Mudhera, and the Siva temple Rudramahalaya at Sidhpur, which was built by Siddharaja, the most famous ruler of the old Gujarat, may be mentioned. As evidenced by a fragmentary stone inscription, this old king probably diverted the course of the river Sarasvati to fill the Sahasralinga lake near his capital, showing that he must have had a skilled staff of engineers in his State, otherwise such a tremendous engineering feat could not have been accomplished.

Dr. Hirananda Sastri has also prepared two memoirs which are in the press and will be issued shortly. One covers a hitherto unknown ground and deals with the interesting theme of the development of the pictorial art in India in book illustrations. Sir V. T. Krishnamachari has added an introductory note to it. The other deals with the inscriptions on the Asokan Rock at Girnar and is intended as a guide-book for the visitors to that important monument of ancient India. Suitable illustrations are added to these publications.

The many-sided activities of the Archæological Department of Baroda are expected to bring forth good results. The work which has already been done is encouraging and satisfactory. The exploration of the ancient sites, especially of Mula-Dvaraka, is likely to bring out the relics of the distant past, possibly of the *Mahabharata* period itself. We look forward to the annual reports and special memoirs of the Department with interest.

INDIA AND THE FORTY HOURS WEEK

By Sir Homi Mehta

In 1933 and 1934 I was a delegate from India to the League of Nations, and this year it was my fortune, or misfortune, to be selected by the Government of India as the Indian Employers' delegate to the International Labour Conference at Geneva. There are 62 countries which are members of the International Labour Organization, commonly known as the I.L.O., and 49 of them this year sent delegates to represent their Governments, Employers, and Labour groups in the hope of bringing about conciliation and achieving measures of unity between the three groups.

It was difficult, as it always has been, to translate into practice the admirable theory underlying this Conference. Labour, quite naturally as some may say, asked for what it regards as better conditions of work with an air of detachment which suggested that the voice of Labour alone should be heard and that the other two groups were non-existent—an attitude which can find justification only in the circumstances that several hard-pressed Governments, in their anxiety to relieve unemployment, have thought it wise to stave off trouble by conceding the demands of Labour. In contrast to the attitude of Labour the two other groups—the Governments and the Employers—were compelled to consider their immense responsibilities and the practical aspects of the problems before the Conference. This was most of all evident in the long and strenuous discussion of the draft convention to reduce hours of work to 40 in a week. In the result Labour failed to get the required two-thirds majority and the proposal was left over to next year with the suggestion that the governing body of the Conference should convene a tripartite conference of Governments, Employers, and representatives of workpeople to endeavour to reach an understanding on the subject.

It has before now been said that the League of Nations touches nothing which it does not adjourn, and that bitter taunt, distinguished by more wit than exactitude, can in this case be applied to the Conference of the I.L.O. But the adjournment will do no harm, and may indeed lead to a better appreciation of the inherent difficulties of the question.' As a matter of general principle it seems to me to be physically impossible to bring 62 countries into line to agree to any formula radically affecting conditions of labour. Each and every country has its own labour problems and has, moreover, to contend with its peculiarities of society, climate,

economics, and finance. I have heard it said, for instance, that an enormous reduction of hours of labour in many industries and enormously increased holidays are one of the social necessities of the present day in England. As to that I express no opinion, for it is not my business to take sides in what does not concern me in this country; but it is obvious that what is a social necessity in one country may be wholly undesirable in another. One is strengthened in that conviction by observing the present unsettled state of the world. Since the Great War no country has fully recovered its normal condition. The most skilled economists have so far failed to discover what really ails the world, and, in view of that failure, the proposed adoption of universal remedies is a mere groping in the dark. Yet in every country men are turning away disheartened from the stern business of diagnosis, which must precede all curative endeavour, and are trying experiments which are little more than stunts and which only succeed in raising even more false hopes than those with which the world is already cursed. In the U.S.A. the President with his vast powers has initiated projects to relieve unemployment which are as staggering in their scope as they have been unfruitful in their results: the budgetary position in the past three years has gone from bad to worse, and the deficits run into billions of dollars which must tell their tale in the near future. In France the new Government lost no time in making concessions to Labour. They have adopted the 40 hours week, hurried legislation for holidays with pay, increased salaries, and taken other measures, with the result that bewildered employers are already asking for subsidies and threatening to close their works if that help is not forthcoming. Such action can only mean that still more taxation must be imposed, or instead of an increase in employment there will be a decrease and loss of trade.

Unless a country is prepared for them, drastic changes in its political life are not only useless but harmful; and the more one sees of these changes the more evident does it become that to look at the problem of industry from one angle only can never pay. The employers, who find bread and butter for millions of workers and who have enormous interests in their country, must have their say if any good is to accrue from sweeping changes. They would, of course, recognize the folly of putting a premium on idleness, if only because they know that hard work kills nobody and have tested that maxim by their own long hours of mental work, hours that are longer and far more tiring than those of the manual worker. If, in brief, the experience and counsel of the employers are to be ignored or over-ridden, the world, instead of getting back to normal conditions, must be engulfed in even greater misery than that which is now unhappily apparent.

Both general and specific considerations should be applied to the proposal for the 40 hours week. As I have already said, I do not believe in the possibility of getting the nations to agree on any such proposal or, if their delegates should agree, of getting their legislatures to ratify and implement the undertaking. But supposing the 40 hours week were to be adopted and failed to bring about more employment. What then? Disappointed Labour might ask for a 30 hours week or even less. The reduction of hours clearly could not be carried on indefinitely without producing chaos and absurdity in industry. Yet one may be sure that the workers will never be logical enough to recognize the point at which the hours cannot be further reduced. In most countries, and more particularly in those which are not highly organized, the question which industrialists have most to consider is the cost of production. If that cost rises beyond a certain limit the result must be the closing of works, the strangling of private enterprise, more unemployment, and increased dissatisfaction on every side.

It is more my concern, however, to look at the question of the 40 hours week from the point of view of India, and if I primarily do so from the Employers' angle of vision, as was my duty at Geneva, it shall not be said that I have overlooked the interests of Labour. First of all the point must be made, however regrettable it may be, that, despite the great upheaval of recent years, India is at least 50 years behind advanced nations in every department of economic life, agriculture, industry, business, and commerce. One hears much of the renaissance of Indian art and the emergence of India as a politically-minded nation. Those may be excellent movements of their kind, but, unless there is a real national effort to bring India up to date in commerce and industry—including agriculture, which is, of course, far and away the greatest of Indian industries—there is going to be no substantial progress towards prosperity. Two examples alone will bear me out in that contention. Though we had a long start in the cotton manufacturing industry over Japan, that country has beaten us in spite of paying 50 per cent. import duty on cotton goods exported to India. The more recently established steel industry, while it does infinite credit to the great firm of Tatas, would have died in infancy if it had not been for protection, and even now, after twenty years of experience, it can only hold its own with the help of heavy protection. Even so there has been little initiative in the manufacture of machinery, tools, and such necessities as motor-cars. India claims to be sufficiently industrialized to be represented at the International Labour Conference, and the claim can be justified—by consistent industrial progress such as we ought to be making! No Tariff Board, least of all one formed on the anti-

must be individualist, not from choice but of necessity enforced by those factors of climate and temperament to which reference has already been made.

It may be thought that such a conclusion, which is tantamount to disillusion, upsets the whole basis of the I.L.O. which was established in 1919 as a part of the Peace Settlement. In establishing the I.L.O. the Powers professed to be moved by "sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world," and the preamble declares that "conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship, and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled, and the improvement of those conditions is urgently required." It is not my function to examine to what extent the I.L.O. has succeeded in remedying those evils. It has adopted a large number of conventions and has found it extremely difficult to persuade member States—and those by no means only the backward States—to ratify them; and, what is more to its credit, it has done good work in promoting discussion, spreading information and inducing countries to improve their own laws relating to labour. How it came about that the leading industrial countries refused to accept the Washington Hours Convention does not at the moment concern us, but it is a matter of concern that one failure should have led on to another proposal of a kind which appears still less likely to meet with acceptance. It is true that in the case of India, as of Japan also, special provisions were made in the Washington Convention for the modification of the 48 hours week. That was in accordance with the constitution of the I.L.O. which laid down that "in framing any recommendation or draft convention of general application the Conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organizations, or other special circumstances make industrial conditions substantially different, and shall suggest the modifications, if any, which it considers may be required to meet the cases of such countries." Thus since India's special conditions have been once recognized under that wise provision, they should be similarly recognized again. The need for that recognition now is greater than at any previous time. India stands to gain nothing, but to lose much, by a further reduction in the hours of labour, and no emphasis on that fact can be too great or too insistent even though the proposal for a 40 hours week has been adjourned at Geneva.

It may be necessary to add—since the procedure of the International Labour Conference is not widely understood—that if in due course the proposed 40 hours convention is again brought up and adopted by the Conference it has no binding force on any country. Each member State has then to accept or reject it. The history of the Conferences up to the present does not encourage one to suppose that this convention would receive anything like general acceptance, and that circumstance may in itself tell effectively against any further reconsideration of the proposal. But the danger is not on that account lightly to be ignored, least of all in India, standing as she now does on the brink of a great constitutional experiment, and for that reason employers of labour, trade union leaders, and politicians in India should realize the fatal implications in the idea of a 40-hours week in their own country. That realization can only be achieved if all those various classes of leaders will clear their minds of cant and honestly study the realities of the industrial position with which they are faced.

quated model with which India has become familiar, can in my opinion dig India out of the rut in which she is embedded; but much might be done if the Government would adopt some such system as obtains in England, where the President of the Board of Trade has not only his expert permanent staff, but the assistance of advice from men of standing in any industry or trade which may require special consideration. That is not a point which need now be elaborated, but it is one which I feel confident may receive the attention of the present Viceroy who, with wide experience and knowledge of our agricultural problems, is showing a desire to introduce reforms that has already marked him as one of the staunchest friends India has ever known. That Lord Linlithgow should have already established himself so firmly and so deservedly in popular esteem is the brightest omen for the future that has been seen for very many years.

Would a 40 hours week be possible and would it profit India? Ninety per cent. of India's 350 millions of population is engaged in agriculture, and even the most ardent advocates of the measure do not suggest that the reduction of hours should or could be applied to that agricultural population. Less than 5 per cent. of the total is employed in factories, but even so that figure comes to about 17½ millions. Are they to be put on a 40 hours week? None who really understand the conditions of labour in an Indian cotton mill, for example, will seriously support that proposal. Owing to climatic conditions an Indian mill must employ about four times as many operatives as would be necessary in the more temperate climate of Europe. No man in India can efficiently attend to a machine for more than an hour or an hour and a half at a time, for the temperature during the hot weather is somewhere about 110, rising to 120 in the mill shed; and when the utmost has been done to reduce the temperature, and the thermometer has been brought to 100, the increase in humidity is so great that continued work is still impossible. So it comes about that, although the week is nominally one of 54 hours, the actual work put in by the labourers is not more than six hours a day, because at the end of every hour or two the workman leaves his job in search of rest and fresh air. Nothing can stop that practice, and it provides the main argument against introducing the 40 hours week into Indian factories. The Indian operative can no more work for seven hours a day continuously and well than he can work for nine hours a day. Reduce his nominal hours of work to 40 in the week and he will in practice work for somewhere about 33 hours or, at the utmost, 36 hours. The result inevitably follows that he will produce a smaller quantity of finished goods, the employer will not be able to pay the same wages for the lower production, a smaller quantity of raw

material will be consumed in the mills, and the producers of raw cotton will therefore get a lower price for their raw cotton, and so the whole agricultural population will suffer.

In addition to this very important factor of the influence of climate upon the working capacity of a factory operative it has to be remembered that Indian industries are not flourishing and that some of them are demonstrably on the down grade. It is true that India has recovered more quickly than many countries from the effects of the Great War, and that, although there are no Indian statistics of labour in proof of this, there is probably less unemployment by comparison there than in European countries, but that unhappily does not connote a happy state of industry. Though India grows, for example, enough cotton for her own needs and is still able to export about one-third of the crop to Japan, Great Britain, and the Continent, she is unable to compete with rivals who import cotton piece-goods into India. That is not the result of bad management in Indian mills, but of the conditions of labour and, partly, of exchange. The stern reality has had to be faced, and within the past three or four years the Indian mill industry has diminished to such an extent that nearly 20 per cent. of the machinery (nearly 500,000 spindles and about 10,000 looms) has been scrapped. When that is the state of the industry, how can it be seriously suggested that employers should agree to reduced hours and to paying more for a smaller production? As it is, the factory workers in India get wages which are two or three times greater than those paid to agricultural workers. No case for increasing that disparity has been made out.

There are other objections to India adopting the 40-hours week, which I brought forward at Geneva and which may be briefly summarized. If British India were to adopt and ratify the proposed hours convention she would at once place herself at a disadvantage compared with the Indian States. A time might come when those States might find it to their interest to follow the example of British India; but, even if that were to be the case, years would elapse during which factories in the States would profit by comparison with the handicapped factories in British India. Moreover, India once bitten is twice shy of these international conventions affecting hours of labour. India and other countries, including Japan, agreed to the provisions of the 1919 Washington Conference. India loyally stood by the conditions then imposed and worked a 60 hours week. Japan agreed to a 56 hours week, but has not honoured her signature to that contract. There is a significant warning in that episode which cannot be forgotten, and it leads to the conclusion that in these matters affecting labour and the conditions of work a country like India

BUILDINGS, BRIDGES AND ROAD CONSTRUCTION IN MYSORE STATE

By B. Munivenkatappa
(Engineering Contractor, Mysore State.)

The Mysore State is reputed for the large number of Government buildings of an architectural character constructed during the last three decades.

During the last ten years—that is, from the time Sir Mirza Ismail assumed the Dewanship of the State—the progress towards the construction of fine buildings both in Mysore and Bangalore has been very remarkable.

From the time Sir Mirza became the Dewan, his main policy has been to stamp out unemployment and improve the industries of the State. In all his budget speeches this was his foremost thought, and so, in order to decrease the number of unemployed, particularly among the middle and lower classes, he started the various works that were in hand and those under consideration. He said that such works need not necessarily be merely utilitarian but may also be beautiful, for beauty and order are as necessary to the welfare of the nation as utility. Sir Mirza stimulated the rapid progress of a large number of buildings, irrigation works and a higher standard of road maintenance required by modern conditions. He thus provided and is providing work for the unemployed.

Numerous buildings, such as town halls, high schools and hospitals, have been constructed in many towns of the State at a total cost of about approximately £220,500, in view of their forward policy connected with the improvement of towns, expansion of education and extension of medical aid.

Among buildings thus erected and under construction during the last ten years may be mentioned the Vani Vilas Hospital for women and children, the Engineering College at Bangalore, the McGann Hospital at Shimoga, The New Hospital Buildings at Kolar, the Medical College at Mysore, the Exhibition Buildings, the railway offices, the new Mental Hospital, the Telephone Exchange building and last, but not least important, the Lalita Mahal Palace at Mysore, built in an enchanting style of architecture.

A short description of the important buildings is here necessary.

Lalita Mahal Palace.—This magnificent building was constructed at a cost of £172,500. It is at the foot of the Chamundi

Hills, perched on the top of an eminence about 2,600 feet above sea-level. The main building is constructed in the classical style of architecture with symmetrical and proportioned rooms on either side of the central or main dome portion. The exterior has an exceedingly quiet outline. The front is executed in fine finished plaster cornices and balustraded parapet, with sills and gablet cornices over the windows. The south and north faces of the banqueting and dining halls have open paved terraces with a balustraded parapet.

The main building measures 325 feet by 225 feet. The heights of the building are: ground floor, 21 feet; first floor, 19 feet. The central tower has a height of 133 feet above ground-level to the tip of the finial over the cupola surmounting the dome. There are four subsidiary towers around the central dome, each of these having a total height of 85 feet above ground-level. In addition to these, there are two end towers 92 feet in height, which rise above corner rooms. The entrance to the east of the main hall opens into a corridor 32 feet wide, on either end of which are the State ballroom and banqueting halls with Italian marble stairs between them.

The building provides for all up-to-date conveniences, such as electric light, finely equipped retiring-rooms, bathrooms, etc. On all important occasions the building is floodlit with electricity, and then the panorama, especially when seen from a distance, is truly magnificent. Distinguished guests are accommodated here. It is built in a quiet and healthy suburb in Mysore city, where one can enjoy rest and leisurely occupations.

The Silver Jubilee Technological Institute at Bangalore.—In commemoration of the Silver Jubilee of the most gracious and benevolent reign of His Highness Sir Sri Krishnarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., a Technological Institute is being constructed at Bangalore. The building is estimated to cost about £20,700.

The structure is of stone, and when completed will be one of the loftiest structures in Bangalore. The type of structure is modern with a touch of the Mughal style. The height of the building is 120 feet, and there are two curved wings on the sides. There will be a tower in the centre of the building and a clock of the latest design, striking the quarter, the half-hour and hours in musical chimes, will be installed. The façade is well designed, consisting of two spacious halls measuring about 65 feet by 22 feet and two large pentagonal rooms. The beauty of the façade is enhanced by the high carved stone columns.

Vani Vilas Hospital for Women and Children.—This hospital building has been constructed at the cost of about £30,000. It is a large two-storied granite stone structure with an open quad-

rangle in the centre and an imposing central dome of cut-stone work at the top. The hospital is provided with a large and well-lighted operation theatre equipped on the latest lines.

The building is fitted with the latest type of electric lights and fans, electric lifts and telephone communications, while the sanitary fittings are of the most modern and up-to-date description.

The grandeur and beauty is being further enhanced by the lay-out of a wide and spacious garden and lawn terraces in the front with a long trough fountain in the centre. The dome is flood-lit.

Sir Puttanna Chetty Town Hall at Bangalore.—This building was constructed at a cost of £7,500. This town hall fills a long-felt need. It was made possible by a generous donation of £5,625 made by Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty, a retired Member of Council, and a contribution of £1,875 by the Bangalore Municipality. It is well equipped with modern electric and sanitary fittings. It consists of a spacious hall of 60 feet by 102 feet, a foyer or crush-room of 60 feet by 20 feet in the ground floor and a corresponding set in the first floor, and verandahs in front and sides. The exterior lighting is through flood-light with electric fancy lightings in the centre.

Development of Bridges and Roads.—Most of the arterial roads in the Mysore State are bridged, and traffic can use these roads during all the seasons of the year. The Mysore Government has been very attentive to the growing importance of the inter-provincial communications and has been rapidly bridging the streams with roads. During the last thirty years the Government has constructed nineteen bridges at a total cost of £175,800, the latest important additions being the following:

1. Narasimharaja Bridge across the Hemavati river at Akkihebbal.

2. Sri Krishnarajendra Bridge across the Cauvery river at T. Narasipur.

3. Vani Vilas Bridge across the Kabini river at T. Narasipur.

The details in regard to these bridges recently completed are briefly given below.

Narasimharaja Bridge.—This bridge is of granite masonry with 21 arches of 30 feet span. The total cost of the bridge is £17,325. The over-all length of the bridge is 726 feet and the cost works out at £24 per running foot.

Sri Krishnarajendra Bridge.—This bridge is the longest so far constructed in the Mysore State, being 1,434 feet from end to end of abutments and consists of 16 spans of 80 feet and one of 60 feet. The steel trusses used are of the Baltimore type. The actual cost of the bridge is about £45,000. The cost per square foot of waterway is £1 14s. The bridge is of granite masonry with steel structure.

Vani Vilas Bridge.—This bridge is an important link in the communications in the Mysore State and the provinces of Madras and Coorg. The Government of India has given a grant of half the cost of the bridge from the reserve in the Road account. The bridge is a combined granite masonry and steel structure. It consists of eleven spans, the nine central ones being of 80 feet each and the two end ones of 60 feet. The steel trusses are of the Warren type.

The overall length of the bridge is 990 feet from end to end. The total cost of the bridge is £25,875. The cost per foot run of the bridge works out at £24 9s. The cost per square foot is £1.

These two bridges are constructed across the two rivers, Cauvery and its tributary Kabini, above their confluence. The author, representing Messrs. Narayanaswamy and Sons, was the contractor for these two bridges, and the construction was successfully and satisfactorily completed by him within the stipulated time of four years and two years respectively.

The difficulties of preparing the open foundations in rivers were overcome by the use of interlocking steel plates and cofferdams of sandbags within the enclosed area.

Another bridge over the Cauvery at Ramanathpur is now under construction. It is expected to be completed before June, 1938. The design adopted is a masonry arched structure. The cost of the bridge is estimated at £20,380. The Government of India has been pleased to meet half the cost of the bridge. The bridge will consist of 21 vents of 30 feet span and one-fourth rise. The overall length of the bridge will be 739 feet and the waterway 16,825 square feet.

Some more bridges have still to be built, and the work is being taken up as funds permit, and in order of necessity, according to a ten-years' programme sanctioned by the Government of the State.

Mysore, in addition to the arterial roads, has a system of magnificent highways intersecting the country in all directions. Even in the remotest parts of the State, cultivators are able to carry their produce to the markets during all the seasons of the year.

Trunk roads run through all the district headquarters to the frontiers of the State, connecting the east coast and the adjoining British districts with the west coast over the tableland of Mysore. Besides the construction of the new roads, improvements in the alignment of old ones, provision of bridges across rivers and other measures to meet modern requirements have been continuously carried out. A good system of roads financed by local boards radiates from each district headquarters to the interior parts of the districts. As the railways were extended, feeder roads have been made in those parts where none originally existed.

Roads are classified as " State Funds Roads " and " Local Board Roads " according as the funds for their construction and maintenance are allotted from the State or Local Board revenue. These are further classified as metalled or gravelled according as the surface is treated with metal or gravel. The total length of State Fund roads at present maintained is 2,185 miles, of which 2,031 miles have metalled surface, and 3,505 miles of Local Boards roads are also being maintained by the Public Works Department at the cost of the District Boards.

It will be seen that for every square mile of the State, there is 0·3 mile of roads. This does not include village roads, which are numerous. The average expenditure on State Fund roads is £61,650.

Nature is very favourable to Mysore, in that good granite metal quarries are available all along the roads and the subsoil is mostly gravel. As the country is cut up there is no drainage problem to be solved. Mysore State is a great attraction to tourists. The roads are being maintained in a very efficient condition. During the last ten years numerous deviations of roads taking them outside the Municipal limits of crowded towns have been effected.

The approach road to the two capital cities of Bangalore and Mysore have been tarred so as to minimize the dust caused by the extended use of motor vehicles, which is a feature of modern times.

Attempts are being made to tar the roads within the municipal limits of towns on all the arterial roads. Until lately the by-product of sugar factories—*i.e.*, *molasses*—was a waste material. For the first time in Mysore the molasses is being used in combination with lime for the road surface. This is giving satisfaction during summer by allaying the dust and potholes, etc.

Beautiful avenues of trees have been planted on all the State and Local Board roads in the State, thus making the roads shady and pleasant.

Rapid progress is being made in adapting the surface of roads to modern conditions, and various experimental works are in progress.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES FROM 1928 TO 1935

By Dr. Cecile Rothe
(Colonial Institute, Amsterdam.)

I

N.B.—The statistics quoted in the article are those available up to May 1, 1936.

Introduction

The present article is an attempt to give a general survey of the development of the Netherlands Indies during the years of depression, their present situation in world economics, and the struggle of both Government and the inhabitants to withstand the bad times.

We will not deal with the political situation, but confine ourselves to economics, because they are at present of the utmost importance for the country and because at this time of general depression internal political movements in the Netherlands Indies have practically lost interest. This may somewhat be explained by the fact that at the present time the whole society, European as well as indigenous, has to pay all its attention to keep up and to resist the daily economic difficulties; the native inhabitants, though they are in a less favourable situation than in the previous years, do not feel discontented with their condition, and therefore political influences from abroad do not make a deep impression.

Instead of being upset by political agitation, the natives of the Netherlands Indies have adapted themselves admirably to the hard time. Thus a survey of conditions in the Netherlands Indies, in which stress is laid on the economic consequences of the present time of depression, illustrates the side of life which comes most to the fore.

It is a rather sad task to draw up the balance of the economic situation of a country during a period which begins in a time of high prosperity and terminates in deepest depression.

The pivot upon which the whole situation turns is the question whether the country has been able to adapt itself to the new circumstances, and we shall try to give some impression thereof, afterwards considering briefly the various factors which have been at work during the period of depression.

Adaptation

In general in the Netherlands Indies adaptation to the crisis conditions was effected more rapidly and more thoroughly than elsewhere, a circumstance which may be described as beneficial to the country; the need for adjustment arose in the Netherlands Indies earlier than in other countries, and the country's peculiar conditions favoured in some degree the adaptation.

After the war production was considerably expanded, in order to meet the increased requirements of the world market, and as a consequence of the extraordinary rise of prices. This expansion soon led to difficulties. A little diversified and mostly agricultural country like the Netherlands Indies is wholly dependent for outlet of its products on the free world market, where prices are determined by the law of supply and demand. When other countries could still keep up prices artificially on dependent markets during a short time, the Netherlands Indies experienced difficulties in selling their abundant produce already before 1930, and prices dropped in consequence.

We have called the social conditions of the Netherlands Indies peculiar, and in fact the country shows most clearly the peculiar structure of a dualistic colonial society. Of its population of nearly 62 millions about 60 millions are natives, 1½ million Chinese and other Orientals, and some 250,000 Europeans.

There is a rather big difference between the European and the native sphere which is clearly demonstrated by the difference in European and native agriculture. European estates are self-evidently working wholly as money economy; native agriculture, on the contrary, is partly a products economy; money is dear and barter always plays a rôle; wages in native agriculture have always been lower than those on the estates.

The greater part of the natives are engaged in agriculture for home consumption. It is true that many native products such as copra, coffee, and rubber are export products, and that, especially in the last few years, production for sale on the world market is increasing in various parts of the Netherlands Indies and brings to the natives a considerable income. Those farmers are dependent on the world market of their products; however, the situation is such that the agriculturists are ready to return for the greater part to production for home consumption, when circumstances require it—that is, when the market of their export product no longer offers a profit.

During the years of depression the acreage under food crops has indeed increased for two reasons. Firstly, native agriculturists have partly fallen back on the cultivation of food crops instead of that of export crops for reasons of safety; secondly, an area in

Java which was no more planted with sugar cane in the customary rotation of crops was now wholly devoted to cultivation of foodstuffs.

The Government has drawn special attention to cultivation of food crops. On the occasion of the treatment of the Budget for 1933 in the People's Council, the consequences of the world depression had occupied the centre of interest, and, apart from the discussions about commercial policy, the necessity to stimulate home production most efficiently came to the fore. An Economic Working Scheme, which included measures as to native agriculture, cattle breeding and industry, was drawn up, to be gradually carried out during the following years. The greater home supply of foodstuffs makes the native population still less dependent on the world market. We shall have to revert to this subject in connection with the Government measures as to rice and other foodstuffs.

A part of the natives have a closer contact with the European society, and they feel most the direct effects of depression. They find employment on the estates and are in that way rather dependent on the market of the product concerned. A typical example of dependency of natives in European estates is found in the sugar districts. The density of population of the island of Java, which has a total of 41 millions of inhabitants and an average of 316 per square kilometre, constitutes a severe problem. Whereas Java occupies only 7 per cent. of the total area of the Netherlands Indies, it has nearly 70 per cent. of the total native population; from 1920 to 1930 its population increased by 6½ millions. In various of the most densely populated parts of Java the native farmer would not have been able to earn his living if he had not had the opportunity of getting an extra income from lease of his ground to European sugar estates and from wages as seasonal labourer on those estates.

The Java sugar industry has been compelled to reduce its sphere of action to less than one-sixth of what it has been in the good years. The consequences of this reduction weigh heavily on the native population in the sugar districts; the sum furnished to the natives in wages and rent, which in good years—*e.g.*, 1929—amounted to respectively some 125 millions of guilders yearly, was estimated in 1934 at no more than 10 and 6½ millions. In the sugar industry 800,000 native seasonal labourers had to be discharged. It is self-evident that the standard of living in these districts has been reduced to the lowest possible level. Owing to the drop in the costs of most necessary foodstuffs and to an increase of rice crops, and, above all, owing to the adaptability of native society, the inhabitants have been able to withstand the catastrophe. In dealing with industrialization we shall have to

revert to these questions. A symptom of the serious impoverishment in those densely populated areas, however, is the inclination to go overseas—*e.g.*, to South Sumatra, where colonies of Javanese agriculturists have been established.

Another example is the employment of labourers from Java in estates in the Outer Provinces—*e.g.*, the east coast of Sumatra. During the prosperous years some 700,000 Javanese were at work in that district, whereas in 1934 the number had fallen to 165,000; during 1935 it has again been somewhat on the increase. The greater part of the labourers who had been dismissed returned to Java and came back into the family society.

In the purely native society money is scarce; money is a means of exchange in the strictest sense. It can more easily be substituted by goods because desires are not in the first place directed at money, but at the satisfaction of needs.

The quantity of money in circulation has considerably shrunk in consequence of the prices of native export products having fallen; this fall was accentuated by the fact that the natives sell their products to middlemen and buying-up prices relatively have decreased more than wholesale prices. Further, the supply of money has shrunk by the lowering of wages, etc. Thus the natives have reverted in the last few years still more to a products economy than in times of welfare. The value of the smaller quantity of money becomes greater and the prices of goods paid for with money thus fall; so the purchasing power of the money possessed by the native society has fairly been maintained.

This may to some extent explain that in comparison with many Western countries the adjustment of native society to the depression has been fairly easy. But though the process of adaptation has developed harmoniously, this does not mean that the native population has not become badly impoverished during the period of depression. Certainly it has, but in comparison with other countries the economic change has taken place in a more natural way.

The following table of index figures demonstrates that cost of necessities of life for the natives has decreased more than for the European inhabitants in comparison with the pre-war period.

INDEX FIGURES OF THE NECESSITIES OF LIFE. (1913 = 100.)

	Natives.	*Europeans.*
1928	157	167
1930	152	163
1931	102	146
1932	75½	123
1933	62	105
1934	61	92½
1935	64½	87½

As has already been said, European society in the Netherlands Indies is completely adjusted to a money economy, and therefore an adaptation to a simpler state gives rise to much greater difficulties. Companies had to adjust their business as far as possible to the lower receipts caused by the detrimental fall of prices of export products, and therefore attempted to bring down the cost of production. Measures to increase the yield per unit had already been studied since a number of years. A further decrease of the cost price had to be attained by a lowering of the wages of the European as well as of the native labourers.

In many cases these measures did not give sufficient compensation for the decline in receipts, and it became necessary to restrict the production apparatus, as has been done as regards sugar, rubber, tea, etc., in order to restore the equilibrium; we shall revert to these restriction measures later.

The effect of both economizing measures and restriction measures, which resulted in some rise in selling prices, has been that there are, generally speaking, no more losses on the products, though there is not yet (or only in exceptional cases) question of any yield on the capital invested in various businesses.

It is self-evident that the depression in industries has given rise to unemployment among the Europeans as well as among the native and Chinese inhabitants. No estimate can be given as to unemployment of the natives and Chinese, because in general the unemployed return to the family society, and therefore for these classes unemployment is expressed by a general deterioration in the standard of living. Only the professional workers in the towns can be compared with the European labourers, because they can no longer rely on the assistance of relatives. The number of unemployed Europeans at the beginning of 1935 was about 10,000, or 11·5 per cent. of the male Europeans, including the Indo-Europeans, who are by far the greater part. An amount of one million guilders has been voted on the Budget for 1936 for unemployment relief.

BUDGET

As a matter of fact, not only private business but also Government finances have had, and have still, a hard time, and the utmost has been done to bring them through the process of adjustment. It can easily be understood that in a country like the Netherlands Indies, which lives chiefly on production of export products, the national revenue has been affected by the depression with extraordinary rapidity, whereas expenditure has not been adapted to circumstances within the same time. Although by a number of drastic economizing measures more than 25 per cent.

Trade Balance

Depression has had an extraordinarily strong influence on the foreign trade of the Netherlands Indies.

They form a producing country of a typically colonial nature, exporting raw materials which consist of the agricultural products of European and native plantations and of mining products, and importing manufactures to satisfy the needs of the population and capital goods for the large-scale agricultural and mining industries. It is noteworthy that during the last few years a part of the import of some articles is being replaced by home production. We shall revert to this later on when dealing with the extent of industrialization.

The Netherlands Indies have not only been suffering from the effects of the strongly diminished prices of its main export products, but also from the fact that they have not been able to supply their needs by imports at proportionally low prices; in this respect the imports from Japan have brought a certain relief, especially as regards the satisfaction of needs of the native population.

The table below shows the index figures of export and import value; the year 1928 is taken as 100.

Index Figures.

	1928.	1929.	1930.	1931.	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.
Export ...	100	98	70	53	42	35	34	37
Import ...	100	100	94	75	61	50	48	47

Notwithstanding the unfavourable conditions and in spite of the tremendous fall in the value of exports, the Netherlands Indies have succeeded in keeping an export surplus during the years of depression. This is shown by the following figures:

Foreign Trade of the Netherlands Indies in Millions of Guilders.

	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1931.	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.
Exports ...	1,656	1,590	1,488	1,192	798	574	493	527	499
Imports ...	927	1,030	1,166	922	610	410	331	292	279
Surplus of exports	729	560	322	270	188	164	162	235	220

Exports must exceed imports, as, in a colonial country with so little capital of its own, the export value is the only important item on the active side of the paying balance, whereas the passive side shows various items in addition to the amounts to be paid for imports—*e.g.*, the payment for interest and redemption of the national debt, pensions, etc. Therefore an active trade balance is a vital question to the country. Thanks to the adaptation to circumstances which has been thoroughly carried through, the

trade balance has indeed remained active to such a degree that the monetary position of the country may be considered sound.

As has already been said, Government as well as private business tried to restore the equilibrium to a lower level by means of a strong deflation. Drastic economizing measures were applied to exploitation costs in order to bring down cost prices. The extension of the production apparatus which had been pursued through the years immediately before 1930 has been stopped.

But in spite of economizing measures the diminished value of the export has made it impossible for almost all enterprises engaged in it to make profits; at present the amount received for the products has to serve to cover nearly all the production costs, whereas in the years before the depression sums could be paid as profits on the capital invested or could be used for extension. Therefore the figure of the export surplus in 1934 has a different significance to that in a prosperous year as 1929.

Investments

It may be useful to give here a little space to investments in order to convey an impression of the large amounts laid out in the Netherlands Indies to bring the production capacity to such a high level and to assess the interests both Dutch and foreign taking part in the economic development of the Netherlands Indies.

Holland has adopted a colonial policy which has made it possible for foreign capital to share in the development of the natural resources of the Netherlands Indies; as a consequence of the great demand for various colonial products in the years after the war and the extraordinary rise of prices thereof, European business in the Netherlands Indies was enlarged considerably and investments both Dutch and foreign were made on a large scale. In those years, which were considered as the beginning of a period of great welfare and not as an extraordinary period of short duration, enterprise, in particular agriculture, was raised to a high level that could not be maintained in later years, when the world market was less eager to buy these products.

It is difficult to estimate the amounts invested in various businesses. For the large-scale agriculture a calculation of the capital invested in the year 1929 has been made. This estimate concerns the chief plantation districts—viz., Java, the east coast of Sumatra, and South Sumatra. The calculation has been made in such a way that the average cost per hectare was estimated for each culture; thus the cost of sugar plantations was estimated at 4,000 Dutch guilders per hectare, chiefly in machinery and buildings; that of rubber plantations at 1,200 guilders in Java and 1,500 guilders in

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rubber plantations at 1,200 guilders in Java and 1,500 guilders in

Sumatra, etc. In this way the following figures were drawn up in 1929.

Capital Investment in Millions of Guilders.
(One Guilder = 1/12 Gold £.)

	Sugar.	Rubber.	Tobacco.	Tea.	Coffee.	Cinchona.	Oil Palm.	Fibres.	Total.
Dutch ...	780	293	116	141	89	20	53	41	1,533
British ...	10	193	—	46	22	3	3	—	277
American	—	53	—	—	—	—	—	—	53
Franco-Belgian	—	66	3	—	8	0·5	28	—	105·5
German	—	6	—	7	—	1	3	—	17
Italian ...	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Japanese ...	4	13	—	0·5	—	—	3	—	20·5
Unknown	—	32	—	—	8	—	—	—	40
Total ...	794	658	119	194·5	127	24·5	90	41	2,048

These figures cannot be regarded as more than a rough approximation. They can only give some elucidation as regards the interests both Dutch and foreign put into estate agriculture in the boom years and suffering from the decline of trade possibilities afterwards. They, moreover, refer only to agricultural undertakings; for other businesses—*e.g.*, mining industries—one is almost entirely in the dark with respect to investments.

Export

After these brief remarks about the production apparatus on which the greater part of export is based, something may be said about export products. The export trade developed favourably till 1928 and the products found a ready outlet in the world market; the depression, however, changed this situation. Production of several commodities, such as sugar, rubber, tin, and tea, more and more outstripped consumption, prices fell, and international restriction measures were considered necessary.

Moreover, several consuming countries gradually tried to meet their needs with home products and the products of their colonies; the high duties which were instituted as a result of this ambition worked to the disadvantage of the export countries not privileged, including the Netherlands Indies.

The export consists for by far the greater part of agricultural products; especially in the years of great welfare, their share in the export value amounted to more than 80 per cent.; during the years it is decreased as a consequence of the fact that the price of the main agricultural products, in particular that of sugar, declined sharper than that of the mining products.

The general composition of the export may be shown in the following table:

EXPORTS FROM THE NETHERLANDS INDIES IN MILLIONS OF GUILDERS.

	Agricultural Products.	*Mining Products.*	*Other Products.*	*Total.*
1928	1,299	239	39	1,577
1930	871	250	36	1,157
1932	402	117	22	541
1934	339	134	14	487

The figures give an unfavourable impression, especially regarding agricultural exports; the export value of the years 1933-1934 was no higher than in the years immediately before the war, in spite of the fact that during the period of twenty past years much work and large sums of money have been expended in order to bring the production machinery to such a high level, that more than three times the present export value could be reached, as has been the case in the years 1927-1929.

However, when the quantity of exports is considered, the situation does not appear so unfavourable, as, with the exception of sugar, tobacco, and tin, the principal products have nearly kept their quantities of export on the level of the high conjuncture years or have even raised them.

A survey may be obtained from the table on page 795.

The most remarkable fact to be deduced from the figures of this table is that the quantity of sugar, the product which during a series of years has been the principal export article of the Netherlands Indies, has been halved, and that, on the other hand, the export of petroleum products, at present the chief export article, has nearly been doubled.

Not only European industries rely on exports; over one-third of the export of agricultural products originates from the natives. From the following figures some impressions of the great importance of native products in the export may be gathered.

PERCENTAGE OF THE EXPORT VALUE OF THE ESTATE AND NATIVE PRODUCTS FROM THE NETHERLANDS INDIES.

	1928.		1930.		1932.		1934.	
	Estate.	*Native.*	*Estate.*	*Native.*	*Estate.*	*Native.*	*Estate.*	*Native.*
Sugar ...	99	1	99	1	99	1	100	0
Rubber ...	61	39	63	37	71	29	51	49
Tea	78	22	80	20	84	16	82	18
Coffee ...	38	62	46	54	39	61	43	57
Tobacco ...	24	76	19	81	17	83	28	72
Kapok products ...	8	92	11	89	10	90	11	89
Coconut products ...	4	96	6	94	5	95	6	94
Pepper ...	1	99	1	99	1	99	0	100
Cacao ...	76	24	82	18	93	7	76	24

It certainly may be considered a favourable circumstance that it has been possible, notwithstanding the depression, to increase the

EXPORTS OF THE PRINCIPAL PRODUCTS FROM THE NETHERLANDS INDIES IN THOUSANDS OF METRIC TONS AND MILLIONS OF GUILDERS.

	1928.		1930.		1932.		1933.		1934.		1935.	
Petroleum products ...	3,026·4	144·1	4,197·0	183·9	4,222·0	96·9	4,393·3	103·5	4,911·6	98·6	5,095·3	85·1
Sugar	2,534·6	372·7	2,222·0	254·3	1,501·6	97·7	1,151·7	61·1	1,089·2	44·8	1,026·4	35·3
Rubber	232·3	276·0	243·7	168·6	214·3	32·6	285·2	36·8	385·5	87·9	287·0	68·0
Coconut products* ...	496·0	122·1	375·5	73·7	479·9	43·3	494·1	38·4	423·0	16·8	488·3	26·6
Coffee	113·2	81·4	61·0	25·2	113·7	35·1	72·1	25·6	83·2	21·7	81·4	18·6
Tea	69·7	98·2	72·0	69·5	78·8	32·5	71·9	26·4	64·2	44·9	65·6	36·7
Tobacco	70·8	95·6	80·1	58·6	76·1	46·8	50·1	36·3	45·6	39·3	48·9	35·7
Palm oil	34·6	9·2	48·0	13·6	85·1	11·8	116·7	10·7	121·6	8·7	143·2	13·6
Hard cordage fibres ...	50·3	17·8	65·7	22·9	90·6	8·2	96·8	8·6	71·1	5·8	92·4	7·3
Tin and tin ore	42·6	87·6	41·9	57·9	18·6	17·9	16·3	17·7	23·3	31·9	27·5	35·0
Cassava products	511·6	33·8	136·9	13·9	229·8	8·9	174·2	8·6	147·1	7·2	156·8	6·8
Kapok	19·7	19·5	21·1	15·7	19·1	8·2	22·6	7·5	21·1	6·0	23·2	6·2
Pepper	24·2	42·9	32·4	39·9	35·5	16·2	44·9	13·3	49·1	15·3	58·4	11·6
Cinchona	7·9	7·1	11·2	11·8	6·9	9·2	6·4	4·9	6·3	5·0	6·6	7·7

* Expressed in copra equivalent.

export of most products, or, in other words, that the Netherlands Indies have been able to find markets for a product which has been forced up during the high conjuncture years; and as a direct consequence it may be said with satisfaction that the Netherlands Indies have maintained their position in the world market. In the next table some products are mentioned, in the world export of which the Netherlands Indies have an important share.

PERCENTAGE OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES IN THE WORLD EXPORT OF SOME IMPORTANT AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

	1928.	1930.	1932.	1933.	1934.
Cinchona	93	93	92	89	90
Kapok (all kinds)	79	79	79	82	79
Pepper	70	75	79	80	80
Rubber	35	29	29	33	37
Coconut products (copra equivalent)	30	27	35	29	24
Agave	18	29	27	30	23
Tea	17	18	19	19	16
Sugar (cane and beet)	12	11	10	6	3
Palm oil and palm kernels ...	5	7	11	15	15
Coffee	8	4	8	5	5
Tin	19	19	20	16	20

During the last few years a change in the destination of exports became noticeable; in particular, the exports to Europe have increased, whereas those to Asia show a decrease, as may be demonstrated by the table below. We shall have occasion to revert to this phenomenon in discussing imports which show the opposite trend.

VALUE OF THE EXPORTS IN MILLIONS OF GUILDERS AND PERCENTAGE IN THE EXPORTS OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES.

Countries of Destination.	1928.		1932.		1933.		1934.		1935.	
Netherlands	263		104		87		104		117	
Great Britain	128		48		26		38		32	
Germany	47		11		11		13		8	
France	69		20		19		17		13	
Belgium & Luxembourg	13		5		7		5		3	
Others	55		28		33		27		22	
	—	%	—	%	—	%	—	%	—	%
Total, Europe	575	36·5	216	39·9	183	39·1	204	41·9	195	42·7
America	204	12·9	67	12·4	56	12·9	57	11·7	65	14·2
Japan	57		24		23		19		24	
Singapore and Penang	327		96		84		96		74	
British India	176		38		24		20		12	
China	60		14		15		10		9	
Others	82		38		31		26		24	
Total Asia	702	44·5	210	38·7	177	37·9	171	35·1	143	31·3
Australia	51	3·2	18	3·3	18	3·8	24	4·9	21	4·6
Africa	36	2·3	11	2·2	11	2·4	13	2·7	14	3·1

For the shipping companies, at any rate, it may be called a favourable circumstance that the volume of the Netherlands Indies exports as a whole has not diminished; but the increase in the export of petroleum products cannot wholly compensate the decrease of sugar, because petroleum is mostly transported in ships owned or chartered by the oil companies. The shipping companies have, however, suffered loss because the base freights had to be lowered on several occasions as a consequence of the fall in the prices of the main export products.

Since the export to Europe has considerably exceeded import from Europe during the last few years, the shipping companies have more than once been compelled to send ships in ballast. The changes as to the origin of the Netherlands Indies' imports have already affected shipping traffic. The shipping of European goods has been hampered by the flood of Japanese goods transported chiefly in Japanese ships.

The Netherlands Indies have a wide network of connections with other parts of the world; foreign flags take an important slice in their traffic from abroad and take about one-half of the total traffic; after the Dutch flag the Union Jack has the most important share.

Some idea of the importance of shipping from abroad may be gathered from the following table, showing the cargo of steam and motor ships arriving in 1,000 cubic metres.

SHARE OF THE VARIOUS FLAGS IN SHIPPING TO THE NETHERLANDS INDIES IN 1,000 CUBIC METRES NETT.

Nationality.	1928.	1931.	1933.	1934.
Holland and the Netherlands Indies	13,733	14,993	13,814	14,144
Great Britain	10,363	7,565	7,821	8,849
Germany	2,280	1,443	1,135	1,175
Japan	1,066	1,926	1,980	2,173
U.S.A.	725	421	357	291
Other countries ...	1,348	3,741	3,264	3,086
Total ...	29,515	30,089	28,371	30,118

It would go beyond the scope of this survey to consider the various export products of the Netherlands Indies in detail; we therefore confine ourselves to mention those products which have most particularly suffered from the depression in world trade and which have been subjected to some international restriction scheme.

First may be mentioned a measure taken on behalf of the experimental stations for a number of important estates. The experimental stations, which are constantly engaged in making researches

for the improvement of the cultures and their products, are, with one exception, private institutions and financed by contributions from the respective enterprises. The rigorous retrenchment to which the planters have been urged during the depression has led so many members to withdraw from the experimental stations societies that the very existence of the stations was threatened. The Government, convinced that the experimental station work is indispensable and that the destruction of their work extending over many years must be prevented, has promulgated a number of so-called Crisis Culture Ordinances for rubber, tea, cinchona, coffee and cacao. For these products central organizations have been created which have to give their consent for the products to be transported from the estates. The duty to be paid for these licences is used partly to finance the experimental stations, partly to promote consumption of those products by propaganda and other measures.

In this way all estates are compelled to contribute towards the experimental stations. Government intervention does not apply to the sugar experimental station.

Sugar

The product which for a number of years has been the Netherlands Indies' main export product has been at the same time the crop which most of all has suffered from the depression and which was the first to be subjected to a regulation.

Though at present, at the beginning of 1936, there are some signs of a revival, the position of the Java sugar industry is still very unsatisfactory. Some idea of the catastrophic decline can be obtained when we realize that the acreage under sugar cane decreased from almost 200,000 ha. in 1931 within a period of two years to no more than 27,000 ha. in 1935; in those years production has dropped from 2,800,000 to 500,000 tons. Neither the measures promulgated to restrict production nor the work of the N.I.V.A.S., the general selling combine which was accorded a monopoly for the sale of sugar, have been able to prevent this fall.

Sugar is only cultivated in Java on European estates according to perfectly scientific methods which have made it possible to raise the ha. production to an unprecedented level. Besides, the industry is of great significance for the native inhabitants because —as has already been mentioned before—it provides them with a considerable income in the shape of rent for the land, which the factories hire from the natives for one cane season and which is afterwards used for secondary native crops, and in the shape of wages for seasonal labour.

The following table gives a view on the importance of Java

sugar industry in the welfare years and of the detrimental decline that followed:

	Number of Working Factories.	*Planted Area in Ha.*	*Sugar Production in Metric Tons.*	*Export in Metric Tons.*
1928	... 178	189,500	2,923,600	2,534,600
1931	... 178	195,900	2,772,400	1,553,100
1932	... 165	162,200	2,560,200	1,501,600
1933	... 97	82,700	1,372,600	1,151,700
1934	... 50	33,400	636,100	1,089,200
1935	... 39	26,600	512,000	1,026,414

As was the case with other products, in the post-war years the world production of sugar had been enormously raised as a consequence of the increased demand. This increase could not last for many years, and already some ten years ago production went above the level of consumption; but though the market price dropped, no action was planned until some years afterwards, when the market position underwent a fatal collapse.

It is not possible to review within the scope of this chapter the development in the various producing countries, and we may confine ourselves to mentioning that, as any natural adjustment of production to consumption appeared to be out of question, the countries which were feeling the burden of crisis most severely, among which were Java and Cuba, entered into the so-called Chadbourne scheme at the beginning of 1931.

The scheme had a very weak side to it: it concerned only those countries which wholly or partly produce for export and not those which produce for home consumption and import sugar as well.

In order to carry out the international scheme in the Netherlands Indies in April, 1931, the Sugar Export Ordinance and Decree came into force, which prohibited sugar export without a licence and which limited the total export quantity at 2,400,000 tons for the first year and 2,300,000 tons for the following years. The export quantity of each factory was calculated according to its "normal" production, which had to be multiplied by a fraction, being the total annual quota divided by the sum of normal productions.

A curtailment of 15 per cent. of the planted area for the year 1931-1932 was considered to be sufficient to restrict production, but it proved to have been too small, for the export amounted to no more than 1,543,000 tons for that year; thus stocks again accumulated, to a maximum of 3,100,000 tons in September, 1932. By a very strong restriction of plantation during the following years, as shown in the above table, the stocks fell off, and they will presumably disappear in the course of 1936, so that a slight rise in production may be expected.

Java was of all countries in the most critical position because it had no protected markets and because its important market in British India, China, and Japan had considerably shrunk. The selling price dropped within a few years to such a degree that no profits could any more be realized, in spite of the low cost price brought about as a result of scientific work of a series of years.

In December, 1932, the N.I.V.A.S., the Netherlands Indies Association for the Sale of Sugar, was established, a selling combine in which the Government has a voice; at the same time the Sugar Single Seller Ordinance and Decree were promulgated, which regulated sugar sale in detail. In 1933 the importation of sugar into the Netherlands Indies had to be forbidden because of the difference between the domestic price and the price at which Java sugar had to be sold abroad, which would inevitably have led to reimportation.

It cannot be said that the international regulations have resulted in a marked improvement of the situation either in Java or in the other countries. The result could not be as had been expected, because not one of the participating countries, with the exception of Cuba, has been able to dispose of the quantities which they have been allotted as their quota; thus the total quota allowed to Java over the period 1931-1935 was 12,500,000 tons, whereas its total exports during those years amounted to no more than 6,173,000 tons.

Meantime prices show a most fatal drop.

AVERAGE SUGAR PRICES, BATAVIA, IN GUILDERS PER 100 KG.

1928	...	...	...	14·25	1932	...	...	...	4·87
1929	...	...	...	12·37	1933	...	...	...	4·40
1930	...	...	...	8·23	1934	...	...	...	3·64
1931	...	...	...	6·07	1935	...	...	...	4·18

The increase in the sugar industry of British India and of sugar cultivation in Formosa, as well as disturbances in China, have had a particularly unfavourable influence on the situation. In consequence, special attention has been paid to other markets—*e.g.*, in Europe. In 1935 some improvement in the sales to British India took place, but the Java sugar industry will have to resign itself to a permanent and considerable restriction. Estimates as to saleable quantity of Java sugar amount to at most 1,500,000 tons a year, which means that one-half of the producing apparatus will have to disappear altogether.

It has been considered necessary to pursue for the time being the regulations governing Java sugar production and export after the period of the Chadbourne scheme expires on April 1, 1936. Therefore a set of new regulations have been drawn up to come into force on that date. We only mention this fact as it is out of the scope of this survey to deal with these new prescriptions in detail.

RUBBER

Rubber is another one of the more important export products of the Netherlands Indies, which has likewise most severely suffered from the depression.

Rubber is grown partly on European estates, partly on native holdings which are principally situated in Sumatra and Borneo. Both estates and native holdings have undergone considerable extension in the years of high rubber prices during the war. Consequently potential production and exports rose enormously in the years when prices were already falling. A considerable part of the export is due to native production, which varied between 1928 and 1933 from 30 to 41 per cent. of the total. The potential production of the native holdings is, however, far greater than that of the estates. Native production is extremely sensitive to the market price; in various districts rubber cultivation is considered more or less as a secondary crop, and when the market is bad only a small number of the trees are tapped.

The following table shows the course of exports, and, as an illustration of the sharpening of the rubber situation, the fall in prices on the world market:

RUBBER EXPORT FROM THE NETHERLANDS INDIES IN METRIC TONS.

	Estate.	*Native.*	*Total.*	*Price in London per lb. in Gold Sovereigns.*
1928 ...	140,928	91,353	232,281	10 23/32
1929 ...	150,620	107,557	258,177	10 1/4
1930 ...	154,736	88,920	243,656	5 29/32
1931 ...	172,559	87,987	260,546	2 7/8
1932 ...	152,973	61,281	214,254	1 11/16
1933 ...	170,523	114,658	285,181	2 7/32
1934 ...	199,605	185,887	385,492	3 27/32
1935 ...	144,652	142,328	286,980	3 19/32

Because their position was growing more and more critical, in 1930 estates stopped tapping voluntarily for one month, in order to secure a restriction of the production and in the hope that prices would rise, but this measure had only a small effect. The continual fall in the price obliged planters to stop tapping on those fields where it was least paying; the untapped area grew gradually larger, so that by the end of 1932, 84,000 ha., or 22 per cent. of the area tappable at the beginning of the year, was no longer tapped.

The possibilities of a restriction of production were again contemplated and various schemes were drawn up. The prospect of some regulation brought a slight rise in price in 1933, and this

again an increase of production in particular in native rubber. It was not until April, 1934, however, that an international agreement concerning restriction of rubber production was accepted by the various rubber planters' associations and afterwards entered into by the respective Governments, including the Netherlands Indies.

In the Netherlands Indies the basic quota was in metric tons (compared with the export figures).

1934.	1935.	1936.	1937.	1938.
357,632	406,400	450,088	474,472	492,760

The percentage of the basic quotas at which the net export of the respective countries must be fixed is stipulated regularly by the International Rubber Regulation Committee. For the first two months of June and July, 1934, the percentage was fixed at nil; for August and September at 10 per cent., for October and November at 20 per cent., and for December at 30 per cent. In the year 1934 all the countries met their international obligations.

For the four quarters of 1935 the percentage was gradually increased and fixed at 25, 30, 35, 40 per cent.; the percentage of 40 was also kept for the first quarter of 1936.

The agreement left to the respective Governments the obligation to enact legislation limiting the permissible exportable amount.

In May, 1934, the Netherlands Indies Government enacted a set of ordinances to bring restriction into effect. They consisted of: the Estate Rubber Export Ordinance and an executive decree, which prohibit all export of estate rubber without a licence; the Native Rubber Export Ordinance and an executive decree, which regulate limitation of native exports; the Rubber Planting Material Export Ordinance, which prohibits all export of planting material; the Rubber Import Ordinance, which prohibits all import of crude rubber; the Rubber Planting Ordinance, which prohibits rubber planting except for replacements to 75 trees per ha.; an ordinance authorizing special export duties by Government decree; and a decree which fixes a special export duty on native rubber and which was followed by several decrees of the same kind in order to raise the duty.

The proportion between the estate and native rubber to be exported was fixed at 100: $7\frac{1}{2}$ being the proportion which existed in 1929, the most favourable year for native export.

A great difficulty was feared in carrying out the restriction with regard to the extensive native rubber; a restriction by individual holdings was actually impossible, these small holdings, enormous in number, being not yet registered. Instead of a system of licences a system of limiting export by means of an export duty was therefore adopted, which implies an artificial lowering of the price received by the native producer. It was expected that this would lead to a restriction to about the amount fixed for the native share.

In practice, however, matters turned out differently. Native exports which had been forced up in the period immediately before the restriction did not decrease sufficiently, and the export duty had to be raised on several occasions in order to reach the permissible monthly quota; whereas in the beginning it was 10 guilder cents. per kg., it had been raised to 29 guilder cents. at the end of 1935, and even to 33 cents. at the beginning of 1936. It appeared that the system had the contrary effect; because of the high duty the amounts received by the individual rubber growers dropped to such a degree that they were forced into bigger tapping in order to earn their living. In several districts an effort has been made to replace the system by individual restriction. This cannot, however, have the effect desired when it is only applied in some districts; at present a general registration of native rubber trees is being carried out, and it is expected that a uniform system of individual limitation can be enforced before long. This requires much administrative work, and as the number of native holders is estimated at about 500,000, the organization will be extremely difficult even if it is done through the medium of the native villages.

As the export duty is applied per kg. of rubber without regard to the dry rubber content, the restriction by means of the duty has resulted in a better preparation by the natives; whereas the proportion of dry to wet rubber was formerly 29: 71, it is at present 15·5: 84·5.

The rise of the native exports in 1935 threatened to bring the Netherlands Indies exports above the quota allowance. The Government foreseeing this danger has bought up export licences of estate rubber to an amount of 20,000 tons, in order to decrease the total export quantity. Owing to this measure the Netherlands Indies has been able to meet its international obligations in such a way that a surplus of 30,200 tons of native rubber have been exported with a deficit of 17,600 tons of estate rubber, which makes out a total surplus of 12,600 tons. But this surplus offers no difficulty, as each country may exceed its quota by at most 5 per cent. (or for the Netherlands Indies 13,700 tons), which will be deducted from the quota of the following years.

The above-mentioned course of events has necessitated a revision of the Netherlands Indies' quotas by the International Committee at the end of 1935. They were raised for 1936-1938 from 443, 467, and 485 to respectively 500, 520, and 540 thousands of long tons. This increase was wholly alloted to native export, so that

the proportion has been changed to 100: 93½ (1936) and 100: 91 (1937-1938). The result of the rubber restriction as a whole cannot yet be judged; at present the Netherlands Indies rubber industry looks like improving.

Tea

Tea in the Netherlands Indies is grown on estates and on native holdings, the latter especially in Java. It is, however, handled in a different way to rubber because all native tea intended for export is bought up by the European factories and prepared there. Though tea is cultivated in various countries and China is still the biggest producer, the leading export countries for black tea are India, Ceylon, and the Netherlands Indies.

After the war the area under tea in these three countries has been considerably extended; this may especially be said of the Netherlands Indies, where the acreage under estate tea increased by 40 per cent. between 1919 and 1931 and that planted by natives by as much as 92 per cent.

Owing to the fact that after the year 1927 production more and more outstripped consumption and therefore stocks accumulated, prices on the world market dropped continuously.

The position in the Netherlands Indies is shown by the following figures:

	Plantations in Ha.		*Total Exports in Metric Tons.*	*Price in Amsterdam per ½ Kg.*
	Estates.	*Natives.*		
1928 ...	115,240	34,840	69,700	75
1931 ...	131,440	41,800	78,700	43
1932 ...	135,700	41,400	78,800	28 1/4
1933 ...	137,850	46,500	71,900	31 3/4
1934 ...	138,020	55,080	64,200	39 1/2
1935 ...	—	—	65,600	33 3/4

After the voluntary restriction in 1930 had failed, by 1932 the situation in the tea industry in the main export countries, including the Netherlands Indies, had grown so bad that control measures became imperative. An unfavourable circumstance, particularly for the Netherlands Indies, was the introduction of the heavy duty on non-British tea imported into Great Britain, as a consequence of the Ottawa Agreement, because as a rule a great part of the Netherlands Indies tea was marketed in London.

Discussions finally led in December, 1932, to an agreement between the tea associations in British India, Ceylon, and the Netherlands Indies to carry out a scheme of restriction under control of the Governments of the respective countries. The agreement limited exports from 1933 to 1938; the Governments of the producing countries had to enact prescriptions to prohibit

exports in excess of the agreed quotas which were based on the exports in either 1929, 1930, or 1931. For the Netherlands Indies 1931 was chosen as the basic year, while British India and Ceylon chose 1929. An International Tea Committee has settled yearly the restriction percentage; this has been fixed for the first year from April 1, 1933, to March 31, 1934, at 15 per cent., for the second year at 12½ per cent., and for the third and fourth year at 17½ per cent.

The Netherlands Indies regulations to work out the restriction scheme include a prohibition of tea planting without a written licence from the Director of Economic Affairs; the cultivated area may only be extended by a maximum total of 880 ha. Tea export is only permitted under licence, for which a fee must be paid and which is delivered to a total amount to be fixed yearly. The early export quota is divided between estate tea and bought-up tea in the proportion of 9: 2. The standard output for each factory is calculated by multiplying its average per ha. production in 1929-1932 by the number of its hectares in the current year; for bought-up tea the production in 1931 is taken as standard (the calculation was made for the whole restriction period but was changed afterwards). The total export quota divided by the sum of standard outputs (which is greater) makes a fraction which is used for multiplying each factory's standard output to arrive at the amount allowed for export. Since the standard output is higher than the export quota, the restriction within the Netherlands Indies works out at a much higher percentage than the international one.

The exports for the years 1932-33—1934-35 as compared with the standard output for 1933-34 and 1934-35 were, in metric tons:

	1932-33.	1933-34.	1934-35.	1935-36.
Standard of output ...	—	97,126	102,296	106,355
Export quotas fixed ...	—	66,931	68,899	64,692
Actual exports ...	83,970	61,745	65,340	—

The above-mentioned figures show that the regulation means a severe restriction for the Netherlands Indies tea industry; for the year 1935-36 it amounted to 41½ per cent. for the estate tea and 31 per cent. for bought-up tea.

The Government had to pass special orders as to the price of wet leaf, sold by the natives to the factories, in proportion to the market price of tea. At the beginning of 1936 the situation of the Netherlands Indies tea industry as a whole cannot be called unfavourable. After an initially favourable market which led to a reduction of the restriction percentage, prices dropped again so that at the beginning of 1935 a rise of the restriction by 5 per cent. was found necessary. Thus the results of the first two restriction

years was not as successful as was anticipated. During 1935 some improvement in the market position was noticeable; in particular as the result of a strong international propaganda campaign consumption is rising. At present production no longer exceeds consumption, and stocks are beginning to decrease. There is still the danger of encouraging production of outsiders through a rise of the price level. The British East African territories have agreed not to increase planting, but attempts to bring other countries inside the restriction scheme have failed so far.

Cinchona

Besides the restriction measures which are based upon an international co-operation, a regulation of cinchona production which had a somewhat different character has been brought into effect. There existed already long before the beginning of the depression a voluntary agreement between producers of cinchona bark in the Netherlands Indies and quinine factories, which was intended to protect the industry from too great expansion and maintain paying price for the bark. Since, however, no restriction on planting was made; the area was gradually extended, and moreover the production capacity of the Netherlands Indies estates amounted in 1933 to 1,200 tons of quinine sulphate, whereas the world consumption was 500 tons to 550 tons yearly. Neither propaganda for use nor the placing of 500 tons at the disposal of the League of Nations for supply to malaria countries had succeeded in raising consumption.

There was another unfavourable circumstance in the fact that outsiders, though they were not yet of great importance, could increase their output to an unlimited extent. Accordingly the Netherlands Indies Government considered it necessary to announce in February, 1934, a compulsory restriction of export to a quantity to be annually fixed, together with a prohibition of planting and sowing. The regulation provides, moreover, for measures to prevent the factories from raising the price of quinine for home consumption without a Government permit. Export of bark or deliveries to the Bandoeng Quinine Factory are only allowed on licence. The division of the export quantity differs in respect to the members of the association, the producers, and the native plantations are not members; the share of the first group is fixed as a whole, whereas to the other groups individual licences are given. An Advisory Committee has been appointed to keep the Government informed on production matters. It still has to be seen how far control of native cultivation will be practicable in the long run. The unit prices have remained unaltered;

stocks are still large, and a rationalization of the cinchona position can only take place slowly.

Besides the above-mentioned important export products, two other agricultural products, which have been subjected to some extent to regulation, may be mentioned.

Kapok

In July, 1935, a series of measures was promulgated to regulate exportation of kapok, to improve prices, and to organize the trade. The market for this important commercial product, which is nearly wholly grown by native small-holders, was so bad that the Government considered it necessary to intervene and to bring about a co-operation between kapok traders in the Netherlands Indies.

The high price of kapok after the war has contributed towards impeding the development of consumption, while the Java exporters have taken practically no pains to find new outlets for their product. The only possibility of getting rid of the somewhat increased supply in the years following 1929 was to sell at constantly reduced prices. Instead of there being a stock in consuming countries, as in normal years, a stock was formed in the Netherlands Indies, which though not large has still been depressing to the market situation. Finally some exporters had carried on a speculation policy which was detrimental to native producers. The Government measures to improve the situation do not limit the export quantity as a whole, but by means of a licensing system aim at distributing it more systematically. Export licences are granted to the kapok exporters who have been registered, according to the reasonable interests of the applicants. Prices for the export qualities have to be agreed upon in consultation with the trade associations. A Kapok Bureau has been established in order to inquire into interest of the native growers and in order to advise the Director of Economic Affairs regarding various questions; a fund obtained by levying a duty on kapok exportation is used to defray the cost of propaganda for promoting consumption. The regulation is too recent for it to be possible to say anything about its effect.

Java Tobacco

Java tobacco, which is partly a native and partly an estate product, has suffered from a decrease of selling outlets during the last few years. In order to give some support to the producers the export duty which is levied from this product has been abolished for the period from January 1, 1935, to June 30, 1936.

Coffee

The market position of the Netherlands Indies coffee gradually deteriorated to such an extent that measures to support producers were taken into consideration; the pros and cons of such support have amply been discussed, but no decision has yet taken place.

Tin

In the matter of mineral products a few words may be said about tin. The world position of tin is of vital interest to the Netherlands Indies. All over the world the tin-mining industry suffered during various periods through production outstripping consumption. It is outside the scope of this survey to deal with the market development during the years immediately before 1930. By the end of 1930 the position had become so serious that the Governments of the main producing countries—Malaya, Bolivia, the Netherlands Indies, and Nigeria—decided to enforce a restriction scheme which was to operate for two years from March 1, 1931, with a further extension, if the participating Governments desired it. Some months afterwards Siam joined the agreement. The restriction percentage was regularly fixed for some months by the International Tin Committee; as consumption continued to decrease it had to be raised at various times during the first years of the working of the scheme. Whereas the standard quota in the first instance was fixed at $77\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., by July 1, 1932, it had decreased to $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., but it was raised afterwards till on January 1, 1936, a quota of 90 per cent. was reached which from April 1, 1936, will again be reduced to 85 per cent.

For the Netherlands Indies the year 1929 was taken as the basic year, and thereupon the monthly exports allowed were calculated. In this way the following monthly quotas have been fixed for the Netherlands Indies:

March 1, 1931	...	2,493 tons	October 1, 1934	...	1,385 tons
June 1, 1931	...	2,097 ,,	January 1, 1935	...	1,211 ,,
January 1, 1932	...	1,801 ,,	April 1, 1935	...	1,362 ,,
June 1, 1932	...	1,405 ,,	July 1, 1935	...	2,119 ,,
July 1, 1932	...	1,065 ,,	October 1, 1935	...	2,422 ,,
January 1, 1934	...	1,385 ,,	January 1, 1936	...	2,725 ,,
April 1, 1934	...	1,667 ,,	April 1, 1936	...	2,573 ,,

When the exports of the last few years are compared, the great influence of restriction is clearly demonstrated.

Exports from the Netherlands Indies in Metric Tons.

1928	...	42,600	1933	...	16,300
1931	...	34,500	1934	...	23,300
1932	...	18,600	1935	...	27,500

Owing to the agreement the price has been raised somewhat satisfactorily, the average cash price per long ton amounted from 1931-1935 to 108·9, 97·6, 132·1, 142·3, and 134·9 gold £. At the same time a tin pool in which the Netherlands Indies have also participated has been engaged in marketing the product and has moreover segregated certain quantities during the first years. In 1934 a so-called buffer-pool was formed to prevent price fluctuation.

From January 1, 1934, the agreement was continued for a period of three years.

The Netherlands Indies tin mining industries comprising the Government Bangka mines and the Billiton and Singkep mines have made every effort to lower their cost prices, which was made very difficult by the sharp restriction of production. The sales of the Netherlands Indies tin on the American market have met with difficulties, especially in consequence of the competition of Straits tin. At the end of 1935 an agreement was made to join the Banka and Billiton tin industries, and in this way a strengthening of the position is expected.

(*To be concluded.*)

MUSICOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO

By Dr. Jaap Kunst

The subject of this article is the recent musicological survey of the Indian Archipelago, its importance for ethnology in general, and especially for musicology.

Thanks to the moral support of several scientific bodies and of some private interests in Holland, that survey became in the beginning of 1930 a matter of Government concern—and has so remained for nearly two years.

In the meantime, thanks to the initiative of some ladies and gentlemen, who were interested in the projected investigations, a considerable sum was collected in Holland on behalf of that survey. Therefore, as soon as I had been entrusted with the task it became possible for me to set to work.

And there certainly was much to be done! Previously, musicological investigations which had been carried on by a few private people of modest means in their leisure time, had to be confined to Java and Bali—now, however, the rest of the Indian Archipelago has also become accessible.

It was really high time to act, as many musical manifestations had already disappeared and have been lost to us for good. I will have to come back to this point later.

From the beginning I had set myself a fourfold task.

First and foremost I thought it necessary to start a collection, as complete as possible, of instrumental forms from every part of the archipelago, of phonograms, photographs, slides, and small films, containing as many particulars about Indonesian music (and at the same time about the indigenous dances) as could possibly be collected.

In the second place I planned to publish a comprehensive work on Javanese music in all its manifestations.

Thirdly, my idea was to make it possible for my colleagues in Europe, by means of a series of small pamphlets, to share in the study of the more primitive indigenous music to be found in the so-called Outer Possessions.

Lastly, I wished to stimulate interest for Indonesian music in wider circles—*e.g.*, by giving lectures (in Java as well as in Europe), hoping in this manner to prevent or, at least, to retard its decay and ruin.

For one person to fulfil such a programme was a fantastic dream, even if he expended all his energy (as I did) and all

his enthusiasm; even though he received help from many quarters and found a faithful collaborator in his wife (as was my case). For that programme implied the exploration of an enormous territory nearly 1,000 miles wide and over 3,000 miles in length, through some parts of which it was still somewhat difficult to travel, and in certain places of an astounding musical richness.

Besides, I went to work conscious of the fact that my investigations should be started simultaneously in several places, for it was to be feared that within a few years much would already be lost that could now perhaps be saved, if not for the inhabitants, then at any rate for science. And, moreover, I could not confine my investigations to a few islands only, for the Indonesian archipelago is far from being homogeneous from a cultural point of view.

These same circumstances also make it impossible to get a definition of "the" Indonesian music, at least when one is not satisfied by giving a description so vague and so generalizing that it is quite insufficient to reach the heart of the problem.

Various explanations for this cultural heterogeneousness can be given. In the first place, the islands are inhabited by two very dissimilar races—the Malay-Polynesian and the Papua-Australian. The dissimilarity does not stop at their exterior characteristics: their mental and intellectual qualities also present wide divergence, and this is also shown very clearly in their music. It is difficult to define these differences. In the first place, it is a difference in sphere; the technical peculiarities, characteristic of each race, come in the second place.

But even within the limits of the same race, especially the Malay-Polynesian, *such* fundamental differences occur that it is impossible to place all musical phenomena in one category. This is the result partly of the dissimilarity in the cultural development attained, partly of difference in the influences they have undergone.

The music of these islands is probably only to a very limited degree autochthonous, in the actual sense of that word. In many respects it is closely related to that of the surrounding areas, the adjective "surrounding" being taken in its widest sense.

The Indian Archipelago, situated on the fringe of the great continent of Asia, the primeval mother of many, if not all great civilizations, is a delectable country for habitation; it is fertile and the climate on the whole is good. Moreover, it belongs to the regions of the trade winds, which greatly encourage immigration. Even in the absence of concrete, unimpeachable proofs, we may take it for granted that one cultural wave after another broke over these islands. But concrete proofs are by no means absent: archæology, ethnology, historical research and, in later years, musicology, have brought to light a large number of facts, which prove that again

and again in the course of thousands of years new races and peoples brought their civilization to these islands in their migrations in search of new places in which to settle, either by driving away or subduing the earlier occupants or else along the more peaceful lines of trade and trade colonization; and so, inevitably, they altered and reformed the existing culture.

With respect to such researches the term *cultural geology* would not be out of place, for, when analyzing the music of a certain region and examining the musical instruments, the student is repeatedly struck by a peculiar kind of stratification. Occasionally one comes across an outcrop of what is evidently a vestige of a very old civilization, which has been submerged by a layer of a younger civilization, again in its turn partly covered by one that is still younger.

So I have ventured to conclude from the phonograms and other data, brought back by Mr. Le Roux from the Netherlands-American expedition of 1926 through North New Guinea, that there are at least three distinct layers of musical culture in that region—viz., (1) a most ancient layer, probably of Negrito origin, manifesting itself exclusively in religious songs of a very particular melodic form (they consist of phrases of a would-be military character), I have therefore baptized that kind of music *florished triad-music*; (2) then I found typical Australian forms—short melodies, usually of a compass of exactly one octave, showing more or less diatonic structure with two or three tones of unmistakable "scaffolding"-character and moving stereotypically from high to low—I have called them *tiled* melodies; (3) there were in use—especially on the coast—more varied melodic forms of a distinctly worldly character, which, to the East, showed Melanesian and, to the West, more Malay-Polynesian influences.*

Musicology is indebted to Mr. Curt Sachs, the well-known German musicologist, for a beautiful monograph on the subject of cultural influences, incorporated in musical phenomena entitled *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* (*Spirit and Development of Musical Instruments*).†

It may be stated that in some cases it is possible to arrive at a rather well-documented relative chronology—that is to say, at the conclusion—that a certain form of civilization—a musical instrument or a distinct melodic form—is younger than another, but usually it is quite impossible to link up each of them with a fixed era; for that, the data at hand are generally inadequate.

I may remind you that a lasting cultural influence, such as is mentioned above, can only take root providing the soil on which

* See my *Study on Papuan Music* (publ. No. 5 of the Committee for Scientific Research in the Neth. Indies), Batavia, 1930.

† Berlin, 1929.

the seeds of a new civilization are sown offers sufficient nourishment for their development; in other words, the population on which the new culture is to be grafted must possess mental and cultural propensities showing a certain affinity to it; the social conditions on which it is to act must contain the potential qualities for the attainment of the cultural level of the invading race, even if it has not reached it at that moment; it must be a community which, even when the direct influence is withdrawn, is able to keep the gifts received as its own cultural property and to develop it, though modifying it according to its own specific nature.

As the most striking instance in which these conditions of affinity and similarity of racial temper have been more or less fulfilled, at least as regards part of the population of the archipelago, we may mention the Hindu civilization. The question of to what extent this fact finds its cause in the old Munda or Kôl civilization, which must have made itself felt in pre-Aryan ages as well in India proper as in the archipelago,* and in consequence of which the same substratum would form the foundation of the civilization of the Hindus and of some races of the archipelago, had better be left in abeyance here. It is undeniable, however, that the population of several of the islands—endowed with considerable musical talent of its own—has been able to assimilate organically the musical influences from other places (generally via Indochina) and to make them their own; they were even able, in certain respects, to bring the gift received to a higher state of development.

This indigenous music, then, the creation of a multitude of races through many centuries, has now again arrived at the turn of the tide. Once more foreign influences are making inroads on the old traditions, and this time the invader is not of the same stock; there is no racial affinity between the intruding culture and the old ones; nor is it even a culture which may be grouped with the insular civilizations under the collective name "Oriental." It has a fundamentally different character, and therefore does not stimulate or modify the existing organism, but like a corrosive acid, or an infusion of an antagonistic blood group, eats into it and destroys it. The European-American civilization is so far apart from Indonesian cultures that they cannot assimilate it, and at the same time it is so intrusive and expansive that it is impossible to prevent its aggression.

However that may be, and though we may hope that after this period of ferment and chaos a new impulse may infuse fresh life into much that seemed doomed to disappear for ever, it seems at

* Compare Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "The Foundations of Civilization in India" (in the periodical of the Royal Batavian Society, vol. 68, p. 65 *sqq.*), 1928.

present that music, the most elusive and delicate of the manifestations of the soul of a people, is part of the price the races of the archipelago are paying for the privilege of taking their place in the intercourse of the world. The decline of the indigenous music can be plainly seen—or rather heard. In a few islands only—namely, in Central Java, strong in the consciousness of its own cultural value (although it only awoke to this consciousness in the nick of time), and in Bali, which has been less ruthlessly attacked by Western influences, and which, moreover, is virile and healthy—is there a chance for the most important productions and phenomena to be preserved intact. But in those regions where the population are not conscious of the meaning and value of their own music, and are defenceless in that ignorance, it appears that it is doomed to an early death. So it is in East and South Sumatra, where, also as a result of Western economic expansion, the Javanese music in less cultivated forms has superseded the original music; so it is with the monotonous and empty ditties, known as Stambul and krontjong music, which estrange the Indonesians from their own art; elsewhere the influence of the Christian missions has killed the old songs and dances, but in most cases the decay increases because European music, assisted by gramophone and wireless, and usually in its worst productions, proves too strong for the native art, which in an increasing tempo is degenerating or disappearing altogether.

This state of affairs it is natural to regret, but undoubtedly it is unavoidable. The increasing interest taken in Indonesian music by native, as well as European sympathizers, has not been awakened a moment too soon.

That is the reason why I have said that the exploration of the archipelago should be started in several places at the same time. And, although quite understandable and justifiable, it is none the less very regrettable that the Netherlands-Indies Government has been forced by the world depression to withdraw its support from the musicological investigations after having subsidized them for two years.

Notwithstanding this, quite a lot has been done in that short period, and therefore a feeling of gratitude prevails in spite of the disappointment caused by the premature interruption.

Allow me to give a short summary of the results.

It has been possible to collect more than 300 phonograms of instrumental and vocal music from nearly everywhere in the archipelago. Taking into consideration the vastness of the explored territory and the diversity of the different insular civilizations, it stands to reason that that collection, however interesting in itself, is far from giving a complete survey of Indonesian music.

The already existing collection of photographs has been greatly

enlarged and contains today more than 700 negatives and about 500 slides.

Besides this, 200 records were purchased—the best ones being placed on the market by the large gramophone companies.

The collections of instruments—the care of which the Government entrusted last year to the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences—also has been considerably enlarged, with the result that it at present contains aboupt 1,100 numbers.

Finally, the Sultan of Jogjakarta has given to the Royal Batavian Society for its musicological archives a copy of a large collection of Central Javanese orchestral compositions, noted down in native staff notation and containing more than 500 classic *gendings*, preceded by a suitable introduction.

Together those collections give a nearly complete survey of what today exists in the archipelago in the realm of music. Only one will seek in vain the large orchestras of Java and Bali: they are not immediately threatened with extinction, on the contrary, and therefore, as we only had rather limited funds at our disposal, we thought it wiser for the present to abstain from those expensive ensembles of bronze and to confine ourselves in the first place to the acquisition of the quickly vanishing instrumental forms of bamboo and wood.

The second point in our programme, the writing of a comprehensive study on Javanese music, has also been realized; a year ago it appeared in two volumes with Martinus Nijhoff at The Hague.*

And now as regards the third task, the publication of musicological data collected in the Outer Possessions: thus far it could only be fulfilled in a very modest degree; one cannot go on expeditions and at the same time elaborate their results. Only two studies on Papuan music,† and two more on Florinese music,‡ have been published. Nevertheless some more are in course of preparation, and the material collected would fill up the working life of more than one person.

It has been brought together during several expeditions held between 1930 and 1933 in the following regions: Nias, the Minangkabau, Tapanuli, Sumatra's east coast, Acheen, Benkulen, Musi Ulu, Redjang, Flores, Timor, Sumba, Kisar, the Kei islands, Banda, South Celebes, the Toradja regions, the Minahassa,

* *De Toonkunst van Java* (1934).

† *A Study on Papuan Music* (publ. No. 5 of the Committee for Scientific Research in the Neth. Indies), 1931; *Songs of North New Guinea* (publ. No. 2 of the Neth. Indian Musicological Archives), 1931.

‡ *Over zeldzame fluiten en veelstemmige muziek in het Ngada- en Nageh-gebied* (West Flores) (publ. No. 1 of the Neth. Indian Musicological Archives), 1931; *Oude Westersche liederen uit Oostersche landen* (publ. No. 8 of the Committee for Scientific Research in the Neth. Indies), 1934.

Sangihe, Saparua, Ambon, Ternate, Halmaheira, Waigéo, and North New Guinea.

Finally, the fourth objective of our programme: efforts to preserve the native music and to stimulate the interest in it. I have had the opportunity of delivering many lectures, in Java as well as in Holland, England, France, and Germany, and I have received the impression that they have aroused, at least in some people, a genuine interest in the subjects treated. Besides, my wife and I have been able to show the contents of our archives to a large number of visitors, indigenous as well as from abroad. But a much more important result—perhaps the most important result—of the work of the last years is this: the Director of the Department of Education, Prof. Dr. B. Schrieke—whose energy and never-fading interest in our research work has given us invaluable support through many years—expressed his willingness to invest the most gifted and intelligent Sundanese musician, the teacher Raden Machjar Angga Kusumadinata, with the task of reviving, if possible, the music of his country, which was rapidly decaying in the last decades under the influences, already mentioned, of wireless, gramophone, and Western education.

Mr. Kusumadinata has succeeded in his purpose beyond expectation; in less than one year that fervent pioneer had won over a number of school teachers for his ideal and given them a solid musical training. Many of these teachers, in their turn, have arranged singing courses. And their collective efforts have had the happy result that today everywhere native songs, purified of Western stains, can be heard; new musical comedies are born; the old, nearly forgotten nursery-rhymes and playing songs are taught at several schools; in short, Sundanese folk-song is safe again at least for one generation.

Much has already been said and written about a very remarkable connection of scale structure between Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese gammas on the one side and a tonal system, born some 2,500 years before our era in Central Asia, on the other. The discovery of that ancient system, the so-called circle of blown fifths (Blasquintenzirkel), that has opened such wide fields of research, we owe to the great musicologist the late Professor Erich Von Hornbostel. (He died at Cambridge on November 28 of last year.)

However, I do not propose to discuss here this very important and interesting theoretical question.

A curious percussion instrument, made of bronze or iron, having the form of a stalked banana skin, in Java is generally called *kemanak*. Today you will seldom come across it in Java; in Bali it is more common and in earlier times seems to have been rather abundant also in Java; the earliest mention of it, made

in literature, dates from the eleventh century; it is also played by a demon on the Panataran reliefs from about 1350. At present its nearest relations are to be found in N.E. Siberia and in the north-west of the Belgian Congo.

That instruments from regions so far apart bear so striking resemblance to each other, *also with regard to small non-essential qualities and details—e.g.*, that they always form a pair, ordinarily have a bend in the back and a winding in the neck—proves that here we have before us not a case of pure convergency but of organic relation.

Probably the prototype of the kemanak first came to light somewhere on the Asiatic continent, in one of the old centres of civilization, and has spread afterwards to the periphery. In the meanwhile it has disappeared in the country of its origin, because there new instrumental forms were constantly born and superseded the old ones. But at the outermost boundaries of the old world they have subsisted. The reader is certainly familiar with this process in other divisions of ethnology, for it by no means constitutes an isolated fact.

Another example of organic relation is given by the mouth-organ. This instrument, according to Prof. Sachs, originated from Laos—*i.e.*, the northern part of Central Indochina; according to the Swedish musicologist, Mr. Tobias Norlind, it is of South Chinese origin, has travelled to the south as far as Java, where it is represented on one of the reliefs of Barabudur's hidden basic gallery, dating from the eighth century. In our day, as far as regards the archipelago, it is only to be found in Borneo.

There are in addition the Hindu-Javanese type of the instrument, the Dyak form, and some Laotic examples, besides a representation found by the archæologist, Mr. Goloubew, on a Cambodian bronze kettledrum from the middle of the first century, and finally the modern Chinese analogon.

Of these bronze kettledrums, of which I just now mentioned the Cambodian form, one finds prehistoric as well as modern counterparts in the archipelago. Prehistoric examples are known, *e.g.*, in Saleier, Java, and Bali; modern forms one meets in the island of Alor, where man buys his wives with them.

For the history of geographical distribution and development of the one-stringed cither, precious data can be found in the archipelago.

It is remarkable that on the temple reliefs of Central Java the small celestials, which are called *kinnara*, are playing this instrument, whilst in Hindu and old Javanese literature that instrument itself is called by the same name. Here we have before us an actual case of contamination: the Sanskrit name of those celestials is originally *kimnara*, which has the meaning of little-man-of

nothing, not-yet-man; the name of the instrument, on the contrary, came to India and Java from the West; compare the Hebrew (string) instrumental name *kinnor* and its Greek pendant *kinira*.

As is doubtless known, India has produced yet another instrument derived from the one-stringed cither—which has also maintained itself under the name *ektara*—to wit, the instrument called *bin* in Hindustan and *vina* in South India.

The Northern form makes use of two whole gourds as sounding-boxes, instead of one half-gourd; the Southern one, whose evolution has gone even farther, has in its turn replaced one of those gourds by a real instrumental body. Both have a great many chords.

Besides those instrumental forms, yet other forms have developed, among others the long-neck lute, of which we possess Egyptian representations, dating as early as the fifteenth century B.C. Probably these instruments originally came from Egypt: the word *bin*, in the sense of stringed instruments, is, according to Prof. Sachs, already known from inscriptions on the pyramids of the third dynasty—*i.e.*, from about 3,000 B.C.

After citing the Indian and Javanese cithers, I will make mention of a Hittite long-neck lute from the second millennium B.C.; a modern Siamese *phin nam tao*, which has a striking resemblance —one may say, is identical—with the monochord cithers of Barabudur; a *bin* or *phin* from the Bayon temple reliefs of Angkor Thom, dating from the twelfth century of our era, and lastly a monochord cither from the Kasai region (Belgian Congo); finally there is a very curious form, uniting the characteristics of the monochord cither and those of the long-neck lute, which is to be found on the reliefs of tjandi Djago in East Java and dates from the thirteenth century A.D.

The history of the bowed harp has been enriched by the material found during the last years in Java. As is known, musicology distinguishes between two types of harps—to wit, the *bowed* harp (Bogenharfe) and the usually much larger *angular* harp (Winkelharfe); the bowed harp is supposed to be the older form.

Nowadays the bowed harp is only to be met with in a few regions—*e.g.*, the country of the Abchases in N.E. Siberia, a part of Indochina, and here and there in Central Africa. In earlier times it was more extensively known.

There existed—and still exist—at least two varieties of bowed harps, differing in the method in which their strings are tuned. This is done by way of nooses, or by way of keys. This last method was and is known from Africa; in Asia, on the contrary, the tension is nowadays always made by way of nooses, though

all the same one can suppose that in bygone days the tension by way of keys was also in use. That we may conclude from harps found on Hindu-Javanese reliefs, which show the latter method of tuning.

Another Javanese and Balinese instrument is the *gendèr*, a metallophone, of which the keys are suspended above tuned sounding-tubes. This instrument came from the archipelago to the African continent in a way and at a date so far unknown. Now it is to be found there in many regions from Mozambique in the south-east to Senegambia in the north-west, and is generally known in musicology as *marimba*. The fact that they have exactly the same scale, in a relative sense—*i.e.*, concerning the intervals, as well as regards the absolute pitch—proves that there is an organic relationship between the Javanese and the African instrument.*

At the time of the slave-trade the same instrument made its entrance into Central America and became the national instrument, especially in Guatemala. There the North Americans discovered it, imported it into the United States, and imitated it in copper and nickel. Now it has become a favourite instrument of the music-halls under the name of vibra-harp, the improved marimba. A large factory in Chicago makes these vibra-harps by hundreds and advertises them largely. By chance a catalogue of this factory reached Java and one of the Solonese princes ordered such a vibra-harp, tuned anew according to the Javanese scales. (In America it is naturally tuned according to the Western scales.) In this way the gendèr travelled round the world in the course of 2 to 3,000 years.

In the course of an expedition on the isle of Flores in 1930, I, to my great surprise, found a triple bamboo flute. Until then this rare instrumental form was only known from the small Himalayan state of Bhutan, as I was informed by Prof. Von Hornbostel. But Al Farabi, the famous Arabian philosopher and musicologist of the eleventh century, speaks of it in his chief work and gives a reproduction of it. The description, as well as the drawing, show that the author never can have seen the instrument itself, for both are somewhat inaccurate. But, as Al Farabi gained all his knowledge from the old Greeks, one may suppose that he knew a Greek, or at least a Hellenistic source, lost in later years, where such a triple flute was mentioned, and that this instrument if not native to Greece was at least in use there.

* See, *e.g.*, Prof. Dr. Curt Sachs, *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente*, pp. 128-9; Siegfried F. Nadel, "Marimba-Musik" (*Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien, Sitzungsberichte*, 212, 3, Abhandlung), 1931; J. Kunst, "Ein musikologischer Beweis für kulturellen Kontakt zwischen Indonesien —vermutlich Java—und Zentral Afrika" (*Anthropos*, Jhrg., 1936).

Therefore the triple flute of Flores can also be considered as an ancient instrument that has made that typical movement towards the periphery.

The same is the case with the pointed flute, the "Spitzflöte" of the German musicologists, a wooden flute used by the buffalo herdsmen on the isle of Timor. Its exact equivalent is found in other peripheric regions, as for example in the province of Sokoto in the north of British Nigeria.

In conclusion I may repeat that Indonesian music not only deserves interest from an ethnological point of view, but, in its superior manifestations, has the greatest value also from a purely musical standpoint.

It is only to be hoped that the Netherlands-Indies Government will be willing to continue to support this musicological exploration—so unhappily interrupted—at any rate when the economic situation has somewhat improved, and before Western influence, so rapidly gaining ground, has destroyed the object of our studies; there should then be no cause for future generations to blame us for having allowed this most precious and perhaps richest of all musical cultures, which Fate has entrusted to our care, to vanish unstudied and unrecorded.

RURAL BROADCASTING IN INDIA

By Lieut.-Colonel H. R. Hardinge

The Peshawar broadcasting service for the North-West Frontier Province is being taken over by the Central Government, and it is intended that a large proportion of villages be equipped with receivers. There are nearly 500 villages within the service area of the existing 250-watt transmitter, but the question of increasing the power of that transmitter is already under consideration, and it is contemplated by the authorities that the power be increased to serve a greater area, and that eventually the entire province be covered, either by increased power from Peshawar or by the installation of additional transmitters elsewhere.

That wireless is greatly appreciated in the North-West Frontier Province and that the villagers have much to learn from the new medium of instruction and amusement may be gathered from the story told on July 29 by *The Times* correspondent in India. He wrote that in an effort to educate the people of the province on the futility of murder as a means of redressing personal grievances, the broadcasting station at Peshawar some time ago arranged for talks deploring the habit and showing how it undermined established authority. In a score of villages the talks were listened to with interest, although in one place without due understanding.

In this particular place a large throng gathered around the community's receiving set, but reception was hindered by a local wag who maintained a running commentary. This was resented by another villager, who indicated that he was anxious to learn about the disadvantages of murder as a method of solving personal disputes. But the wag persisted in his interruptions, and accordingly the aggrieved listener drew a knife from his belt and stabbed the interrupter in the stomach.

Punjab.—If the present official experiment with some 45 villages equipped with receivers, taking their programmes for the time being from the Delhi broadcasting station, proves successful, it is believed that the Punjab Government will largely increase the number of villages so equipped, while a part of the developmental plan of the Central Government is to instal a transmitter at Lahore.

United Provinces.—An enquiry for 200 community receivers, A.C. mains type, has already been made by the United Provinces Government in connection with the big rural development scheme now taking shape in that province, which includes the supply of electric power in 1,750 village centres for the primary purpose of pumping water from a like number of tube wells for irrigation

purposes. Under the main scheme 270 rural development centres have been established in the province, and an organization set up in each district in order to co-ordinate the work of the various government departments to that end. Broadcasting is one of the subjects included in the scheme, and it is understood that the installation of a transmitter at Lucknow is contemplated by the Central Government as a part of their present development plan.

In the United Provinces there are also the Dehra Dun and the Moradabad schemes already taking shape. At Dehra Dun a small transmitter is now functioning under control of a local organization serving a number of villages, which is being increased from time to time. In the Moradabad district a plan is now materializing to introduce a number of A.C. main type community receivers in connection with that section of the United Provinces tube well scheme (see above).

Bengal.—It is understood that five lower-power medium-wave transmitters are to be installed at rural centres in this province, including Midnapore and Dacca, by the Central Government, and that the Bengal Government intends to equip a considerable number of villages for reception. A start has been made in Midnapore by equipping a few villages, which for the time being are taking an improvised programme from the Calcutta broadcasting station.

Central Provinces.—The Central Provinces Government officials are keen to make use of broadcasting in connection with the rural development plans of that Government, but with a heavy deficit in the provincial budget it was not possible for them to contemplate expenditure upon this object when last discussed (in the summer of 1935). Now that the Central Government contemplate installing a transmitter which would serve the Central Provinces, there is considerable prospect of development of rural broadcasting in the Central Provinces.

Madras Presidency.—It will be recalled that Mr. Bulow, when Adviser for Broadcasting to the Madras Government, advocated among other things that several hundred villages be provided with receivers, and strongly recommended adoption of the type of community receiver used in the Peshawar experimental service, which he considered pre-eminently suitable. Since then nothing has been done pending decision of the Central Government as regards their All-India broadcasting development plans, but it has now been resolved by the Central Government to instal three medium-power transmitters in the Madras Presidency, and as that province is wealthy there is good reason to suppose that the provision of community receivers in villages will then be proceeded with.

Bombay Presidency.—It is understood that the Central Government plan includes the installation of a small rural transmitter, probably at Poona. This would encourage the equipment of villages with receivers. A strong desire exists to make use of broadcasting in connection with rural development plans in this Presidency.

Indian States.—Of these, Hyderabad is so far the only one in which development has materialized. When the Hyderabad and Aurangabad transmitters begin to function, probably towards the end of this year, it will be with the avowed object of making a leading feature of adult education by way of receivers installed in villages, schools, etc.

Several other Indian States have already shown signs of interest in broadcasting, and it is probable that some of the larger States will shortly follow the example set by Hyderabad.

General Remarks.—The most important factor in the development of broadcasting in India is the Central Government's scheme for the extension of the existing Indian State Broadcasting Service (recently renamed All-India Radio), which includes the installation in the near future of a number of additional broadcasting stations. Such provision will inevitably lead to further extensive developments on the part of provincial governments in the direction of equipping villages with receivers.

FRENCH INDO-CHINA

ASPECTS AND PROBLEMS OF TODAY

By Pierre Tap

(*Translated.*)

I. Some Mistaken Ideas about the Far East in General and about Indo-China in Particular

The public which reads about Indo-China in novels and books of travel gets quite a wrong idea of it. Both author and reader start with a preconceived notion of a naïve orientalism, which leads them to admire indiscriminately what is worthy of admiration and what is certainly unworthy. A craving for local colour destroys the critical faculty. They are surprised that the villages of Annam are surrounded by bamboos and not by poplars and willows. The pond which is used for all sorts of purposes seems to them more picturesque than a spring which is prosaic but gives good water. The happy dwellers in their flimsy abodes, some on the water and others built on piles, seem to them inoffensive mystics, with no wants, and completely oblivious of all the preoccupations which make the prosaic foundation of the individual and social life of the Frenchman: money, politics, pleasure. Moreover, the tourist never stays in Indo-China beyond the season of winter, when the pleasant climate strengthens his optimism, already born of the material facilities and the consideration which the Administration offers to him in abundance.

On the other hand, all that recalls Europe spoils the impression of an exotic country and even excites distrust. Hence arises in part that unfortunate disposition of Frenchmen in Paris to suppress their leanings towards the native peoples, which is excessive in sentiment, but clumsy and inadequate in actions, except by measures which are not in the interests of Frenchmen in Indo-China. As Pierre Loti loved India without the English, so they seem to love Indo-China only without the French.

For the proper administration of a country, one has to know what it is, without preconceived ideas optimistic or lyrical, since they destroy all perspective. Numerous mistakes have been made for want of appreciation of this fundamental law of a good Administration, and some of them might be fatal if they were not corrected prudently and energetically. One cannot always reckon on chance recoveries of which our history is full in the hour of danger.

Human nature is unfortunately much the same everywhere. Everywhere, too, the same motives inspire all human activities. There is no "exoticism" in the soul and very little in material things! Under the grey, metallic sky, which has no brightness, in an atmosphere heavy with damp, Frenchmen and natives struggle with difficulty against the fever of the ponds and the jungles, against the cholera and dysentery that come from polluted water, against innumerable mosquitoes, against diseases of the liver and anæmia. For eight months out of the twelve they are bathed in perspiration, despite pankas and other devices. If the Annamite likes this climate to which he is adapted, the European only gets used to it after some twenty years of continued effort, on the threshold of premature old age which too often proves for him the precursor of death. But the pilgrim to Angkor forgets after his short journey that he has been looking at the marvellous palaces through yellow spectacles, with enervated limbs and with an excited brain.

The plain is a morass, dotted with crops, from which rises without tree or parapet the straight road built up to a higher level; the hills are always steep and covered with impenetrable vegetation, except near the Chinese frontiers, where everything is completely bare. From the sides of the mountains issue floods of muddy water, rivers full of silt which spread over the land and fertilize it. At the confines of the towns and villages there is an indescribable smell, the smell of the native Far East, musty and penetrating, the smell of rotting fish and of human deposits, which you first experience at Singapore, and from which you cannot rid yourself.

Here and there rises the graceful, blue-mauve outline of a pagoda, standing by itself on a hill in the shadow of an old mango tree, or in the great towns the brilliant splendour of the "flame of the forest" around the European quarters with their gardens of flowers.

On the vast plains of mud formed by the deposits of the Red River and the Mékong wave the short crops of the Annamites. The soil is unstable, half-way between earth and water. The primitive plough, fastened with pliable bamboo to the neck of a buffalo, ploughs a wavering furrow, after the first crop of rice is cut, and the summer rains and inundations have again soaked the land. Beasts and men work all the summer up to the knees and sometimes up to the middle in mud. From time to time a warm rain falls from the grey sky, whose light seems reflected by a leaden disc. Semi-aquatic birds wheel with lazy flight in the heavy air round the rustic team and perch again on one leg on a spot raised above the mud to resume their silent meditation.

The squares of mud, which will become rice-fields, are enclosed by narrow banks, on which the Annamite women walk with their

dainty, hurried steps, carrying their heavy burdens on the two ends of a bamboo balanced on the shoulder. The reddish yellow garment, which is the livery of the worker, adds to the sombreness of this picture of the native peasantry. It certainly does not induce laughter or songs, as the harvest work inevitably does under the gay morning skies of France, in the fields with their hedgerows loud with the song of birds, in the joyousness of a merciful sun and the fresh smell of the earth!

The Annamite, whose staple food is rice, has no liking for the forest; he has destroyed everything that his axe can reach above the humid plains. The middle regions are almost denuded and show only tussocks of grass without trees, without cultivation, and without houses. But the mountain itself has resisted the attack of the plains folk. It rises above the valley in very steep slopes, and only wild beasts and the timid hill folk of the conquered races can find a way through its impenetrable undergrowth. Except for the rare paths cut by the soldiers and the still rarer ones made by the Public Works, the Indo-Chinese jungles are absolutely inaccessible both to European and Annamite, against whom, moreover, the mountain is defended by the terrible jungle fever.

The French of the Mother-Country look upon the colonial as a jolly fellow, as one who lives in fairyland, drinks hard, shoots big game, keeps a harem, and gathers money without effort. He does not know that the European, if he is to live in such a climate, must put a rigorous check upon himself—that alcohol will have done for him in less than ten years, that the Annamite woman conspires with the cook to deceive him and to rob him, that every shoot in the marshes or the jungle brings an attack of fever, and that one can travel 1,200 miles from north to south without ever being able to lie down on grass, or drink pure water, or sit in the shade. Often during a so-called pleasure trip—an excursion, a hunt, or a banquet—I have dreamt of the delight of living under a western sun, though I have only spent a few years in Indo-China; I have recalled the sunken paths with their brilliant hedges, their clear brooks, the scent of the flowers, and even the metal Gallic cock, as old as our history, which glints in the southern sun on the top of the belfry.

How comes it that in spite of the flood of literature which for several years past has done its best to popularize Indo-China, the great majority of French people, not omitting the commercial, political, or administrative bodies, take no interest in the colonies and prefer their own parish-pump squabbles to our great imperial subjects? There are two principal reasons: the first is the general leaning of parties towards the Left, which is opposed to colonial expansion, so that certain words which are both frank and true are actually taboo, and certain sentiments have become illicit.

And so the Mother-Country is nothing more than the "country" in official speeches, and the conquest of new territory is refined into "police operations"; imperialism is reassuringly dubbed a temporary mandate. In such an atmosphere the leaders no longer dare to order or to act, without excuses, as it were, for their wickedness.

The second, which is the outcome of the first, is that we have no literary light in French colonial literature, like Rudyard Kipling, the enthusiastic poet of British imperialism. He is understood and is loved as such by all his readers. He has a true sense of reality and has always insisted on British force of character as the fount of all the benefits which England has conferred on her colonies. Thus he has made known the greatness of his country's achievement in India to an ignorant and even to an hostile public. He has explained the merits and demerits in a spirit of independence during this brilliant period; it is a modern Iliad raised to the proportions of a vast Empire.

What reception would such work have had in France—a work frankly imperialist—if a Frenchman had been the author and the subject our Empire in Africa or in Asia? France has not yet found the poet of her great colonial adventures. French works on Indo-China may be either novels or panegyrics or simply pamphlets. All three merely confuse public opinion. Worst of all are the outpourings of tourists, whose views and impressions are nearly always coloured by destructive criticism. They describe, sometimes with ability, the different aspects of native life, but not the springs of that life. They can see the facts, but not the causes. It is the "exoticism" of the bazaar.

The French in Algeria have long been accustomed to present the real picture of their country instead of the traditional oleograph: camels, *moukers*, palm trees. Indo-China is still in the stage of the oleograph: pagodas, *congaïs*, coco-nuts.

Knowing as I do that I am now addressing myself to well-informed readers, some of whom have played an important part in overseas dominions, I want to make my narrative strictly objective, equally removed from official optimism as from unfair prejudice, as far as I can do so after a residence of several years in Indo-China.

II. The Country and the People

French Indo-China is the eastern part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, of which Great Britain possesses the western part (Burma and Malaya) and Siam the central. It has an area of 736,000 square kilometres (compared with 775,000 in the British part). It stretches up to 13 degrees of latitude in the tropical zone and is under the influence of the monsoons. A high range of

mountains stretches from north to south, ending on the China Sea and forming an impassable barrier between the Annamites, who are modern invaders, and the more ancient indigenous races. The Annamites, not being able to force it, were beginning to turn it from the south after the conquest of Cochin-China, when France arrived to check this expansion, to the great advantage of the earlier inhabitants.

Two great rivers drain their plentiful waters from the mountains: the Mékong (4,500 kilometres), which traverses the peninsula from north to south and spreads into a vast delta covered with rice-fields; the Red River (1,200 kilometres), which carries the silt of the Yunnam into the plain of Tonkin, one of the most thickly populated regions of the world.

Two great river ports, Saïgon and Haïphong, which are working but are difficult of access, absorb all the traffic. But the indented coast of Annam possesses magnificent anchorages which could be converted into first-class ports if the interior communications and the stream of commercial enterprise led in their direction; such is the Bay of Camranh, on the route of steamers going to Hong-Kong, which is close to the future capital of Indo-China, Dalat, now in course of construction on a healthy plateau with a temperate climate.

About 22,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 30,000 are French and 350,000 Chinese, live in the different countries which the French have now classed under the name of Indo-China.

The average density is therefore 29 to the square kilometre (in France 72). But the distribution is extraordinarily unequal—viz., in Cochin-China there are 64,700 square kilometres with 4,480,000 inhabitants (69 inhabitants per square kilometre); in Tonkin 115,700 square kilometres, 8,183,500 inhabitants (70 inhabitants per square kilometre); in Annam 147,600 square kilometres, 5,581,000 inhabitants (37 inhabitants per square kilometre); in Cambodia 181,000 square kilometres, 2,603,000 inhabitants (14 inhabitants per square kilometre); in Laos 231,400 square kilometres, 960,000 inhabitants (a little over 4 inhabitants per square kilometre). Further, in the nine provinces of the Tonkin delta we find in Bac-Ninh 356, Hadong 469, Hai Duong 223, Hung-Yen 462, Kien An 348, Nam-Dinh 571, Ninh-Binh 565; Hanam 573, Moyenne 470 inhabitants per square kilometre. But if one compares the population with the cultivated area the figure is 535 per square kilometre.

In Cochin-China the average density is very much less, even remarkably so. For the cultivated area is 23,000 square kilometres, the population 4,480,000, or 195 persons to the square kilometre. In Indo-China the staple food is rice, which is indispensable for the sustenance of the people. It is distributed as follows: Cambodia 550,000 tons (221 kilos per inhabitant); Cochin-China 1,900,000 tons (424 kilos per inhabitant); Annam 437,000 tons (78 kilos per inhabitant); Laos 250,000 tons (260 kilos per inhabitant); Tonkin 1,362,500 tons (166 kilos per inhabitant). Average 204 kilos of rice per head.

Thus two-thirds of the Annamite people live on one-fifth of the superficial area. They are half lake dwellers and spend their lives in semi-permanent huts, usually under the tops of the higher surrounding land. They love to splash about in the mud. The zone they like best is the vast mud of the deltas, whose rich soil produces bumper crops of rice. In those parts the density is as much as 500 to the square kilometre (in France it is 72). They are never happier than there, though they live under the constant threat of famine, and are quite oblivious of their wretched condition. It is in the over-populated provinces of Tonkin—namely, Nam-Dinh, Ninh-Binh, and Hanam—that is recruited the labour for industry and agriculture, and even for the plantations of the New Hebrides. But as soon as ever he has collected the small sum required to give him for eight days his bit of rice flavoured with fish sauce, the emigrant Annamite will abandon factory or yard to return to his miserable hut: to the pure water of the mountains he prefers that of the common pond, which serves equally for watering cattle, depositing rubbish, and drinking-water for soup and tea, and for washing.

Beyond the delta, in the high and middle parts, the Annamite has only dared to go under the wing of the French colonist who, in order to attract him to and to keep him on the coffee and rubber plantations, has had to build him a hut, supply him with animals and tools, guarantee him his rice, and not to demand more than a specified number of working days at 20 to 40 cents a day according to locality.

The Highlands are the home of the Meo race, of Nordic white stock, and of the Moï race, who are almost black; in the middle region (300 to 1,000 metres in height) live the Thaï, except in Cambodia, where the Khmers live. The Annamites and the Cambodians are the only peoples who have developed a national sense and who form homogeneous groups. The others live in peace with each other and with France, but in a kind of armed neutrality. It is, for instance, impossible for a non-official Frenchman—that is, one who has not the right to enforce obedience—to obtain a native servant in the Man, Thö, Meo, or Moï country, even amongst the lowest. That is the chief reason for the pacific penetration of the Annamite, a born servant and official. But for the French, he would never have been able to intrude amongst these people, who do not trust him and hate him a great deal more than they hate the French.

The Annamite deserves a more extensive study, both because of his numerical importance and because of his economic, social, and political value to the destiny of Indo-China.

One common characteristic of all yellow peoples is their instinctive dislike for us, partly as Westerns and partly as the masters of their country. The whites are the "devils of the West," who, with the help of evil spirits, have subdued the good yellow folk. The efforts of the latter to free themselves from their yoke are followed with rapt attention. Hardly had the Japanese victory over Russia receded into an already far-off past than the communist propaganda fanned the embers of the latent hatred and the old illusions. Counter-propaganda is peculiarly difficult for France, who has inscribed the dogma of equality upon her political institutions. It is obviously difficult to maintain a position which grants complete emancipation to the negroes of our American islands and refuses it to the cultured Annamites. Some day we shall have to choose between the existence of our Colonial Empire which postulates the superiority of the European, and the practical recognition of the democratic principles which are the negation of it.

Let us now examine the various classes of indigenous society in the order in which a European arriving in Indo-China gets to know them; he would gradually come in contact first with the boy, then the merchant, the agent, the peasant, and lastly the educated man.

The European, then, first comes into contact with the "boy," or *valet de chambre*. It may be confidently asserted that in the relations between the white master and the yellow servants it is the master who is always fleeced. The "boy" who will work for a rich Annamite for six piastres a month demands twenty or thirty of the European for doing less work. For a month or two he does his work fairly well, then he gets slack and indulges more and more in his favourite vices: gambling, drunkenness, and dancing girls. At the end of a year he has become impossible, but instead of giving you notice he tries to get himself dismissed by all sorts of devices, for you have got his identity papers. If you do not keep them, he will quietly vanish. Nine times out of ten it is one of the servants who commits the many thefts of which the European is the victim. While I was in the country a high official who had kept his boy for ten years and thought highly of him was the victim of repeated attempts to poison him; he discovered that the culprit was the faithful servant, who had hit on this method of procuring his discharge.

One day my boy asked me for twenty-four hours' leave for the wedding of his sister. He came back next day. Some days later I found that it was not his sister, but he himself who was married. If he had told the truth, he would have had at least four days' leave; but no, for the pleasure of deceiving his master he preferred to give up three days. This impulse to lie is as universal as is the "Schadenfreude" of the Germans, and is the least pleasing feature of the race. False witness before the courts is also very frequent, even in criminal cases; so also are anonymous letters. A magistrate who is a friend of mine did not know for two years that his cook and the *congaï* who looked after the child were man and wife. As one finds that married couples are more reliable than single persons, and as their conjugal relations would have been easier, it was to their advantage to tell him the facts. My friend found it out by chance, and was all the better pleased.

Unlike the black African, the Annamite servant rarely gets attached to his master; he has no gratitude nor affection, neither does he acquire the master's habits. If you raise his pay, or look after him in sickness, or maintain his wife and family, he is apt to think that he is indispensable and makes further demands upon you. He is a specialist *in excelsis*. A *congaï* will look after one child, but not two; the chauffeur will drive your car, but he will not clean it.

A European family living in Indo-China needs from four to six servants. On account of the climate this is not a luxury, but a necessity. Their work is equal to that of two French maids, and it requires much more supervision. But there they are; they are docile and patient, they never contradict, and they eat and sleep apart. For the first time the Frenchman abroad, and especially the Frenchwoman, has the pleasure of being master or mistress of the house, of ordering, of being obeyed by servants anxious to please. And then once in a hundred times you hit upon a pearl of great price, and the services which your servant is called upon to render are wholly precious either in Indo-China or in France.

III. The Merchant, the Artisan, and the Trader

The Annamites share with the Chinese the practice of many small trades and industries: jewellers, tailors, grocers, printers, workers in ebony, embroiderers, blacksmiths, etc. They generally eke out a precarious livelihood. Their budget is always in danger from their imprudence, their love of gambling, and their vanity. They ask absurd prices, varying from double to treble according as the buyer is Asiatic or European. They raise the price higher for a man than for a woman, for a newcomer than for an old resident, for a customer who comes in a car than for one who comes on foot.

Often he will forget your orders or hands them on to someone else who comes with the money in his pocket or keeps you waiting for some weeks. As he rarely has any financial resources, he is

always asking for advances on the price of a thing while it is being made. As time means nothing to him, he calculates his profit, not on the price he ought to get, but on his own needs for the moment. But his needs are so modest and the expenses so small that he succeeds in maintaining a numerous family on the profit of a tiny shop which is usually in the shape of a long corridor, the shop in front, the workroom in the middle, and the dwelling house at the back.

For want of a sense of commercial understanding, partnerships, co-operation, and limited or incorporated companies have never succeeded. All the attempts made in later years have failed owing to disputes about precedence and the sharing of the profits. Each partner wants an immediate and generous share, and the common capital is often lost in gambling by the manager. Accustomed to lend to his partners at 10 per cent. per mensem, he is hardly reconciled to making 10 per cent. per annum. Though usury has not been suppressed, we cannot expect to see the Annamite emerge from his position as an artisan on his own account, in spite of his technical ability and his potential aptitude.

There are more than 300,000 Chinese who share with the French the trade, both interior and foreign. Though they are agriculturists in China, they are exclusively merchants outside it. The French have played the chief part in industry, agriculture, and the export of raw materials. But to them is also due largely the impetus given to the Annamite for family and home industries. Twenty years ago there were only two or three jewellers, all Chinese importers of Chinese products, who lived in Cholon or Saigon; now in all Indo-China there are thousands of Annamite craftsmen who have learned from the French. There are the Sisters of St. Paul of Châtres, who have taught the Tonkinese women the art of lace-making, in which they have become expert; and we have revived the weaving of silk at Quinhon, at Pnom-Penh, and elsewhere.

The home worker is, in fact, widespread, particularly in the Annamite country. The *nhaqué** embroiders silk, makes lace, works capably in wood, in horn, in tin, in copper and in silver. In his hut made of straw or of baked mud, armed with a knife and a hammer, he chisels, polishes, scratches, and hammers away without any attention to time or attempt to count the cost of his hours of work. Endowed with boundless patience, he can remain for long hours in the day and night, squatting on the ground, using his toes to hold the work, for a reward of six to eight piastres a month, just enough to live upon.

He hands over his goods to an Annamite shopman, who has supplied the raw material and some money advances. This man

* Peasant.

speaks French and thinks himself a bit of a scholar. He goes to the French houses, unpacks his trunk or basket, carried by a coolie, who is often the workman himself, and tries to fix a price which varies from three to five times the proper amount. But he is always in want of money and so is at a disadvantage, since the other can afford to wait. So he ends up by accepting whatever he can get. He cannot resist the offer of a certain number of piastres, since he knows nothing about banks or the circulation of money, and has no idea of looking forward or of saving. To show an Annamite merchant a note for 100 piastres usually is to have won your point.

Poor folk, they are always exploited whatever they do! Every administrative centre ought to be a depot for the purchase and sale of native work, which sometimes produces masterpieces. If it were carefully organized and controlled, it could regulate prices to the great advantage of the producer. An experiment of the kind does exist in Cambodia, where the Economic Museum of Pnom-Penh furnishes on order *sampots* and other Cambodian specialities. The indigenous Governor of Hadong, H.E. Hoang-Trong-Phu, a very cultivated and energetic man, has likewise opened at Hadong a permanent exhibition of native work, where various specimens are sold at fixed prices. Every resident officer should be asked to establish a similar organization.

(*To be concluded.*)

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN COFFEE

By Y. N. Sukthankar

The future of any industry is linked up with its past, and it is only appropriate that consideration of the future of Indian coffee should begin with a brief recital of certain outstanding facts in its past history and an examination of some of the difficulties which the coffee industry has encountered in recent years.

Coffee is one of the three main crops grown by the planting community in India, the other two being tea and rubber. Although the pride of place goes to tea, which by the volume and value of its exports overshadows the other plantation crops, the importance of coffee cannot be doubted. It is inevitable to quote a few figures, but its importance will be appreciated when it is remembered that in the year 1934-35 the number of coffee plantations in India was roughly 6,800 covering a total area of 328,000 acres. The area actually under coffee, however, was a little over 185,000 acres. The actual number of plantations may well be above the figure already given, as the Government reports only deal with those plantations which furnish statistical data to Government authorities. The coffee industry, as is well known, is confined to Southern India, comprising the Madras Presidency, Coorg and the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. The total area under coffee in Mysore accounts for a little over half, Madras and Coorg a little under quarter, and Cochin and Travancore between them 1 per cent. of the total area.

The total average number of persons from the plantations finding employment was a little over 100,000 in 1934-35; out of these as many as 65,000 were permanently employed. The plantations, of course, vary in size, but the number of smaller plantations—say, between 5-10 acres—is by no means small. In 1934-35 these numbered a little over 3,000 covering an area of approximately 20,000 acres. The total reported production of cured coffee during that year was nearly 33,000,000 lbs., and exports were roughly about half—namely, 16,000,000 lbs. Thus nearly 17,000,000 lbs. or a little over 150,000 cwts. of coffee was available for home consumption.

These figures illustrate the growth of the industry in recent years, but do not give an idea of its vicissitudes during the last 100 years, for the coffee industry is quite as old as that, the first plantation having been opened by Mr. Canon in 1830 near Chickmugalur. During the next 30 years the cultivation grew rapidly and fresh plantations were opened in Mysore, Coorg, Nilgiris, Shevaraji Hills, Wynaad and Travancore. By the 'sixties the

coffee industry was rapidly reaching its zenith, but within the next two decades it received its first serious setback. Between 1877 and 1887 a little over 250 plantations had to be abandoned as a result of the damage done by the borer beetle and the leaf blight, which totally ruined the coffee industry in Ceylon. The plantations in Wynaad suffered a good deal and those in Travancore were practically wiped out, but the ground lost elsewhere was recovered, and during the next 30 years Indian coffee could hold its own, on account of its superior quality, against coffees from Brazil, Guatemala and Costa Rica. The high prices obtainable during the war and post-war years led to an increase in the acreage under coffee. In 1919-20 the Mysore acreage advanced from 55,000 to 68,000 acres, and the Madras from 25,000 to a little over 28,000. In 1922-23, 7,200 acres of land was put under coffee and 2,800 acres of old cultivation abandoned. It is interesting to know that in 1934-35 the area newly planted with coffee amounted to 4,100 acres, and the area of old cultivation abandoned was 2,600 acres.

With the growth of the area under coffee the number of persons employed on the plantations has increased too. For example, in 1922-23 the daily average number of persons employed was 68,000; of them only 41,000 were permanently employed. The total number of employees in 1934-35, as already stated, was as high as 100,000, and the number of permanent employees on the coffee estates was 65,000.

In spite of these encouraging figures the coffee industry has been passing through difficult times. The main difficulties with which it has been faced during the last few years are three: (1) Falling prices; (2) decline in exports; and (3) restricted Continental markets.

The following figures showing exports of coffee and the value during the pre-war, war and post-war years and the last three years will make the position clear.

	Quantity. (*Cwts. in Thousands.*)	*Value.* (*Rs. in Thousands.*)
Pre-war average	255	13,752
War average	216	11,809
Post-war average	226	14,690
1933-34	186	10,245
1934-35	141	7,271
1935-36	216	10,219

It will be observed that the exports in 1935-36 show an improvement as compared with the previous year, but even so they do not compare favourably with the pre-war or the post-war average. Even this improvement in 1935-36 is confined only to the quan-

tities. The prices have been declining steadily and appreciably during the last three years. From the figures given above the average value per cwt. during the pre-war and war period works out at Rs. 54-55 (£4). During the post-war years the average value went up to Rs. 65 per cwt. (a little less than £5), but in 1933-34 the value again dropped to Rs. 55 (£4), and in the following year it dropped to Rs. 52 (or a little less than £4), and in 1935-36 to Rs. 47 per cwt. (approximately £3½). For the three months of the current financial year (April-June, 1936) the average value has declined still further and works out at Rs. 39 per cwt. (a little less than £3) as against Rs. 52 and 48 per cwt. during the corresponding periods of the two previous years.

The shrinking of the Continental markets can best be illustrated by a few concrete examples. In 1930-31 Germany took nearly 22,000 cwts. of Indian coffee; last year her off-take was only 10,000 cwts. The Netherlands, which took nearly 18,000 cwts. in 1930-31, only bought a little over 1,000 in 1935-36. Italy has similarly reduced her imports of Indian coffee by one-half and took in 1935-36 just a little over 6,000 cwts.

These difficulties are not entirely independent of each other and have set up a vicious circle. It is well known that in times of falling prices the trade is disinclined to hold large stocks, and is anxious to liquidate existing stocks, with the result that there is very little fresh demand for the commodity. The restriction on the demand for Indian coffee on the Continent has resulted in the lower grade coffees seeking an outlet in the United Kingdom market, thus depressing that market still further.

It might be worth while investigating how the trouble first started. The coffee industry, like many others, was caught in the general trade depression of 1929-30. Sensational declines in prices hit hard the primary producers all the world over, and coffee producers in India could not escape. Moreover, these difficulties were increased by the exceptionally heavy crops of Brazilian coffee and threats of still heavier crops to come. Although the Brazilian coffee is inferior to Indian coffee, quality for quality, the Brazilian exports account for more than half the world's exports and therefore dominate the situation. In these circumstances the prices of Brazilian coffee cannot but influence the world market. It has to be remembered, however, that the fall in the price of Indian coffee in 1930 as compared with 1925 was not as severe as that in the prices of Brazilian coffee, and this was due to the superior qualities of Indian coffees. It is a common trade experience that higher grades of a primary commodity suffer comparatively less in times of trade depression than the lower grades.

The coffee growing interests of India have been aware of these difficulties for some time, and pressed upon the Government of

India the desirability of imposing a cess on exports of coffee with a view to providing funds for the improvement and development of the Indian coffee industry. After ascertaining that a very large majority of the growers viewed the proposal with favour, and that it had received support from the Governments of Madras, Coorg and the Indian States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, the Honourable the Commerce Member introduced the Coffee Cess Bill, which was passed by the Legislature and received the assent of the Governor-General on November 2, 1935. The Coffee Cess Act authorizes the levy of a Customs Duty on all coffee produced in India and taken by sea or by land to any place beyond the limits of British India or to Burma at the rate of one rupee per cwt. or at such lower rate as the Governor-General in Council may, on the recommendation of the Indian Coffee Cess Committee, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, provide. The Indian Coffee Cess Committee has been constituted under the Act to receive and spend the proceeds of the Cess for the purposes for which it has been levied. The Committee is representative of different interests, and includes the nominees of the Local Governments of Madras and Coorg and the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, representatives of the coffee growing industry, representatives of the coffee trade nominated by the Governor-General in Council, and one person representing the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, also nominated by the Governor-General in Council.

One of the objects for which the Committee is working is to increase the consumption of coffee in India. There are reasons to believe that the demand for coffee in India has been steadily increasing in the recent years; for instance, during the five years 1930-31 to 1934-35 the surplus available for home consumption has risen from 120,000 to 150,000 cwts. In 1924-25 this surplus was only 50,000 cwts. It may therefore be said that nearly 40-50 per cent. of the total production is retained in India. It is also significant that since 1933-34 imports of coffee into India have practically ceased. Although it is true that the home and export markets are not served by the same grades of coffee, it is a sound proposal to establish a home market as a safeguard against fluctuations in the overseas markets.

At the same time the Indian Coffee Cess Committee is fully alive to the importance of overseas markets and the United Kingdom market in particular.

The Committee has accordingly set up a Board called the Indian Coffee Market Expansion Board in order to serve as its agent in the United Kingdom, and to carry out propaganda to increase the consumption of Indian coffee, to make all the necessary enquiries and investigations, and to administer the funds placed at its dis-

posal by the Indian Coffee Cess Committee. It will, of course, not do any buying or selling. Although the Board will work as the agent of the Coffee Cess Committee and will keep that Committee fully posted regarding any changes or modifications in the United Kingdom or European markets, and will consult it in all matters of policy and other important matters, the Board's discretion in matters of detail will not be fettered and it will have full freedom of action in giving effect to the policy of the Committee.

It is fortunate that the English and Scottish Joint Co-operative Wholesale Society and the Coffee Trade Association of London have consented to be represented on the Board, as their advice and co-operation will be of the greatest value to the Board, especially in maintaining the highest possible standard of quality in co-operation with the planters. Although the Board will see that Indian coffee does not sink its identity, and propaganda is undertaken definitely directed to increase the consumption of Indian coffee, it will be fully prepared to co-operate with other Empire countries in joint propaganda.

It will be worth while at this stage to take stock of what other competitors of India are doing as regards their coffees. The measures taken by Brazil have, broadly speaking, three aims: (1) Control of production; (2) strengthening of bargaining power in foreign markets; (3) improvement of quality.

The recent regulations introduced for the 1936-37 season call for a "compulsory quota" of 30 per cent. of all the coffees produced. The payment for this compulsory coffee "quota" will be 5 milreïs per bag of 60 kilograms including the cost of bag. All coffee to be despatched from the interior will have to be separated into three "quotas": firstly, the "compulsory quota" of 30 per cent.; secondly, the "retained quota" of 30 per cent.; and thirdly, the "direct quota" of 40 per cent. The "compulsory" coffee will be consigned to the National Coffee Department for valorization purposes. The "retained" coffee will be delivered into the regulating warehouses and will be released only after the "direct" coffee, which goes directly to the export ports, has been shipped. For higher grades of coffee, called the "preferential" coffee, the whole of 70 per cent., after 30 per cent. compulsory quota has been despatched, will be exported.

Brazil has also been trying to improve her bargaining position by seeking to revise the existing commercial agreements with other countries. The decree of December 31, 1935, makes it possible to apply special additional duties on imports from countries obstructing the entry of Brazilian goods. Notices were given last March to terminate all commercial agreements concluded by exchange of notes before January, 1934. The new agreement with

Germany provides for the import of an additional 1 million bags of Brazilian coffee into Germany for local consumption. Brazil is also trying to capture the markets dominated so far by the better grade Central American coffees. As already stated, low grade coffees are discouraged by imposing a 30 per cent. "sacrifice" quota on them, the compensation for which is purely nominal—namely, 5 milreïs per bag. "Preferential" or high grade coffees are exempted from the necessity of setting aside the 30 per cent. "retained" quota, and 70 per cent. of that grade could be shipped for export. A bonus of 5 to 6 milreïs per bag is paid by the National Coffee Department to encourage the production of high quality beans, and it is reported that Brazilian planters are now paying more attention than before to quality. The small Central American countries have not the same bargaining strength as Brazil owing to their limited imports requirements, and the Brazilian coffee interests are therefore expecting to capture some of the markets governed by the "milds" in the past. Moreover, Brazil is no longer putting all her eggs into one basket. The old prohibitions on the extension of coffee plants are still in force, and the growing of cotton and citrus fruits is encouraged. Even so, the shipments for the 1936-37 season will according to some estimates amount to 16 million bags.

The coffee industry in the Netherlands East Indies has, it is reported, succeeded in obtaining export premiums at the rate of Fl. 2.50 per picul to the European estates and Fl. 1.36 to the Native Gardens. The grant is, however, subject to the condition that the proceeds must come out of the new import duty on coffee in Holland. But the Dutch importers have safeguarded their position by laying in very large stocks, and as a consequence the yield of the import duty has been so unsatisfactory that it is doubtful if the coffee industry will receive any appreciable financial support.

In the light of what has been said before, the Indian coffee industry cannot expect to see its difficulties disappear quickly, and it appears as if it will be some time before it can be in sight of prosperous times again. It is obvious that the United Kingdom market is the one to which it must pay the greatest attention. The coffee interests are alive to the value of the preference enjoyed under the Ottawa Agreement, and it is fortunate that the question of increased preference to the Empire coffees is kept in the forefront by the Coffee Section of the British Empire Producers Organization, on which the Empire coffee producers, including those from India, are represented. It is to be hoped that with the help of such preference, the maintenance of the high quality of Indian coffee and well instructed and organized propaganda the coffee interests will be in a position to take advantage of the improvement in general trade conditions.

DAGHESTAN, FROM NORTH TO SOUTH

By E. H. King

I was privileged to contribute towards the pages of this Journal in the April issue an account of a journey undertaken in the autumn of 1934 through the Soviet Republic of Armenia. This was superseded by travels in the Georgian Caucasus and in Azerbaijan, but before proceeding homeward through the Ukraine I had resolved, if possible, to further extend my acquaintance with the Middle East by carrying out an expedition through the mountainous regions of Daghestan.

Before embarking upon a description of my journey through the interior of this remote Transcaucasian Soviet Republic, bordered on the east by the Caspian Sea, on the west by Georgia, on the north by Chechnia, and on the south by Azerbaijan, it is necessary to outline briefly the historical events with which it is, and always will be, indissolubly associated, for never have Lenin or Stalin swayed the mountain tribes in this wild and rugged land as did the Imam and Prophet Shamyl about 100 years ago, who must have been one of the most remarkable men of the century.

The events which led up to the Russian Civil War at the beginning of the last century are pretty well known; how, after he had been tendered the Crown of Georgia by the aged King George XIII. as he lay on his death-bed at Tiflis, the Czar Paul of Russia decided that this was an appropriate moment at which to set about effecting the submission of the numerous Caucasian tribes and to thereby open up a way for him to stretch his grasping hand towards Turkey in the south-west, Persia in the south-east, and, if possible, still further towards India.

There never was any *general* war in the Caucasus, as is popularly supposed, since many of the Christian or semi-Christian tribes were neutral or even favourably disposed towards Russia, and at no time was it possible to bring about any really concerted action except among the Circassians in the north and the Mohammedan Lesghian and Kumyk tribes in Daghestan.

It was here, in the year 1824, that the aged and beloved old Imam Mullah-Mohammed, from his aul or mountain village in the south, lit the torch which was to cause a rising amongst the people throughout the length and breadth of the country to the most fanatical enthusiasm for the Holy War which he preached against the Muscovite unbelievers who sought to destroy Islam in their land and to rob them of their freedom, a rising which was

only finally quelled in 1859, after streams of blood had flowed in Daghestan for thirty-five years. He it was who laid his hands in blessing upon the chosen Murids or Apostles who were to lead the people in war. Kasi-Mullah, the first to be appointed, was killed in battle, and Hamzad-Beg, his successor, was murdered by his own people for his treacherous acts during a Religious Festival in the Mosque at the aul of Khunzakh, and it was only in 1836 that the Mullah Shamyl really came into his own and was appointed leader of the people, after many hairbreadth escapes in battle over the preceding years which gained for him the reputation of being Allah's Chosen One. An absolutely born leader of men, a military genius of the first order, utterly fearless, with a tenacity and fertility of resource which knew no bounds, possessed of an oratory which was able to rouse his followers to an amazing height of religious fanaticism, but cruel, heartless and tyrannical, and punishing with death the slightest opposition to his will. Is it, therefore, to be wondered at that his name still lives at Daghestan? Though he never commanded more than a few thousand warriors and, towards the end, only a few hundred, yet, without the aid of any guns, such was his amazing organizing and military ability, aided enormously, of course, by the physical characteristics of his country, one of plateaux intersected by profound and narrow mountain gorges, of which he knew every inch, that he was able to frustrate all the efforts of the Russian forces and inflict crushing defeats upon them until they were compelled to alter their tactics and construct military roads and fortresses to command these gorges in order to hem him in. Finally, at the end of August, 1859, he took up his last stronghold on the natural mountain fortress of Gunib, which was to be the goal of my journey into the interior, and with a handful of faithful followers emerged from the ruined aul of Gunib and made his surrender to Prince Bariatinsky on September 6, 1859, in the little birchwood nearby. After an honourable exile at Kaluga, a village near Moscow, he was given leave to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he died in 1871 at the age of seventy-four.

The present-day capital of Daghestan is the town of Makhach Kala, situated upon the shores of the Caspian Sea, and I had travelled thither from Baku, the capital of the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic lying to the south and being the centre of the world-renowned oil-fields from whence much of the crude petroleum passes through a pipe-line across the Caucasus by means of a series of pumping stations as far as Batum at the east of the Black Sea, where it is refined and subsequently transported by tankers from all parts of the world.

Makhach Kala is the erstwhile Petrovsk, having been renamed in honour of one of the most prominent revolutionaries under the Bolshevik régime in these parts. It boasts no great antiquity,

its former name being derived from that of Peter the Great, who laid the first stones in the year 1722 after his return from an inglorious campaign against the Persians in the south, but as a town it was not completed until the year 1844. During the intervening period Petrovsk served as the harbour to Tarku, lying about three miles distant inland, which, at that time, constituted the principal trading centre of the "Shamkals" or princes of the Kumyk tribes inhabiting the lowlands of Daghestan. The population of the capital, amounting to about 30,000, is comprised of about 50 per cent. Russians and Ukrainians and the remainder a medley of Lesghians, Kumyks, Tatars from Azerbaijan and Chechens from Chechnia which, geographically, is sometimes regarded as being within the republic, although it possesses its separate capital, Grosny, and cannot be said to form in reality a part of Daghestan (*i.e.*, Rock-Land) proper.

Through the assistance of a prominent official of the Republican Government I was enabled to procure a motor lorry in which to accomplish the journey into the hinterland together with the services of a young German as driver, who, as a result of a number of years' residence both in Baku and in Makhach Kala, had acquired a working knowledge of Avarian, the language most generally spoken, or at least understood, amongst the Lesghian mountain tribes, though to be sure there exist no fewer than thirty-two different tongues and dialects in Daghestan alone which may be classified under the broad headings of Turski-Kumykian and Nogaian amongst the dwellers along the Caspian seaboard or lowlanders, and Avarian, Daghinian and Lakian amongst the mountain peoples. Of course this multitude of languages presents many difficulties and, when taken in conjunction with the Georgian mountain tribes to the east (Khevsurs, Tushes, Pshavs and Svans), together with the Ossetes and Inghushes who constitute entirely separate peoples, it will be readily realized that the Caucasus generally presents probably the most absorbing ethnological fields for research to be found anywhere upon the face of the globe.

It was made abundantly plain to me at the outset that it would be quite impossible to traverse the mountain passes by the means proposed except in dry weather, since muddy or greasy conditions would inevitably result in disaster owing to the innumerable hairpin bends which require to be negotiated through the narrow defiles.

We set out from the capital for the interior beneath a cloudless sky upon November 1, 1934, and very shortly reached the large village or aul of Tarki already described as lying but 3 kms. distant in a westerly direction. As constant reference will be made to the term, it is not inappropriate to describe here the construction of these auls of Daghestan, which consist of stone houses with flat roofs built into the mountain side in terrace formation one above the other, so that the roof of one house forms a platform or verandah so to speak for the occupant of that corresponding in the layer above. They are almost invariably constructed in commanding positions for purposes of defence and usually face south in order to secure the maximum of sunshine. Generally speaking, the lower floor is divided into stalls for the cattle, the family occupying the upper one, which is usually devoid of furniture, the people squatting cross-legged on their rugs, which also frequently adorn the walls. The aul of Tarku was the largest I visited and the only one which boasted a minaret to one of its two mosques, the other being merely a house converted for the purposes of worship, and in most of the smaller auls the upper floor alone has to suffice. I shall speak in greater detail regarding the religion of the people when describing the present-day conditions in the country.

During one of his more daring sorties Kasi-Mullah almost succeeded in seizing Tarku, and had the Russian garrison, who had taken up their last stand in the fortress of Burnaya (built by General Velyaminov in 1821), situated in a commanding position above the aul, not been most opportunely relieved this important strategic position must undoubtedly have fallen. Although the aul has declined in importance as a trading centre, it will be observed from the photograph reproduced (Fig. 1) that the commercial instinct still remains keenly developed!

From Tarku the road extends in a westerly direction over a distance of some forty miles until Temir-Khan-Shura is reached, where the Russian headquarters during the Holy War were located. The town in the early part of the fifteenth century constituted the capital of Tamerlane—the "Iron (temir) Khan"—during his invasion of the Caucasus. There exist no relics of his occupation today, however, but a semi-ruinous Russian fort is picturesquely situated in the upper part, which in appearance bears a striking resemblance to the grandstand of a racecourse (Fig. 2); not far distant a stone cave is to be seen in the side of the hill upon which the fort is situated, where Shamyl once hid with a number of his followers from the pursuit of the Russians during the earlier part of the campaign before they had occupied the town as their headquarters. The road gradually ascended, as I continued my journey, in a southerly direction over a distance of some fifty miles until the aul of Levashi was reached at nightfall. Shortly after we had ensconced ourselves in the native "khan" the head man of the aul, somewhat inebriated, came to welcome me effusively to his domain, and at his instigation I later witnessed for the first time an exhibition of the "Lesghinka" or Caucasian dance. By the light of a couple of dim oil lamps suspended from the ceiling

of the building which did duty as the "village hall" I found practically the entire population of the aul assembled, since it appeared that the entertainment had been arranged to form the conclusion of a Moslem festival. A most fascinating spectacle it proved. At the edge of the circle left clear for the dancers were seated the "orchestra"—a trio composed of a "drummer," whose instrument bore a striking resemblance to the African "tom-tom," another piped upon a type of penny whistle, whilst a third manipulated a somewhat crude species of accordion. A curiously picturesque gathering was formed by these wild tribesfolk of the Caucasus assembled "en masse," the men garbed in the shaggy sheepskin hat and "burka" or cloak of coarse felt over which is worn a long fleecy sheepskin cloak with the "kindjal" or dagger suspended from the waist, whilst the women's costume consisted in most cases of wide trousers, a long belted coat, the head being covered by a hood hanging down at the sides, in many cases adorned with metallic discs resembling coins.

The male dancer first dashes into the ring and to the rapid tempo of the orchestra encircles it once or twice before beckoning to his prospective partner, who thereupon immediately joins him. Let no one imagine that there is anything the least suggestive or indecorous in the dance of these mountain tribesfolk; on the contrary, in comparison with the dances of our "western civilization" it is staid and restrained to a degree, since the close contact between the sexes witnessed anywhere and any day in our modern ballrooms and night clubs would be utterly incomprehensible and repugnant to the Oriental. With the man pursuing and the girl coyly eluding him in the breathless rapidity of the intricate steps involved the dance is meant to symbolize the wooing between male and female; supple and graceful though their movements be, beyond a slight grazing of the stiffened backs, at no time is any closer approach permissible. Yet the fascination of the dance to the onlooker, as couple after couple succeed each other in these whirlwind evolutions, can only be realized when one is listening to the accompanying rhythm, which to the imagination seems to harmonize with the wild grandeur of the great mountains of the Caucasus.

The cemeteries in these mountain auls of Daghestan are of interest and particularly that of Levashi; the stone seen in the foreground of the photograph reproduced (Fig. 3) marks the last resting-place of a mollah greatly beloved of the people, being covered from top to foot with extracts from the Koran in elaborate profusion, whilst the two others seen close by serve to illustrate the curious custom of carving upon the tombstones of the male departed all the worldly goods of which he died possessed: horse, gun, pistol, dagger, and even top boots are recorded

for the edification of posterity. The cemeteries are not necessarily always found in the auls themselves, but scattered groups of gravestones are frequently to be seen upon the most desolate mountainsides.

It was during the next stage of my journey, from Levashi to Mount Gunib, about forty-five miles distant in a westerly direction, that the stark, savage beauty of the mountains of Daghestan became apparent, since the traveller now enters upon the very heart of the country. Devoid of any trace of the verdure which graces and beautifies the heights of the Georgian Caucasus, these ranges nevertheless engender a feeling of awe and solemnity at the majestic grandeur of nature, not so much on account of their great altitude, since the loftiest of the peaks of the Caucasus, Mount Elbruz and Mount Kazbek, lie far distant to the west and north-west, but on account of their curious formations, which resemble great waves of rock cast up from the earth's crust into a veritable mountainous sea. The mean height of the mountains of Daghestan ranges at from 8,000 to 10,000 feet, though Mount Bishinei in the extreme south attains an altitude of nearly 14,000 feet.

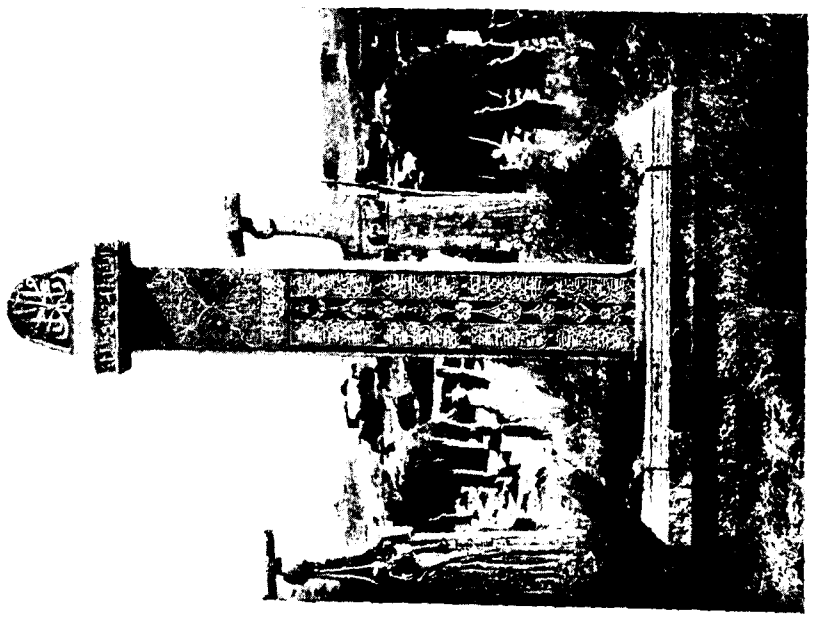
The sun shone forth from a cloudless sky as I approached Mount Gunib, which resembles a huge truncated pyramid, and it is about halfway to the summit and upon the least inaccessible side of the historic mountain that the erstwhile quarters of Prince Bariatinsky's forces are situated upon a little plateau (Fig. 4) from which the final assault was ultimately launched; upon the right of the photograph reproduced can be seen the track up which his troops once passed, whilst the headquarters of the Prince and of his staff can be observed in the large white deserted building to the left. My fellow-traveller certainly appeared to be able to converse with the natives who inhabit some of the smaller houses, from whom we were able to procure horses in order to continue the journey to the summit standing at an altitude of about 8,000 feet.

Here a grassy plateau of undulating meadowland spread out before us, and it was fortunate that we had a tribesman to act as guide, for the dense mist would have otherwise rendered further progress largely a matter of guesswork.

Situated in a grassy hollow, amidst the stillness of this remote mountain stronghold, lies to this day the ruined aul of Gunib, just as Shamyl must last have witnessed it, mercilessly battered by the Russian guns, whilst but 200 yards distant stands the little birchwood within which a stone pillar marks the spot where the old Imam, with the sorry remnant of his Murids or followers, at length finally capitulated like Vercingetorix to Cæsar, happily however, to meet a kinder fate.

Upon descending from Mount Gunib I now resumed my journey in a southerly direction over a distance of some fifteen miles, as far as the Aul of Chokh (Fig. 5), most picturesquely situated in the mountainside and which, although it was never the scene of severe fighting, constituted one of Shamyl's principal bases of operations and where, together with Rugdja not far distant and clearly visible, considerable numbers of his forces were quartered. The Mosque at Chokh consists of a narrow chamber constituting the upper floor of a sixteenth-century house entirely unadorned save for a profusion of fine old prayer rugs on the floor and a number of musty tomes, many in the last stages of decay, from which the Koran is read and expounded to the Faithful by the aged Mollah, who eats, sleeps, and meditates in a small closet without. It was in the lower chamber of this house that we passed the night before resuming our journey in a southerly direction towards Kasi Kumukh, where we were now compelled to dispense with wheeled transport and to henceforth proceed to Derbend, on the coast, on horseback. I imagine that our German driver must have reaped a substantial profit from our incursion into the hinterland, since at no time were there less than a dozen tribesmen wedged into the back of the lorry, whom I observed entering into surreptitious financial negotiations with him upon alighting at their native auls; and assuming that he enjoyed an equally brisk trade on the return journey when taken in conjunction with the substantial initial sum originally agreed upon between us, he doubtless possessed good and sufficient reasons for ardently desiring an influx of tourist traffic into Daghestan where one lone traveller had proved such a remunerative investment! To his credit be it stated, however, that he accomplished an extremely hazardous journey entirely without mishap through a country at all events reputed unsafe for travellers.

Astride small but wiry and sure-footed steeds and accompanied by a Lakian guide, we now set forth from Kasi Kumukh, a picturesque aul built around a small mountain lake, for Kubachi. It proved a long and somewhat tiring day in the saddle, for we had left at daybreak and only reached our destination at nightfall. This small aul is situated in a most inaccessible spot, and is only reached with difficulty. It is inhabited by a tribe known as the Kasimukhians, who, though they only number perhaps 1,000 all told, were spoken of as early as the sixth century in connection with a local industry, the secrets of which have been handed down from generation to generation even to our very day. Far beyond the confines of Daghestan spread the renown of the weapon-makers of Kubachi, whose blades and gun-barrels have for centuries been famed throughout Russia and the Middle East. To this ancient industry has now been added the craft of the





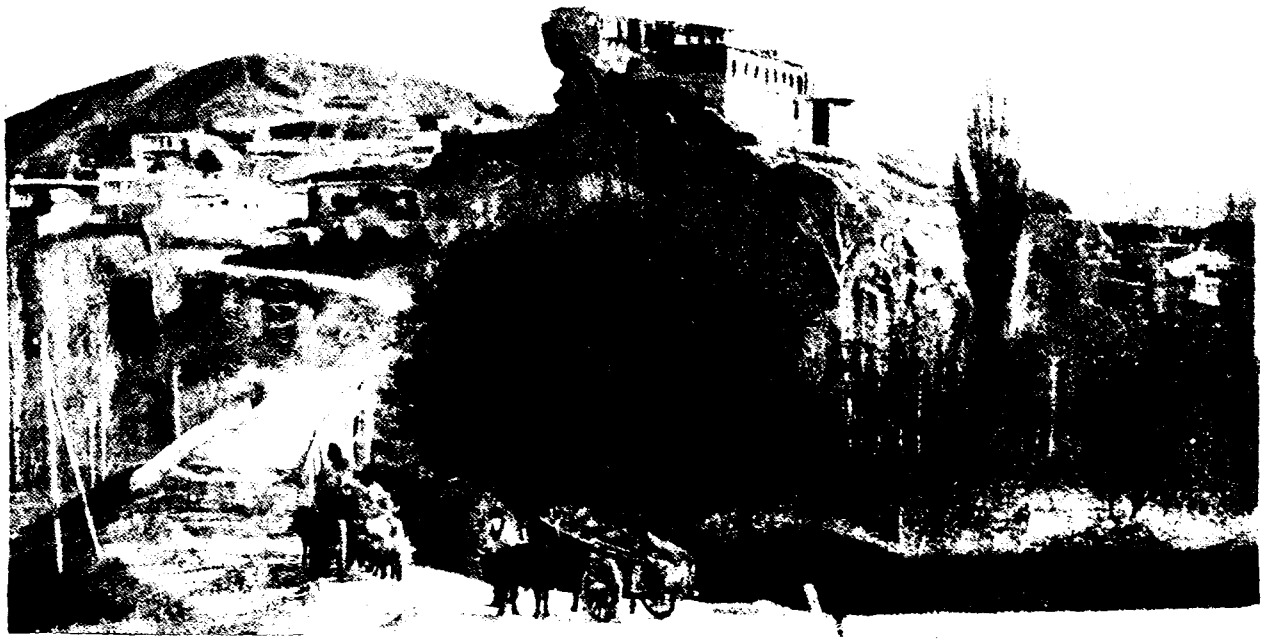


FIG. 2.—RUSSIAN FORT AT TEMIR-KHAN-SHURA.

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FIG. 4.—QUARTERS OF PRINCE BARIATINSKY'S FORCES ON MOUNT GUNIB

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FIG. 5.—AUL OF CHOKH.

silversmiths in the manufacture of native jewellery, together with inlay work in ivory and mother-o'-pearl, much of it being of great beauty and superb finish.

The final stage of our journey led us to the erstwhile capital of Daghestan, the ancient historic town of Derbend, situated on the Caspian seaboard in the extreme south and close to the frontier of Azerbaijan. The name translated from the Persian signifies "gatelock," for at this point the mountains of Daghestan shut the plain in to its narrowest extremity. The passage thus formed has indeed been appropriately described as the "Caspian Gate," and an ancient wall, still in a remarkable state of preservation, stretches from the coast as far as the foot of the mountains, which is attributed to the Sassanid King Amshurvan, who reigned from A.D. 531 to 579. Yet long ages before the wall was built, before the first stones of Derbend were laid, history centred around this spot, since here the fierce warlike Scythian tribes from the north in the seventh century B.C. forced their way through to triumphant victory over the Medes. One thousand years later, in the seventh century A.D., it was around this historic wall that the bitterest fighting was waged between the Persians in the south and the Khazans in the north, who sought to still further extend their powerful kingdom Khazaria lying between the Caucasus, the Volga, and the Don, a kingdom ultimately overthrown by the Varangian legions centred around Kiev in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Yet again the passage of little more than 1,000 years witnessed the tumult of battle in the vain efforts of Peter the Great, in the year 1722, to extend the dominions of Russia towards the south-east in the capture of this key point of such infinite strategic value. True, he seized Derbend, but was forced to withdraw owing to the destruction of his ships in a storm. After abortive efforts in 1775 and 1796 to capture the town it eventually passed finally into Russian hands in 1806.

What of the life today amongst the inhabitants of this remote and rugged land?

Times have not so greatly changed, for the very nature of the country precludes their doing so. The Lesghian peoples live mostly by cattle-rearing, but the grazing land in the mountains really only produces sufficient for their needs in the summer, and in the winter months they are forced to betake themselves, with their beasts, to the Caspian plains or to the Steppes in the north; of agriculture there is little possibility, the small patches of land affording meagre scope, and most of the grain and flour is derived from the plains below or seized from Georgia by marauding bands. Communications in these wild, rugged regions present the greatest difficulty, all transport having to be effected by the

bullock waggon or, where this is not practicable, on the backs of horses or asses and even of the men and women themselves; nevertheless, these hard conditions of life breed a strong, stalwart, warlike race and, seen astride his small but wiry steed, the tribesman of Daghestan is a picturesque fellow.

The Caspian plain, as already stated, is inhabited mostly by the Kumyks, but in the extreme north the Nogaians predominate, both of which are Turkish tribes and Turski-Kumykian is the language generally spoken in this region. Their livelihood is derived from fishing in the Caspian, cattle breeding and agriculture, also by trading with Azerbaijan and Persia in the south in rugs, sheep's wool and hides in exchange for other wares which they sell to the Lesghians. The beautiful old rugs, the weaving of which once constituted a staple industry in Daghestan, are now practically unprocurable and are only to be found occasionally in the Mosques; I myself possess a fine old prayer rug which, however, I acquired far from the land of its origin, to wit, in an art-dealer's shop in the West End of London! In design these rugs display a strong Persian influence, and are distinguishable to the expert largely by the number of stitches in the weaving. The modern chemically washed products are utterly dissimilar and cannot be compared with the intracy of design and rich colouring to be found in the early examples. It is unfortunately a well-established fact that the finest specimens of the early art of the East and Middle East can no longer be picked up at bargain prices by the traveller, but must today be sought in the great capitals of the West.

Muhammedanism was introduced to Daghestan as far back as the eighth century. The people profess the Sunnite belief as opposed to the Shiite doctrine of the Persians, and although the fanaticism of Shamyl's day no longer exists, they nevertheless would appear for the greater part to conscientiously maintain most of the holy precepts of the Prophet in the matter of prayers, ablutions, alms-giving, and so forth, the Muezzin still calls the "hour of prayer," and whereas under the Soviet *régime*, as is well known, the names of the days of the week have been almost entirely abolished, in Daghestan the people maintain the "Friday Mosque" with religious tenacity. Although government schools have been instituted in the larger towns with a view to liquidating illiteracy, it is nevertheless a fact that the teaching still remains principally in the hands of the Mollahs, who also enforce the "Shariat" or holy precepts in place of the civil law. Despite the fact that it is entirely opposed to the tenets of the Koran, and although Shamyl himself strove against it, the ancient custom of "blood revenge" prevails in Daghestan to this day, and it is computed that 80 per cent. of the murders in the country are directly

attributable to its existence which, in principle, requires that murder must, as a matter of honour, be avenged by the victim's kindred through the death of the culprit or his kindred, or even people from his aul, and on this account it may well happen that the original malefactor can create a state of bloody strife between two auls, although atonement may also be effected by a fine of eighty head of cattle in the case of a male victim or sixty in the case of a woman. Upon the expiation of the crime the parties concerned unite in a feast of atonement when animals are sacrificed amidst mutual satisfaction and rejoicing! This practice is not confined to Daghestan alone, but prevails also amongst the Georgian mountain tribes, who profess a form of Christianity strongly intermingled with the Paganism from which it emanated.

As a country Daghestan has long possessed a sinister reputation for banditry, and it must be admitted that it would be difficult to imagine a region more eminently suited to the purpose. For my own part I was entirely free from molestation, but it must be remembered that motor transport is an extremely rare sight in the rugged defiles, and as such our lorry was hailed with enthusiasm, as witness the congestion created by the eager would-be passengers, many of whom it was quite impossible to accommodate; the scene frequently resembled the "rush-hour" in our busiest London thoroughfares, although to be sure the Londoner is not prone to hurling stones and other missiles at the more fortunate occupants of the departing vehicle, but in excuse of these feeling demonstrations of irritability it must be remembered that the tribesfolk of Daghestan do not enjoy an organized motor transport service such as we are accustomed to expect in our enlightened land!

Provided that the traveller is accompanied by one or more natives during the course of his wanderings in the country it is probably true to say that a reasonable degree of safety may be assured; the lonely wayfarer, however, would definitely invite the cupidity of these rugged mountain folk, who are prone to shoot down their victim from some concealed cleft and to then subsequently rifle him of his possessions, which method, of course, entirely precludes the encountering of any form of resistance on his part.

Once, however, the stranger finds himself within the auls themselves he immediately becomes an honoured guest, since here he may demand food, shelter and protection, for the "law of hospitality" is sacred not only in Dhagestan itself but throughout the length and breadth of the Caucasus.

THE FUTURE OF DJIBOUTI

By Octave Homberg
(*Translated.*)

The settlement of France upon the Somali coast took place only about fifty years ago. Like many important events which historians consider to be the results of long premeditated design, this was actually almost a chance occurrence. A small band of Frenchmen, under the leadership of a pioneer called Lambert, had landed on the Somali coast and were soon attacked by the natives of the country. They, of course, asked the French Government to come to their help. Gambetta was then head of the Government and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The feeling of this great patriot was that Frenchmen attacked by savages could not be abandoned to their fate and that, regardless of possible consequences, intervention was called for. The Minister of Marine warned a warship which was in the vicinity of the Red Sea, and it was thus that Obock was taken possession of by France. A French consular representative, M. Lagarde, was despatched to this corner of the desert of which the world knew nothing and of which no one took any heed. Thanks to his appreciation of the position, to his energy and perseverance, what might have been merely a temporary occupation became a permanent settlement, and an inhospitable roadstead became the germ of an actual colony. Gradually treaties were made by the representative of France with a certain number of native chiefs, who were, in fact, independent and in no way recognized the authority of the Emperor of Abyssinia. These chiefs agreed to place themselves under French protection, and M. Lagarde moved from Obock to Djibouti, a better and more accessible place, this becoming the principal centre of the colony and protectorate. At the same time, he was wise enough to reassure the Emperor Menelik as to the peaceful intentions of France, and he even so far won the favour of this sovereign as to be given the title of Duke of Entoto—a fact which did not fail to give rise to humorous remarks on the part of the newspaper men of Paris, who were more witty than well-informed.

To crown these patient and praiseworthy labours a settlement of the frontier was drawn up, on the one hand with Abyssinia, and on the other with Italy, settled at Assab and in Eritrea, and with England, occupying Zeila and Berbera.

Thereupon two adventurous spirits, one Swiss and the other

French, M. Ilg and M. Chefneux, secured from the Emperor Menelik, a man of wide and comprehensive vision, who was rightly concerned to obtain for his country, surrounded on all sides by powerful neighbours, an outlet to the sea, the concession of a railway to run from Djibouti by Dire Dawa to Addis Abbaba. The enterprise was called the "Compagnie Impériale des Chemins de Fer Ethiopiens," had great difficulty in securing funds, and was indifferently managed. It succeeded nevertheless in taking the line as far as Dire Dawa, but then went bankrupt.

Menelik, however, was not willing to drop his scheme. He kept his former concessionaires as hostages at his court, and meantime negotiated with the French Government for the formation of a new company of good standing which might resume the enterprise and bring it to a satisfactory conclusion.

For this purpose he sent his own doctor, Dr. Vitalien, a negro from Guadeloupe, to Paris. I myself had the honour, as representative of a financial group headed by the Banque de l'Indochine, which had a branch at Djibouti, of negotiating the new concession granted jointly by the Emperor of Abyssinia and the French Government.

An act was passed guaranteeing the new company, which adopted the name of the "Compagnie du Chemin de Fer Franco-Ethiopien de Djibouti à Addis Abbaba," the interest for the payment of its bonds.

Thereupon, in spite of difficulties inherent in a country without resources, the line was rapidly pushed on in the direction of Addis Abbaba; it crossed the River Hawash and had reached the Ethiopian capital when the Great War broke out.

As will be realized, France had in a short time acquired considerable interests in this part of the world. She possessed at Djibouti an important harbour, both as a port of call capable of competing with Aden opposite to it and for entering and leaving Abyssinia. At the same time, the railway which she controlled, in the ownership of which the Ethiopian Government was associated through part of the shares, provided a means to assist the economic development of a country which, from this point of view, was almost virgin soil.

The landowners' hatred of foreigners, however, which Menelik had temporarily moderated, broke out afresh and increased after the death of this enlightened monarch.

The Italian conquest is a fact; let us note it without discussion of the rights and wrongs of the matter. What is to happen to Djibouti?

M. Mussolini has announced on several occasions that there will be no attack upon foreign interests in Abyssinia, especially those of France and England.

It is possible that the Franco-Ethiopian Railway may become a Franco-Italian railway. It is so already to a certain degree, since one of the clauses of the Mussolini-Laval Agreement, concluded in January, 1935, provided for the purchase by Italy of a considerable part of the share capital of the Company. But even in this event it is scarcely credible that Italy will not seek to obtain for herself the greatest possible profit from her new colony. Efforts already made at Manowah and Asmara will be continued. Through Adowa, Makale, and Ankober, through the districts of Wollo and Shoa, there will be constructed roads, and no doubt a railway to open up the country. It will not be a French port which will remain the principal port of an Ethiopia which has become Italian.

What, then, is to happen to Djibouti? Is it to be a kind of Aden on a smaller scale, a port of call for France on the Madagascar and Indo-China route?

This is no doubt an essential task, and I need not remind the English, who with marvellous foresight and vigilance ever alert have dotted the world with such links, the prime importance of these ports of call. But if its "hinterland" were to decay, if transit trade were systematically diverted from it, not only would the railway suffer, but the port itself would be seriously affected.

The colonization of Abyssinia is an immense task. Italy has the man-power to undertake it; will she despise the assistance in the form of capital which, when once political friction is allayed, could be afforded by France and England? Great Britain, from the point of view of her interests on the Nile, and France from that of her interest in Djibouti, have a right to claim from Italy respect for the recent undertakings which have associated the three powers in a common action as regards Ethiopia. In a bold gesture, and one which, to begin with, seemed very rash, Italy has taken upon herself the security which rested in the hands of three powerful nations. To destroy M. Mussolini did not hestitate to draw the sword; it is a question now of restoring by peaceful, skilful, and patient means.

International collaboration in economic affairs is more than ever to be desired. England, which has more than any other country been responsible for the theory of freedom of trade, and which, less imperfectly than they, has put this theory into practice; England, "carrier of the seas"; England, which, despite a geographical position which has become by no means favourable, is still the centre for the distribution of raw material; England, which supplies shipping contracts and insurance for the whole world; England, which, to sum up in a word, lives on international trade, could not be in favour of that fatal spirit of "autarchy" which has been driving each country to surround itself economically

with a Great Wall of China, to live for itself and of itself, could not approve the autarchy which hinders the circulation of goods which is the source of riches.

One of the strongest arguments employed in the past for the refusal to grant certain backward countries the right to carry on an independent existence, one of the reasons for which such countries were colonized, was that they did not perform their duties as regards the human race in neglecting to take advantage of their resources and soil and in declining to trade.

France had grounds for complaint against the former Morocco which were undoubtedly more serious than those of Italy against the former Abyssinia; to secure justice for herself she employed methods which exhibited a much greater respect for international rights than those which M. Mussolini chose; she was content with a protectorate, and even agreed that this protectorate should be burdened with the international mortgage in which the Algeciras Treaty involves her.

Yet by a remarkable contradiction it is this very same Italy which has simply converted Abyssinia into a colony—a country which, on her request, was admitted to the League of Nations—which does not hesitate to express the opinion that the administration of France in Morocco is too selfish. This is the Italy which, last year, just before her Ethiopian expedition, brought an action against France at The Hague International Court of Justice. She complained that, by the creation of the Office Chérifien des Phosphates, France had violated the Algeciras Treaty and attacked international trading rights. Will she persist with such an action on the morrow of her conquest and of her pure and simple annexation of Abyssinia to the Italian Empire? If this should be the case, I imagine that the French lawyers before this high tribunal could restrict themselves, for the purposes of pleading, to a recitation of the saying as to the mote and the beam.

In any case it is to be assumed that the Powers, and among them France and England especially, will not recognize the annexation of Abyssinia by Italy without securing from the latter country definite economic guarantees.

Such bargaining would certainly not have a high moral tone, but, from the practical point of view, it would be better than this system of sanctions which would have been perfection if it had served to stay the hand of Italy and compel her to open negotiations, but which, unworkable so far as its object was concerned, became a useless form of irritation, affecting, to a great extent, those very nations which applied it.

It is no longer a question of punishing Italy, still less of annoying and irritating her. An effort must be made to extract some great good from that which was undoubtedly, not only an evil—

war and the shedding of blood are always that—but also a bad example.

It is essential that the colonization of Abyssinia should profit not only Italy herself but also the Abyssinians and the world generally.

England and France should certainly have the right to compensation, for they have lost their rights in a kind of condominium through confiscation carried out for the sole profit of Italy. I do not suggest that their claims should be made on these grounds, but only that they should point out that the prospects of their settlements, both on the Nile and the banks of Lake Tsana, and at Djibouti and on the Somali coast, are much reduced as the result of the Italian occupation.

To attain this there is but one means: wide and frank economic collaboration. Hatred of the stranger is a reaction of feebleness and helplessness; this cannot be the reaction of Italy after a short and successful campaign.

In foreign circles as well as at home it would be better to substitute for the closed fist the outstretched hand.

June 15, 1936.

ROAD DEVELOPMENT IN PALESTINE

By I. Melamede

(Secretary to the Road Board, Government of Palestine.)

Palestine, which, less than two decades ago, was a neglected and undeveloped province of the large Ottoman Empire, is today an important and prosperous country. Considering its size—approximately 10,000 square miles—and its small population of about one and a quarter million inhabitants, Palestine is playing a marked part in the economic and political affairs of the world. The country has perhaps never witnessed such a fundamental and progressive change as that which followed the Great War, when, in 1920, the British Government was given the Mandate for the country. What was but an impoverished district of the Turkish Empire has been transformed into a modern and prosperous country. Large stretches of malaria-breeding marshlands have been drained and rendered suitable for habitation, wide areas of agricultural land neglected for centuries have been put under the plough, numerous new settlements have been established, existing villages and settlements have been enlarged, and the natural resources of the country have been exploited. Simultaneously with agricultural progress in the rural districts, there has been a relatively yet larger development in the urban areas. Existing towns have been enlarged by the addition of thousands and thousands of houses for immigrants. Water supplies, drainage schemes, and public works of a similar nature have been executed in most towns, resulting in improved conditions of health. New industries and engineering enterprises have been established. Schools, hospitals, public buildings, and a wide range of other amenities, necessary for the economic and social welfare of the existing population and newcomers, have been provided. Briefly, the living conditions of the inhabitants and the social aspect of the country have undergone a complete change.

In the economic and social regeneration of Palestine one of the most striking and most apparent features is the development of the road system. Transportation is a supreme factor in the development of any country, and the extraordinary progress which has taken place in the agricultural, industrial, and social life of Palestine would not have been attained, or at least would have been severely retarded, without the provision of suitable means of rapid transportation at minimum cost. At the outset of the British Administration Palestine was served with but a small and poor railway system, and owing to the very rapid development which has taken place the road, which is easier built, less costly and

generally provides a more convenient means of transport, has naturally come into prominence.

Prior to 1914 there were practically no roads in Palestine. The best in the country was the one between Jaffa and Jerusalem, serving mainly for tourist traffic. In the south, routes existed between Jerusalem and Beersheba through Hebron, and between Jerusalem and Jericho; in the north, between Jerusalem and Nazareth through Nablus and Jenin, and between Haifa and Tiberias through Nazareth; but these roads were of very light formation and often impassable in the wet season. The remaining routes were mere tracks formed by animal transport, quite unsuitable for wheeled traffic at any time of the year.

Various improvements were effected to roads during the War by the Turks and by the British military authorities during the occupation of the country by British troops late in 1917. The military authorities continued to carry out work on the roads until the establishment of a Civil Government and converted some of the routes into roads more capable of carrying motor transport.

At the inception of the Civil Government in 1920 the country was, nevertheless, served by extremely poor roads, totally inadequate, both in regard to type of construction and mileage, to cope with the traffic which developed during the ensuing years.

The intensive and rapid development of the country since the British occupation, and the advent of more advanced transport facilities due to extraordinary progress made in motor transport during the years succeeding the War, have given an impetus to large road works during the last fifteen years. These works have resulted in today's valuable network of excellent motoring roads.

Existing roads have been regularly maintained and improved, tracks have been converted into all-weather communications, and a considerable mileage of entirely new roads has been constructed. In 1921 there were about 450 kilometres of main roads suitable for traffic in all weather: today there are over 1,200 kilometres of such roads.

Apart from increasing the total road mileage, considerable work has been done during the last few years on special improvements to enable roads to stand up to ever-increasing motor traffic. These works consisted mainly in the strengthening of road foundations, bridges and culverts, widening and deepening of side drains, amelioration of dangerous bends and steep gradients, and last but not least the protection of all road surfaces with asphalt. Palestine is a shadeless and, over considerable areas, a practically waterless country; in past years the dust nuisance was so harmful and disturbing that the relief obtained from its disappearance cannot be too strongly emphasized. Another feature which will no doubt tend to ameliorate the aspect and condition of main roads is the

start made in 1935, though on a modest scale, in the planting of shade trees by the roadside.

In addition to a network of about 1,200 kilometres of permanent roads there are at present some 1,800 kilometres of seasonal tracks, of different standards, passable in dry weather and considerable lengths of which can be negotiated in winter except during the heaviest rains. Improved road facilities have also been instrumental in stimulating tourist traffic, and tourists can now visit, with considerable saving in cost and time, sites of interest which are not served by the railway. These facilities have, unfortunately, removed much of the charm and interest of journeys undertaken in the past; instead of riding through the land and spending the night in beautiful or historic spots during a journey of some three to four weeks the tourist of today traverses the country from north to south between sunrise and sunset.

Inexpensive and fast modes of travel enable the local inhabitant to enjoy the diversity of the climatic and physical conditions of the country which are characteristic of Palestine. For example, the inhabitant of Jerusalem at an altitude of about 2,600 feet can, if he wishes for warmth in the winter, spend his hours of leisure on the shores of the Dead Sea—within an hour's ride by car on excellent roads—at 1,300 feet below sea level.

The opening up of the country by means of roads has not only enhanced agricultural, industrial, and trade potentialities of the country, but has also facilitated the maintenance of public security by making it possible to control remote areas previously inaccessible during certain periods of the year.

The total expenditure by the Palestine Government from 1921 to 1935 inclusive, on the construction of new roads and major improvements to existing roads, including overhead charges in respect of administrative costs, amounts roughly to £1,260,000.

During the same period the total expenditure on the maintenance of roads and bridges amounted to £1,080,000. The annual expenditure on the maintenance of roads and bridges has augmented from year to year simultaneously with the increase of road mileage and increase of motor traffic. The cost of maintenance of roads in the years 1922, 1923, 1924 amounted roughly to £30,000, £28,000 and £31,000 respectively, while the costs for each of the last three years were: 1933, £102,000; 1934, £114,000; and 1935, £151,000.

The responsibility for the construction and maintenance of main roads rests with Government and is entrusted to the Department of Public Works. In all matters of road policy and capital road expenditure Government consults an advisory Road Board which was constituted in 1926 by the late Field-Marshal Lord Plumer during his tenure of office as High Commissioner for

Palestine. The Road Board is presided over by the Director of Public Works, and its membership comprises the three District Commissioners, the General Manager of the Palestine Railways, the Deputy Treasurer, and three non-official members nominated by Government.

Main roads which provide through arterial communications for the benefit of the country as a whole are built from public funds. Where roads are required for one village or a group of villages and cannot be considered as necessary for the network of arterial communications, Government undertakes the construction subject to a contribution by the local bodies concerned, the rate of contribution being fixed by the Road Board according to the circumstances of each case. This procedure has been followed in a number of cases during the last two to three years in connection with the construction of roads connecting villages with the railway, mostly in agricultural areas of citrus plantation, for the transportation of the fruit by rail to the ports of Haifa or Jaffa. There are also isolated cases of short roads built by private initiative.

In addition to main roads which carry first-class traffic throughout the year, considerable works of improvement have been carried out on village roads and long stretches of such roads have been built in many parts of the country by villagers, either by voluntary labour during the periods of the year when there is little agricultural work to be done, or by obligatory participation in cash or in labour under the Village Roads and Works Ordinance. This Ordinance provides for the payment by each taxable male inhabitant of a sum of £1 per year or the equivalent in working days, the contribution being used for village roads or other public works. The Department of Public Works supplies free of charge explosives, bridging material, and technical supervision.

No source of revenue has been established or is used exclusively to defray expenditure on roads. In other words no direct relation or co-ordination exists between the revenue accruing from the Motor Transport Industry and the expenditure sanctioned by Government for road works. Funds for the maintenance of roads are provided in the annual Budget Estimates of Government on the basis of the requirements of the Department of Public Works. The cost of new roads, major improvements to existing roads and purchase of road-making plant—namely, all "extraordinary" road expenditure—is likewise provided for in the Government annual Budget Estimates and is also met from the general revenue of the country. Proposals for new roads and major improvements to existing roads are submitted to Government by the Road Board yearly prior to preparation of annual Budget Estimates. The allocation of funds for such works is considered by Government in conjunction with all other major public works which are

financed from general revenue such as irrigation works, water supplies, buildings, etc., and no fixed share of the total funds allowed for "extraordinary" works is earmarked in advance for roads.

The revenue which Government derives from the existence of roads is of two different categories. The first category consists of the fees collected under the Road Transport Ordinance and customs dues levied on all commodities connected with the motor transport industry. The second category represents indirect revenue—which cannot be assessed with any degree of accuracy—in the form of the additional receipts by Government from various taxes and duties resulting from enhanced value of land and general prosperity following the opening up of the country by roads.

Simultaneously with the increase in the number of vehicles (which will be referred to later), the volume of motor traffic and the mileage of roads, there has been a considerable increase from year to year in the revenue derived directly from the motor transport industry. In 1922, 1923, and 1924 the revenue amounted roughly to £18,000, £43,000, and £47,000, while the figures for the last three years were: 1933, £400,000; 1934, £648,000; and 1935, £807,000. The total revenue which accrued to Government from the motor transport industry from the inception of the Civil Government to 1935 inclusive is roughly £3,390,000.

Municipalities receive a share, at present fixed at 50 per cent., of the licence fees in respect of vehicles the owners of which reside within municipal areas; with this exception the whole of the revenue derived from the motor transport industry is credited to Government revenue. The municipal share of the licence fees is not included in the figures given in the preceding paragraph and represents but a small percentage of the total motor transport revenue.

There were no motor transport vehicles in Palestine before the War, or, to be correct, there was in Jaffa one motor-car belonging to a German, which, when run on rare occasions, used to raise the utmost curiosity of the inhabitants. Passenger and goods transport facilities were provided by the railways, animal-drawn vehicles and mostly by horses, mules, donkeys, and camels. The number of motor transport vehicles in 1922 was 400, after ten years it reached 4,381, and the statistics recently published by the police authorities show that at the end of 1935 there were 11,874 motor vehicles consisting of 5,768 touring cars, 1,252 buses, 2,981 lorries, and 1,873 motor-cycles.

To set against the progress brought about by motor transport there is the tragic picture of loss of life and permanent physical impairment resulting from motor accidents. The increase in the

number of fatal accidents from 44 and 52 in 1931 and 1932 to 157 and 153 in 1934 and 1935 respectively, with a corresponding increase in the number of non-fatal accidents, causes considerable public anxiety.

Though the increase is largely attributable to the growth of traffic as a whole and to steep roads and dangerous corners, the percentage of accidents to the number of vehicles is higher than in European countries. The police authorities are fully alive to the evil caused by careless and fast driving and faulty vehicles, and no effort is being spared in instituting proper traffic control. Simultaneously the Public Works Department is carrying out improvements on dangerous sections of the roads.

One of the vital problems with which Government is confronted, in order to improve the road system to the standard set by the ever-increasing motor traffic, is the widening of roads. A new law has been recently promulgated providing for reservations up to 30 metres in width, as against the 20 metres only which was hitherto allowed. Other works which will fall under the group of improvements necessitated by the increased traffic include the construction of by-passes, road islands, roundabouts, and similar works.

Like practically all countries served by rail and road communications, Palestine has not been spared from competition between these two forms of transport and from the harmful effect resulting from the lack of co-ordination between the two systems. In 1934 a special committee was appointed, under the chairmanship of the Government Treasurer and official and non-official members, to investigate the operation of railway and motor transport systems and to submit proposals for their co-ordination and the elimination of wasteful competition. This committee, which is still functioning, has submitted various proposals to Government, some of which have already been brought into operation. The possibility of close co-operation between the road and railway system is illustrated by satisfactory results obtained in combined motor-bus and railway services instituted by the Department of Railways between Jerusalem and Haifa and between Jaffa-Tel Aviv and Haifa.

Notwithstanding the considerable achievement in the last fifteen years in the matter of road transport, there is little doubt that various developments in the immediate future will necessitate further considerable activities in the field of road communications. Owing to its geographical situation, Palestine is called upon to play a most important part in international communications. Situated as it is on the border between the East and the West, and rightly referred to as the "Gateway to the East," this country will, no doubt, in the future as it already is to some extent at present, be

a main intermediate station for communications by sea, road, and air between the West and the East. This position cannot but reflect on its internal communications and will add considerably to the existing mileage of its roads and to their standard of construction.

The newly constructed port of Haifa, the oil pipe line from Iraq with its terminal point at Haifa, and various other large engineering schemes necessitate road transportation facilities in regard to both internal traffic and through communications with neighbouring countries. Palestine is connected with Syria by no less than three permanent roads, one running from Haifa to Beyrout by the coast, a second through Jisr Banat Yacoub on the Jordan, at a point between the lakes of Tiberias and Hula, to Damascus, and a third through Metulla on the northern frontier. There exists a regular trans-desert motor-car service between Palestine and Iraq, and communications by car through Sinai between Palestine and Egypt are becoming more and more frequent. Communications between Palestine and Trans-Jordan are provided in the south through Jerusalem and Jericho, by crossing the Jordan at the Allenby Bridge (named after Lord Allenby, the conqueror of Palestine) and by several bridges across the Jordan further north.

The opening of the Haifa port has resulted in a demand for increased road facilities from various districts, and a number of roads are at present under construction, or envisaged for the near future, in order to provide the easiest possible access to the port; ere long several roads will radiate from this important town in different directions. The road which is most pressed for by the public is a direct road along the coastal plain to connect Jaffa and Tel Aviv with Haifa. The area through which this road is to pass is the most fertile tract of land in the country; large stretches of it are planted with citrus fruit, and the further development of this remunerative industry, which at present constitutes the main natural wealth of the country and the bulk of its export, is hampered by inadequate communications and connection with the ports. Government is alive to the need of this road; appreciable progress has already been made on the construction of sections at both ends from Jaffa and Haifa, and there is every hope that the construction of the whole road will now be proceeded with without interruption.

Amongst other activities which will affect future road communications, mention should be made of the two civil air-ports, one north of Lydda near Jaffa and Tel Aviv and the second on the outskirts of Haifa, the construction of which has recently been put in hand by Government. These air-ports will add considerably to the significance of Palestine as an intermediate station between the East and the West and will lead to increased internal road traffic. While the Haifa air-port is served by the excellent

road which runs from Haifa to Acre, work is now proceeding on the construction of several miles of road to provide easy access to the Lydda air-port from Jaffa and Tel Aviv and from Jerusalem.

Before concluding this short article on what has been done in Palestine in the past by Government in the development of roads and some of the problems for the future, mention should be made of the remarkable improvements executed by municipal corporations to city roads. Notwithstanding the heavy expenditure involved and grave difficulties in connection with expropriation and demolition of buildings, reconstruction of side walks, relaying of water and drainage pipes, most of the old main roads of Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa have been realigned, widened, and completely transformed. Liberal financial assistance has been given by Government for such works in connection with sections of roads situated within the municipal boundaries of these towns. Tel Aviv, which today is the largest town in the country, has not been faced with such serious problems of this nature since practically the whole of the town was built after the War. Its roads are wider and better planned, though not free from considerable traffic congestion owing to the unforeseen density of the population.

JERUSALEM,
April 8, 1936.

PROGRESS IN AFGHANISTAN

By His Excellency Ali Mohamed Khan
(The Afghan Minister in London)

Judging by results, the era of the present progress in Afghanistan should be reckoned from the day that the Nadir Shahi régime was formally installed upon the throne some five years ago, for under it reconstruction is being effected out of the chaos of the past.

Without attempting to recapitulate recent Afghan history, it may be usefully recalled that one of the very first acts of his late Majesty Mohamed Nadir Shah was to grant the country what she had never had before in the correct fashion—*i.e.*, on October 31, 1931, he promulgated a Royal Chamber (Usul-Asasi) by which the Government was established on the basis of a proper national constitution.

Not only were internal matters directed strictly on constitutional procedure, but the present Afghan King on ascending the throne on November 8, 1933, in virtue of the sixth clause of the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, took the Royal Oaths as a Constitutional Monarch.

Having thus established a legal sanction in conformity with the needs of the people, it is not surprising that practically in all Government undertakings success has been achieved. In the first instance Legislative authority was vested in the Parliament, composed as it is of an upper and a lower House—the Senate (Majlis-i Alli-Ayan) and a National Assembly (Majlis Shara-Milli). The former consists of 40 members, and is in session all the year round, whilst the latter of 120 sits during the summer months, in addition to the Grand Assembly convened every fourth year. Methods of franchise were also regulated; 100,000 persons—between the ages of 25 and 70—forming a voting unit were entitled to send one deputy provided he was of good repute and over the age of 20.

Since the first meeting of the National Assembly on September 10, 1931, there are few subjects in which that body has not interested itself, including finance, health, education and even trade-promotion.

Here I might give a brief survey of administrative departments and their accomplishments during the surprisingly short period of five years. In the case of the internal government, for the sake of closer cohesion, it was found necessary to create two new administration centres. To each province an Executive Council and a Consultative Assembly of elected representatives were given to

conduct their local affairs within the framework of the Central Government. Even smaller towns of 10,000 inhabitants now have (Baladiah) municipalities—*i.e.*, their governments in miniature.

Whereas the Feudal Lords or the Khans and the Maliks no longer form a privileged class, yet in response to their undertaking to provide their quota of fighting men, and to assist the Government in maintaining law and order, some of them are given seats in Parliament and have places reserved for their sons in educational institutions at Kabul.

The State Church is of the Hanafi School of Islam, and the places of worship are now maintained by the Government according to a certain classification, as well as the department of Pious Foundations, which is under proper care. Reorganization has been introduced, too, in regard to the judiciary, for there is now a Supreme Court at the capital, nineteen Courts of Appeal in the provinces, and one hundred and six lower courts; tribal arbitration committees and permanent boards of commercial arbitration, assisted by the consultative assemblies of districts and provinces, share amongst them the right of settling disputes. The police is maintained on a provincial basis and is centrally controlled by the Department of the Interior at Kabul, but the force is strengthened by several additions from the ranks of the army. Some Afghan instructors were trained at Birmingham.

Improvements in the army are likewise very marked. Mechanization of units has also commenced; a military academy has been created at Kabul, in addition to various signalling, infantry, artillery and cavalry schools at Jalalabad, Kandahar, Herat and Mazar Sharief. New barracks and camping grounds have been built, army regulations recast, the recruitment for the army being partly compulsory and partly voluntary.

The educational advance has been particularly interesting, and a short study of its historical development will repay study. The period from 1906, when the educational department was first established at Kabul up to the present day, a period of thirty years, may be divided into three parts.

The first, lasting up to 1920, when the Habibyah College was built, was one of suspicious tolerance, because both the clergy and the ruling classes were uncertain of the results that might accrue from higher education.

The period terminating in 1928 was one of innovation, during which changes in the Afghan educational system were made merely for the sake of change. In many infant classes, for instance, instruction, instead of being imparted in the mother language of the Afghans, was given in German and French, which very considerably stifled educational progress.

It is during the third period of reorganization, dating from

1930—*i.e.*, from the advent of the present régime—that constructive educational policy was introduced in Afghanistan.

The noteworthy features of the Afghan educational reforms during the most recent times are: first, the recognition of the traditional Mosque schools, which exist in every village, and, indeed, in every street of the larger towns. They were systematized in their teaching programme in such a manner that now they have become an integral part of the general school system. They are now junior primary schools.

The second feature is the separation of schools for children of 7 to 11 and 11 to 14, which was effected only last year. Further, the teaching of foreign languages in the junior schools is abolished, the medium of instruction now being either Persian or Pushto in the central part of the country or on the Eastern and Southern provinces, according to where these two languages are predominantly spoken.

A great deal of translation work into Persian from foreign textbooks is being done, and practically the entire course of medicine has already been rendered into the language of the country.

All education being free and compulsory, a pupil, after completing his junior school course, joins a Middle (Rushdiah) School for four years; thence he passes to the Higher (Idadiah) School for a course of another four years.

Schools have been started in pharmacy, architecture, foreign languages, commerce and banking for men, and in nursing and midwifery for women. A normal school for teachers is also now in being. The new tendency being that of non-concentration of secondary and higher schools at Kabul, higher educational centres have now been opened at the provincial capitals.

Furthermore, some vocational schools at Kabul have recently been made residential, where, in addition to free board and lodging, books and stationery are also provided by the State. Only in the case of elementary Mosque schools is a small contribution expected from the people; all other educational facilities are provided at Government expense.

The midday meal is also given free to day-scholars in the schools; scholarships are paid to deserving and indigent pupils. In virtue of last year's National Decree, 12·5 hectares of land have been reserved for schools in provincial capitals, and 5 hectares for each of the districts.

The administration of education is centralized. The Ministry of Education, through its directors, superintendents and inspectors, controls the systems. A permanent Bureau of Education has also been established. The provincial and local councils, advised by the officers of the Ministry of Education, administer the Mosque schools in the villages and the various streets of towns.

The National University at Kabul, instituted in 1932, at present has only one Faculty, that of medicine; for advanced education the Afghan students are now receiving instructions in the various British, American, French, German and Japanese Universities. An Institute of Islamic Studies, an archæological survey and museums are opening up further fields of research in Afghanistan.

Due attention is also being paid to physical culture. The Boy Scout movement is very flourishing. Playing of all kinds of outdoor games is a compulsory item in the Afghan educational system, and an Afghan hockey team has recently competed at the Olympic Games in Berlin.

The future building programme of Afghan educational institutions is also interesting. The erection of a new college at Kabul, three secondary schools at Kandahar, Herat and Mazar Sharief, and forty junior schools has been sanctioned for the present financial year. It is proposed to build a university town in the Darul-Funoon area about five miles from Kabul.

The health of the scholars is also adequately looked after. The school medical officer inspects all scholars annually, and from the departmental dispensary medicine is given free of charge to school children, and serious cases are accommodated free at Government hospitals and sanatoria.

Adult education, the creation of museums, public libraries, literary societies, the establishment of the Boy Scout movement, intense activity in book and newspaper production, and the formation of a National Olympic Association are but a few of the further signs of moral and intellectual awakening under the new order of things at Kabul.

The Public Health department, which is now a ministry, is a creation of the last few years, under which a thorough reorganization of old hospitals has been carried out and the building of new ones, replete with X-ray, electro-therapy, and a tubercular sanatorium, undertaken. There is a system of registration for private practitioners. The birth of Mihrab-i-Ahmer, like a Red Crescent and Red Cross Society, is further indication of the fact that Afghans mean to install everything useful in their country.

The budget shows a balance, which is to be utilized for building up a national currency reserve. There is no national debt as such; there is no unemployment, lockouts or strikes; and the seven-hour day is maintained.

THE STRAITS: THE CONVENTION OF MONTREUX

By Z. Niksel

The question of the Straits is a problem which has been recurring at more or less long intervals in the politics of Europe for these last 160 years.

The term "The Straits" applied to the issue is an inadequate geographical term, because it encompasses, besides the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, the Black Sea, and the small islands on the Ægean Sea guarding the entrance of the Hellespont.

It would be, therefore, misleading to consider the question of the Straits without taking into account the interests sometimes convergent, sometimes divergent, of Turkey, the guardian of the passage, the Black Sea States, and the other countries having mainly shipping and trading connections.

That explains the complexity of the problem.

Until the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarjik, the Black Sea was exclusively a Turkish expanse of water and all the international conventions mentioned the Straits only to lay down or to reiterate the principle of free transit for all commercial vessels.

Under the Capitulations' régime the customary clause of "the most favoured nation" avoided all rivalries and realized, in some measure, an equality of treatment.

When for the first time Russia secured a coast-line on the Sea of Azov—which is nothing more than a large bay of the Black Sea—the latter ceased to be a Turkish lake and its international situation underwent a big change.

Many new problems arose:

(*a*) How the new State appearing on the shores of the Black Sea was to provide for its defence.

(*b*) In case of war, how the Black Sea State would send an eventual fleet through the Straits to face enemy naval forces.

(*c*) How an external country being in state of war with Russia would avail itself of the double channel in order to attack the Russian coast.

These concerns have reflected themselves in nearly all the treaties concluded with Turkey since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The treaty signed on January 6, 1809, between Turkey and England specifies that the Straits shall be closed to all warships in peace time.

Twenty years later, a treaty between Turkey and Russia (September 14, 1829) reiterated that the Straits shall be open to all commercial vessels sailing from or to the Black Sea.

The pact of defensive alliance signed in Hunkiar Iskelesi July 8, 1833, contained a secret article by which Turkey assumed the engagement, in case of Russia being attacked by any State, to close the Straits to the aggressor.

The treaty of March 30, 1856, signed in Paris after the Crimean War, confirmed the old principle of the non-accessibility of the Straits for all kinds of warships. Turkey and Russia pledged themselves not to build shipyards on the coast of the Black Sea. The treaty determined the size and other specifications of the small vessels which might be employed for purposes of maritime police.

In all the aforesaid treaties, the principle of the neutrality of the Black Sea was either explicitly or implicitly maintained.

The first derogation to this old-established rule appears in the Treaty of London of March 13, 1871 (signatories: England, France, Italy, Austria, Germany, and Russia). It mentioned that Russia and the other States of the Black Sea were entitled to build and keep warships.

The Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) introduced no innovation as regards the international position of the Straits.

During the discussions leading to the conclusion of the treaty the then rivalry between Russia and England became conspicuous. Lord Salisbury declared in the sitting held on July 11 that the Straits should be closed to all warships, but the right of the Sultan to open them when he deemed fit could not be contested.

The Russian delegate, Count Shuvaloff, replied that the principle of the closing of the Straits was to be considered as a European fundamental law; that it did not only bind the Powers towards Turkey, but also the same Powers towards each other.

No agreement was reached on this point and no mention or allusion was made in the text of the treaty.

The Treaty of Sèvres initiated a régime without precedent in the history of the Straits. It decreed the unbounded accessibility of both channels to all commercial vessels and warships.

This was tantamount to the entire abolition of the sovereignty of Turkey over this long ribbon of European coast extending from the entrance of the Dardanelles (Kumkalé) to the Black Sea end of the Bosphorus and comprising the parallel line of the Asiatic coast.

A Commission of the Straits was to supervise the enforcement of the new régime and was to be endowed with the required police force.

Turkey would have a representative in this Commission after its admission to the League of Nations.

The new situation created by the Treaty of Sèvres was as severe a blow for Russia as for Turkey. By the unrestricted privilege of entrance granted to all warships in the Straits, Russia could be at any moment the target of a belligerent fleet. Russia, then engrossed in an awesome turmoil, was unable to prevent the hanging of this Damocles' sword over her head.

The Treaty of Lausanne mitigated the harshness of the instrument of Sèvres and acknowledged the sovereignty of Turkey over the Straits.

Although the Treaty of Lausanne created a demilitarized neutral zone, it revised the most essential provisions of the treaty of Sèvres on behalf of Turkey.

To the unrestricted freedom of transit for all warships and aircraft was substituted a new regulation implying some limitations for peace and war time.

Furthermore, the attributions of the Commission of the Straits were considerably modified and it was to be presided over by a Turkish member.

The Treaty of Lausanne had never satisfied Turkey. It had doubtless suppressed the nightmare of Sèvres, but it was an anticipatory measure which had been accepted when disarmament was still a hope in the world.

The imposed neutrality might not be felt only as a bondage in an atmosphere of settled peace and mutual understanding. But Europe did not respond to these hopes.

The Powers failed to fufil their engagements as regards gradual disarmament. The question was examined and debated in the League of Nations without any practical result.

The dissatisfaction of Turkey owing to her abnormal position in the Straits grew to uneasiness when the world realized that the League of Nations was powerless to prevent an unjust aggression even by one of its own members.

The occupation of Manchuria, the war in the Chaco, shook the confidence of the most hopeful, and the Abyssinian war destroyed the most deep-rooted illusions.

On the other side, Japan having retired from the League of Nations, it was doubtful that she would participate in any action under Article 16 of the Covenant.

Owing to these circumstances Turkey resolved to ask for the revision of the régime of the Straits, and she chose to do so by legal means.

The Turkish Note of April 11 stated that the guarantee of the Powers was, in the light of recent events, no longer operative and that the defence of Turkish territory required more effective measures.

Turkey asked the Powers to meet in order to modify the terms

of the Treaty of Lausanne, it being understood that she was willing to adopt the most liberal régime allowing for the full development of navigation between the Mediterranean and Black Seas.

The Turkish Note aimed solely at the opening of negotiations and did not contain any further statements as to the details of the desired modifications.

None of the States to which the Note had been notified called the Turkish point of view in question. In some answers there were only some trifling reservations.

In consequence the Conference opened at Montreux in a generally auspicious mood.

The Treaty of Montreux is the most complete and—within human possibilities—the most just pact which has been signed until the present time in order to regulate the navigation in the Straits and the adjacent seas.

The work constitutes a praiseworthy achievement. It has succeeded in conciliating three confronting interests: the interests of the guardian State; those of the Black Sea States; and those of the Powers not territorially involved—*i.e.*, the external Powers.

The Convention of Montreux, in opposition to all former ones, is a work of wisdom and mutual comprehension because it has not been made at the conclusion of a war. None of its provisions reveals the arrogance of a victor intent on harvesting the fruit of a recent victory. None of the States represented at Montreux had been previously humbled by a defeat or by adversity.

Nearly all the Powers sitting around the Conference table at Montreux were bound to each other by pacts of amity and goodwill.

The Montreux Convention comprises five sections, four appendices, and one protocol. It has a duration of 20 years. Its most important features are the following:

The freedom of transit for commercial vessels is proclaimed afresh.

This freedom is not available by night when Turkey is a belligerent.

Turkey regains the right to militarize the Straits.

Any Power may send a naval force through the Straits at a week's notice. This force must not exceed 15,000 tons and can only comprise light surface vessels and fleet auxiliaries.

Battleships and surface vessels of more than 10,000 tons or carrying guns heavier than 10-inch are excluded.

Submarines, aircraft-carriers and military aircraft are also excluded.

The maximum stay in the Black Sea for warships is three weeks.

The naval forces assembled in the Black Sea must not exceed 30,000 tons.

When the Soviets increase their actual force by 10,000, this limit will rise proportionately but will never exceed 45,000 tons.

No one Power may send more than two-thirds of the aforesaid tonnage.

The Black Sea Powers are not submitted to any limitations as to warships going out to the Ægean or coming in to the Black Sea.

Naval forces entering the Straits for a courtesy visit are exempted from tonnage restrictions.

Civil aircraft may after due notice fly over the Straits and the Sea of Marmora over specified routes.

The Black Sea Powers will inform twice yearly the Turkish Government of the strength of their naval forces.

The Straits are closed to belligerent forces when Turkey is neutral.

The League of Nations may order naval forces to act against an aggressor and in that case their access is not barred.

The same right of transit is granted to forces going to help the victim of an aggression under a pact of mutual aid registered and published in conformity with the League Covenant.

In case of war, Turkey has the right to close completely the Straits.

Turkey may use the same right if she feels "menaced by war." In this case the League Council by a two-thirds majority may decide that the measures are not justified. This decision compels Turkey to revoke them unless the majority of the signatories of the convention take her side.

The Commission of the Straits is abolished and its powers transferred to the Turkish Government. (The Turkish Government has already created a new organization in the Ministry of foreign affairs—the sixth department—to supervise the enforcement of the new provisions.)

At the end of every five years each signatory may propose amendments in view of a better functioning of the adopted rules. If no agreement is reached a Conference will be called.

ANKARA.
September, 1936.

THE GLORY AND THE SORROW OF THE MOUNTAIN

(Adapted from the Chinese of the Sage Tien-te-King)

From where I sit
I behold in front of me
Many and many great snowy mountain peaks.

In a crescent of peace
They lie before me.
Their tops are white.
In candid whiteness they pierce the blue, pure sky.

And my soul, as I look on them,
Yearns upward to Peace,
That Peace of which these Giant Teachers
Are at once the Guardians,
The Symbol, and the Way.

Thus I gaze upon the nearest mountains
Of the frontier country of Tibet.
Gazing thus, in my thought I draw nearer to them,
Nearer and ever nearer,
As the traveller through trackless wildernesses
Threads his way, some God guiding him,
Ever nearer and nearer and nearer
To the resting-place of his desire.
Thus I, in thought, have drawn nearer
To these mountain ranges of Peace.
Aha! Having drawn near, what see I?
Dread precipices, vast glaciers, deadly snowfields,
Ready at the least clink of stone,
Least whisper,
Least sigh;
To launch themselves, insensate, ruthless,
Demoniac, inescapable,
Upon whatsoever lieth in their path,
Be the same lichen or snow-plant or kingly cedar-pine;
Be the same insect or nestling, or snow-leopard, or deer, or man:
Be the same coolie or priest or merchant,
Or Lord Gautama Himself:
Crushing all to powder,
Rending, mashing, pulping and defacing,
Grinding to dust of death.

Such, seen at hand, is the dolorous Essence
Of the demon-combat that rages
Eternally upon the mountains of the snowy Peace.

But I saw also, or it seemed so in my vision, yon Golden Giant,
The Sun,
Stretch forth subtly and by stealth,
Hot, steaming fingers, the clever, stealthy fingers of the thief
Who cuts away the traveller's purse-sleeve
Quietly, upon the warm inn-dais, while he sleeps.

So also the Sun did steal back bit by bit
The demon-strength of the snowfield on the heights,
And the cold cruelty of the glaciers in the long valleys facing South.

Thus the harshness and strength of the mountains
Returneth in freshening, life-giving floods
To the far cultivators of Ho-nan and Shan-tung.

Be at rest, therefore, O my soul,
For whether thou dwellest remotely among the Blue Hills,
Contentedly gazing through leagues untold of ether
Upon these white mountains of the Eternal Peace—

Or whether thou matchest arms,
Be it as man, or as pine or lichen,
As deer or as snow-leopard,
Or indeed as Gautama Himself,
With these insensate womb-strivings
Of the Inchoate, murderously seeking Form,
Seeking Embodiment,
Seeking the Glory of parentage, and race, and name,
Seeking all that which within the I AM be found—

Or whether, using the sacred, golden-fingered stealth
Of Brother Lord, the Sun,
Thou thievest first, then merchandisest,
And lastly spreadest abroad
Among the cultivators of Han
Riches untold,
Garnered by thee secretly
Amid the death and devastation,
The groaning horror, the strife
Of these eternal ice-fields—

In all things be sure that thou toilest only for Him,
Whose eyes are the shining stars,
Whose voice runneth ever round the earth,

But on whose face is a veil,
Tapestried with joys and horrors manifold,
Dripping also redly from the arteries of death-torn living creatures.

For whether thou seekest Him in peace,
In bloodshed, in sorrow, in beneficence, or in joy,
Be sure that thou shalt inevitably find Him,
For thou, O Soul, art He!

JOHN KAVANAGH.

A CONSTITUTION FOR CHINA

BY O. M. GREEN

ON the twelfth of next month the first People's Congress in the history of China is due to meet in Nanking to adopt a Constitution for the whole country. The second period, that of "political tutelage," marked out by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the march towards democratic government is deemed to have successfully come to an end, as the first, that of "military conquest," ended in 1928 with the overthrow of the last great figure in the old régime, the late Marshal Chang Tso-lin, and the establishment of the Nationalist Government at Nanking. It is now time for the people of China to enter upon the full rights of self-government. After many previous abortive attempts and much recent labour a draft Constitution was completed last May. If approved next month, as to all appearances it will be, we shall then be able to drink to the success of the Republic of China and the health of its President.

The history of Constitution-making in China is as varied and chequered as that of the progress towards the present *dénouement*, The first glimpse of it is seen in 1907 in the creation of a Senate by the late Empress-Dowager, convinced at last by the tragedy of the Boxer Year and by the growing discontent in the country that popular reform was unavoidable. That Senate's powers were prescribed as being strictly consultative. Yet the Empress-Dowager provided that the Senators should ultimately have control of the purse-strings and the whole scheme was definitely intended as the first stage towards constitutional government. Before the Empress's death the Senate was visibly feeling its way, not unsuccessfully, to wider freedom. Had it been established twenty years earlier, say after the war with France, China might have been spared much humiliation and bloodshed and the Manchu dynasty might still be reigning.

The Manchus made a desperate attempt in November, 1911, to stave off the revolution that had broken out in Wuchang the month before by hurriedly promulgating a Constitution, together with abject expressions of self-accusation and contrition. But the day for repentance had passed. In December the revolutionaries met at Nanking and adopted a Temporary Republican Constitution, which was adopted as the Provisional Constitution in March when the Manchus finally abdicated. This was the Constitution which Yuan Shih-kai swore to uphold when Dr. Sun Yat-sen resigned to him the Presidency of China.

Yuan never had any belief in Westernized imitations of demo-

cracy. He soon quarrelled with the Parliament which had met in Peking shortly after he became President over the Constitution, which theoretically put him under their control, dismissed them, continued for two years to carry on a pretence of republican government under a Constitution of his own concoction, tried to make himself Emperor, failed, and died of an internal malady aggravated by mortification and loss of "face."

Two other attempts at Constitution-drafting were made in 1923 and 1925, but China was by now breaking up in an imitation of the era of Warring States of over 2,000 years before, and the last figments of republican government were swept away like cobwebs in the Communist explosion of 1926. From this chaos emerged the Kuomintang dictatorship and the new régime which has since flourished in Nanking and, in all fairness, it must be said, after many initial mistakes has proved itself the best, most authoritative Government that China has had for many years.

Torn and shattered as China was by years of civil war, Communism and banditry, her finances in utter disarray, all semblance of central authority gone to the winds, the dictatorship of the Kuomintang (the central Party of Nationalism), enshrined in the instrument of government adopted in October, 1928, was the only possible expedient. It had at least the merit of being controlled by the Party which Dr. Sun Yat-sen had created to carry out his political testament. It was something definitely planned, containing the germ of a wider system that was to come later, instead of the unchecked rule of a single war lord whose personal ambitions were a continual incitement to rivalries and civil war.

Its fault was that it contained too many checks. The Kuomintang were desperately anxious to ensure that there should be no more Tuchuns. The decisions of every Minister were made subject to endless revision by councils and committees; and the omnipotence of the Kuomintang, who were formally proclaimed the source of all authority, above all law, inviolable, was delegated throughout the provinces to branch committees, the detested Tangpu, whose duty was to exercise control over the local magistrates and keep them strictly in the narrow way of Sunyatsenism.

The tragedy of the scheme was that, while its cumbrousness seemed precisely designed to defeat action, there was a universal fever to be up and doing. Flushed by success the Kuomintang seemed incapable of thinking coolly and taking a practical view of the nature of their enormous task. Everything in China had to be made over anew in the shortest possible time, and rules and regulations, prescribing conduct in every detail of life from the amount to be spent on a birthday feast upwards, poured from Nanking in a constant stream. The Tangpu, composed of enthusiastic youths, made themselves specially hated by their continued disturbance of "old custom." Civil wars broke out again early in 1929 and continued with little interruption virtually down to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

Out of evil, good. It cannot be denied that the humiliation of the loss of Manchuria has had one good result, in bringing the politicians to their senses and forcing all factions to realize that, if China was ever to resist foreign aggression, she must first make an end of internal discord.* The outcome is the really extraordinary progress that has been visible in China since 1932, in the suppression of Communism which at one time completely dominated the richest central provinces, in road-making, railway-building, and other public works, and in the beginnings of a serious attempt to do something for that sorely oppressed and all-important person, the peasant.

As Nanking's authority has widened, its wisdom has increased. If the Kuomintang have not lost their old ascendancy, they have acquired some discretion in exercising it. The cumbrous system adopted in 1928 has been modified in various more practical ways. Best of all, perhaps, when the prospects of a working scheme of self-government are being weighed, is the enormous amount of voluntary work done by the young intelligentsia—men and girls like the Indemnity scholars and other students now being educated in Great Britain—in the establishment of health centres and clinics, in teaching in schools and in social activities of all kinds among the masses.

Under the better atmosphere thus created, the work of drafting a Constitution has gone ahead in real earnest. A committee for this purpose was appointed by Dr. Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and President of the Legislative Yuan, as far back as in January 1933. Altogether it has produced five drafts, the last, which is to be voted upon next month, having been boiled down from much more voluminous documents to one of eight chapters and 148 articles. The first chapter rather pathetically defines the territories of the Republic as including not only the eighteen provinces of the old Middle Kingdom, but all Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet. Well, the Chinese have worn down foreign conquerors and recovered lost territories more than once in their long history, and the prophecy may be risked that Manchuria at least will ultimately be theirs again, though it may take a century to accomplish the reunion.

The basis of the Constitution is that sovereignty is vested, no

* In this connection the present writer was recently told, on good authority, that the failure of the attempted Southern revolt against Nanking last summer was not a little due to the steady refusal of the young officer class to have any more civil wars. "We will fight Japan," they said, "but not each other." No more promising change of temper could be imagined.

longer in the Kuomintang, but in the whole body of citizens, who will elect by universal, equal, and direct suffrage a People's Congress. This body, in which membership will be for six years, will meet for one month every three years, though it can be summoned by the President or may summon itself for other meetings. Its duties will be to elect, or if it pleases dismiss, the President and other chief officers of State, initiate laws, hold referendums on laws and, if desirable, amend the Constitution. Broadly speaking, there is to be one delegate to every 300,000 Chinese, which will give China a Congress of anything from 1,200 to 1,500 delegates. Perhaps it is as well that they should not meet more than once in three years.

The President's powers, which he will wield for six years, with right of re-election for a further six, are very wide indeed. He is to be the head of the State; to command the Republic's land, sea, and air forces; promulgate laws; declare war, negotiate peace and conclude treaties; declare and terminate a state of emergency; exercise the power of granting amnesties, special pardons, etc.; appoint and remove civil and military officials; and confer decorations. In national crises, on a resolution of the Executive Council, the President may issue emergency mandates; refer back legislation of which he disapproves and convene extraordinary sessions of the People's Congress to which alone he is amenable. In the event of his death or incapacity, the Vice-President acts for him.

This part of the Constitution, as will be seen later, has caused a great deal of excitement.

The Government is framed on the Five-Power principle laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but the Central Executive Committee and the Central Political Council, those terrible circumlocution offices by which the Kuomintang sought to buttress themselves, disappear. There are to be five Yuan, or Councils: The Executive, already named, corresponding to a Cabinet; the Legislative and the Judicial, names which sufficiently explain themselves; the Examination Yuan, which will be in effect a Civil Service Commission to obtain recruits for the Government services; and a Censor Yuan, certainly the most interesting and potentially the most useful of all.

It is instructive to see how the Chinese, even when making all things new, cling to institutions of their own invention which have served them well. The same tendency is visible, as will be explained, in the whole Constitution, but especially in the Censor Yuan, which even the Kuomintang dictatorship preserved in 1928, though calling it Control Yuan.

The Censorate dates back to at least the fourth century B.C., although naturally its functions varied from age to age. Latourette, in "The Chinese, Their History and Culture" says:

> In general, the Censorate's function was, as its name suggests, to criticize the Government. This, as it was made specific (the Manchus when setting up their dynasty in 1644 reorganized the Censorate and made it a vital part of the Government), included such duties as keeping watch on officials and reporting to the Emperor any delinquencies, taking exception to the acts of the Emperor himself, checking over important State documents for mistakes, assisting in the examination of officials, investigating reports of official corruption in governmental accounts, keeping watch over State property and the construction of public buildings, supervising the ceremonies on formal occasions, and joining with two others of the central bodies as a high court of review for a large number of cases.

The greatest liberty of speech was conferred upon the Censors and it is to their credit that for the most part they exercised it fearlessly. They were liable to dismissal, even to exile or death. Yet Latourette says that "during all the Ch'ing (*i.e.*, Manchu) dynasty only about half a hundred such penalties are recorded." Public opinion was behind the Censors, and the wisest Emperors always kept an ear very close to the ground. Even the imperious "Old Buddha," the famous Empress-Dowager, accepted some caustic rebukes from the Censors, although in justice to her memory it must be said that she rarely permitted such interruptions to divert her from her own way. Under the Kuomintang dictatorship not much has been heard of the Control Yuan, though it has not been wholly voiceless. Under the Constitution, with its time-honoured title restored, it may play a really valuable part.

Chapter II of the Constitution is devoted to defining the rights and duties of citizens. Some of these sound to English ears so elementary that it would seem needless to embody them in a Constitution, as for example that no one shall be arrested, tried, and punished "except in accordance with law"; that no one may be tried in a military court unless when on military service; and that no house may be forcibly entered, "except in accordance with the law." But it is necessary to read these provisions in the light of the bitter experience of recent years. Thus Article 12 prescribing that "every citizen shall have freedom to change his residence, such freedom not to be restricted except in accordance with law" shows vividly how far China has fallen from the grace of her ancient liberties, when there was nothing whatever to prevent any Chinese from moving as he pleased inside or out of China.

Freedom of speech and writing is guaranteed by the Constitution and freedom of religious belief. One wonders how this will work out in practice, remembering how often these liberties have been proclaimed by Nanking in the past eight years and how hollow these proclamations have proved.

The value or otherwise of this second chapter depends upon one

thing alone—namely, the independence and inviolability of the Judicature. In practice the Chinese have a strong sense of justice tempered by a humanity which one cannot but admire. Thus, in accordance with Lao Tzu's maxim that "the inspired man, when a creditor, does not exact the utmost of his claim," the victim in any controversy is always left with some rags of self-respect to comfort him; the defeated general is allowed a loophole through which to escape or provided with funds to travel abroad and study Western social systems; judgments are carefully framed to save the loser's "face" and no criminal can be sentenced until he has confessed his crime, though it must be admitted that extreme measures are occasionally taken to obtain the desired confession. But the conception of law as a thing in itself above all other institutions does not exist in China, and although something has been done in recent years to improve the position of judges, they are most inadequately paid, and always liable to dismissal or relegation to inferior posts. That they should too often become the mouthpiece of the local Government is inevitable. These defects have been strongly criticized by not a few Chinese in recent years and it is to be hoped that the new Constitution will remedy them. It is obvious that the citizens' liberties cannot be safe until the powers of judges are equally safeguarded.

This stipulation apart, however, which must apply with equal force under any system of government, the Constitution really stands or falls by Chapter V, dealing with local self-government. In each province there will be a Governor appointed by the Central Government, and a Provincial Assembly elected by the people of the province. But the latter is recognized as being divided up into districts or, for towns, municipalities, each of which will be entirely free to manage its own affairs and to pass any laws and regulations it pleases so long as they do not conflict with the major ordinances enacted for the whole country. "The district is a unit of local self-government," says the Constitution. It will elect its down district council and its own district magistrate and dismiss both if it finds cause to do so. The same rights are to be possessed by the municipalities; these, however, will elect a mayor instead of a magistrate.

These provisions are of the very core of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's political teaching, which shows that for all his revolutionary crusade he was a much better Chinese than many of his followers and except for his rejection of emperors rather to be called evolutionary than revolutionary.

Among the many paradoxes, as they appear to the West, which China presents, though perhaps they are more fairly to be deemed exquisite balances wrought out by long experience between opposing forces, the most striking is that beneath the autocracy of an absolute Emperor, the semi-divine Son of Heaven, omnipotent and unquestionable,* the Chinese people were the most democratic and in many respects the freest on earth. The official machinery of Viceroys, Provincial Governors, Taotais and District Magistrates existed mainly to preserve a general uniformity of government, keep order and collect taxes. Within this framework the Chinese people ran their own affairs: by councils of village elders and headmen in the country districts, by their guilds in the towns.

Through these reverend signors all local affairs were arranged; they allotted to each resident the share that he must pay of the taxes imposed on the community; even matters of civil law were in their hands, for the average Chinese litigant never dreamed of seeking the magistrate's court, but went to arbitration by the local elders. The grand and fully admitted success of the British administration of Weihaiwei for 32 years was that it governed a straggling area of 250 square miles and some 200,000 people with a handful of Chinese police to the perfect satisfaction of all and the minimum of misdemeanour, simply by adopting the classic Chinese system of preserving order, collecting taxes on a scale agreeable to the people's sense of fairness, and leaving them to manage their own affairs in their villages.

It was to the credit of Dr. Sun that he saw so clearly the immense importance and strength of this system, which indeed has been the main factor, together with the reverence for family, in preserving Chinese culture and the social system through all the successive crashes of dynasties and ensuing periods of anarchy. For Dr. Sun, local self-government, reformed and stabilized as an organic part of the national administration, was the supreme aim of revolution. And assuredly his followers have faithfully tried to carry out Dr. Sun's ideals. In particular, it may be noted that the Constitution prescribes the duties of a Provincial Governor as being no more than to "execute the laws and orders of the Central Government and supervise local self-government"—which is much what he did under the Empire.

It was said above that the clauses defining the President's powers had caused much excitement. Uproar would be a more appropriate word. The abortive revolt last summer of the two great southern provinces, Kwangtung and Kwangsi, was in part due to the outcry of General Chiang Kai-shek's opponents that he meant to make himself, as President, dictator of all China; and it was not only in the South that this was murmured.

* This does not exclude the possibility of the Emperor being called in question by his Censors as mentioned above. Theoretically the Emperor lived and thought only for the good of his people. When he failed to conform to that ideal, the Censor was free to criticize. Mencius taught that the people were entitled to rebel against a bad Emperor, as they always did. Short of such extreme measures the Emperor was, of course, absolute.

It is not surprising that this extraordinary man should have made many enemies as well as many friends. It is no exaggeration to say that among the world's leaders today he has for sheer ability no superior and very few equals. A soldier all his life, and an exceptionally skilful one, he sees into his country's problems with the eye of a true statesman; a man of unflinching resolution, who never fears to act decisively when so required, he knows how to temper strength with moderation and conquest with prudence. It is specially to be noticed that having moved his troops into strategic positions against the rebellious South, as in all commonsense he had to do, he refrained from firing one shot at them and finally wore down their resistance by patient diplomacy.

To General Chiang in very large measure is due the steady improvement of Nanking's administration, as also the wide expansion of its authority and prestige. He certainly does not suffer fools gladly, and if he appears autocratic in some respects, he is considerably less so than most men would be in his place and not more so than circumstances have required. Unlike some leaders very much in the world's eye just now, Chiang Kai-shek is the reverse of hysterical, and though he speaks forcibly he never rants. A selection from his speeches in the past eight years would reveal a calm, clear mind working tenaciously to a carefully thought-out purpose, inspired by real patriotism.

He, too, was the originator of the "New Life" movement, that remarkable code of moral and social behaviour which, with a few additions from American Methodism such as forswearing cigarettes, gossip and lipstick, is pure Confucianism, and has been caught up all through China with extraordinary enthusiasm and no little solid benefits.

Since the Revolution the snare of foreign Governments in dealing with China has too often been to pin their faith on this or that "strong man," who has invariably ended by revealing feet of clay conjoined with an enlarged cranium. One would venture to hope that General Chiang Kai-shek may prove an exception, on the strength of his record hitherto and the calm balance of his nature. If he becomes President, with the powers assigned him by the Constitution, it may well be a good thing that he should have them while the new system gets under way. It will be a gross reversal of his practice if he uses those powers tyrannously.

Looking to the future one may venture to think that the Constitution's best chance of succeeding consists in its assimilation of Chinese traditions. The powers of the President are not so far removed from those of the Emperor, with this exception that he is removable by process of law. Here, in fact, is that Constitutional monarchy which was all the ambition of the earliest revolutionaries. The powers of the people of "*hsien*" and city are, with the added advantage of their being able to elect their own magistrates, what they have been from time immemorial, though the names for them have been changed. As Dr. Chang Peng-chun remarks in his admirable little book *China at the Cross-Roads*, whatever China takes from the West she will modify according to her own ideas. In devising her Constitution she has gone further than that, preserving for all practical purposes her own political philosophies and calling them by Western titles.

It is a good augury for the future; another proof that, after periods of disorder and disillusionment, China always finds renewal of strength by returning to her best traditions.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

A FRENCH TRAVELLER IN INDIA A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

A COMPARISON OF JACQUEMONT AND DUBOIS

By Philip Morrell

It is remarkable that two of the best accounts of the English in India in that critical and important period in the early years of the last century—when, after sixty years of almost incessant fighting, their power was at last securely established—should have been written by two Frenchmen. One of them occurs in the preface to the book on Indian Manners and Customs,* by the Abbé Dubois—a book that is already fairly well known to English readers—the other in the recently translated letters of Victor Jacquemont,† whose arrival in India was described in the April number of The Asiatic Review.

The Abbé Dubois—or plain Jean Antoine Dubois, as he then was—went out in the year 1792 as a Catholic Missionary, at a time when the authority and even the existence of the English in India were still precarious, and remained there without a break for thirty-one years. During most of that time he was living in obscurity and extreme poverty, devoting himself to the moral and physical improvement of the people among whom he worked. He made it, as he says, his constant rule to live as they did. He adopted their style of clothing and studied their customs and methods; and though he never succeeded in converting more than a very small number of them to the Christian faith, he won their respect and confidence, and was held by them, so we are told, in quite as much reverence as one of their own Yogis or Gurus. His appearance indeed, as you see him in the traditional portrait of him—with his long beard and his Indian dress, his pilgrim's staff and that grave and rather haunting expression of face—must have been extremely remarkable. He is religious, you feel, but he is also reasonable, a man of strong and simple faith, but without a trace of fanaticism. Removed both by origin and by habit

* *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, by the Abbé J. A. Dubois.
† *Letters from India*, by Victor Jacquemont; translated by Catherine Alison Phillips.

of life from any close intercourse with the European community, he watches with interest and, on the whole, with sympathy the growth of the new régime. It is indeed from the detachment and entire sincerity of his mind that his writings, which, as he says, are devoid of all literary art, derive their chief value.

Of the origin of the British supremacy he says:

"This colossal dominion, which a European Government has succeeded in establishing in India without any very great difficulty and without any very violent shocks, has filled the people of India with admiration. . . .

"We, too, may well wonder at a conquest which appears indeed almost miraculous. It is difficult for us to imagine how a mere handful of men managed to coerce into submissive obedience a hundred millions of people, scattered over a country which extends for twenty-four degrees of latitude north and south and for nearly the same number of degrees east and west. And it is still more difficult to understand how these few men are able to maintain within the bounds of duty and subordination a population whose creeds, habits, customs and manner of life are so absolutely different from their own."

The Abbé's observations anticipated, and may perhaps have suggested, that well-known passage in De Tocqueville's writings, in which he declares that

"there has never been anything so extraordinary under the sun as the conquest and still more the government of India by the English: nothing which so much attracts the eyes of the world to that little island, of which the very name to the Greeks was unknown."

In Dubois' view the interpretation of this almost miraculous story was to be found partly in the previous history of the country and partly in the character of the new régime.

"The people of India have always been accustomed to bow their heads beneath the yoke of a cruel and oppressive despotism, and moreover, strange to say, have always displayed mere indifference towards those who have forced them to it. . . . The frequent vicissitudes that befall those in power were hardly noticed by their subjects. Never did the fall of one of these despots cause the least regret; never did the elevation of another cause the least joy."

But the Government that was now being established was of a different kind.

"If it be possible to ameliorate the condition of the people of India I am convinced that this desirable result will be attained under the new régime, whatever may be said by detractors who are ready to find fault with everything."

The obstacles, he admitted, were very serious.

"To make a people happy it is essential that they themselves should desire to be made happy, and should co-operate with those who are working for their happiness. Now the people of India, it appears to me, neither possess this desire nor are anxious to co-operate to this end" (p. 5).

But even these obstacles would in time perhaps be overcome

"Nevertheless the justice and prudence which the present rulers display in endeavouring to make these people less unhappy than they have been hitherto; the anxiety they manifest in increasing their material comfort above all, the inviolable respect which they constantly show for the customs and religious beliefs of the country; and, lastly, the protection they afford to the weak as well as to the strong . . . all these have contributed more to the consolidation of their power than even their victories and conquests."

Of most of the public servants who formed the administration, with a very large number of whom he was brought into contact, he speaks with high admiration. It gives him pleasure, he says, to testify to the many excellent qualities which he had "almost invariably" found them to possess. He had found amongst them "many friends and benefactors." Of one of them he writes almost with enthusiasm:

"Even at the risk of appearing indiscreet I cannot pass over one of them in silence. I cannot, in the fulness of my gratitude, abstain from mentioning publicly how much I owe to the Honourable Mr. Arthur Henry Cole, the British Resident in Mysore. This worthy official, whose public and domestic virtues, inexhaustible charity, and polished manners are recognized throughout the whole of the Peninsula, has found a fitting recognition of his fine character in the love and respect of the natives subject to his jurisdiction. . . . As regards myself, nothing can equal the many acts of kindness which he has heaped upon me during my stay of twenty years in the province subject to his authority. If these words ever reach him I trust that he will recognize in them the genuine feelings of respect and gratitude which I shall ever cherish towards him."

There were other officials, no doubt, of a different kind. "We do not live," he says, "in an age of miracles." Not all of those whom he met were influenced by the purest motives. But he believed that the system of government, generally speaking, was sound and efficient; that corruption was quickly put down; that well-founded grievances were set right and well-proved abuses put a stop to; and that in spite of the dangers of internal dissension and military revolt the new Government was likely to maintain its supremacy for an indefinite time. "But after all," he adds with pious caution, "God alone can foretell the destiny of Governments."

It would not be easy to find a writer who had superficially less resemblance to this poor and rather obscure missionary than the young man whose newly translated letters are the proper subject of this article. The two men were indeed in most respects so different that if it were not that both were Frenchmen and both were in India almost at the same period, it would be absurd to compare them.

Victor Jacquemont, as you see him in the vivid portrait by Madame Mérimée that is the frontispiece of this book, is not less

remarkable in appearance than Dubois, but in how different a style! Dressed in the elaborate stock and double-breasted coat with the high-cut collar that was the fashion of his day—with his clean-shaven face, his rather self-confident expression, and the upward tilt of his nose—he belongs naturally, you feel, to the world of affairs, and has already something of the air of a politician, as it was his ambition one day to become. But he has perhaps even more the look of an artist or poet, recalling some portrait of Byron, though without his air of romantic melancholy, and is not, it may be thought, far removed from Byron in the eloquence and charm of his letters. In conversation he was probably even more remarkable than in his letters. His friend Prosper Mérimée, has described the beauty of his appearance—his dark grey eyes, his dark chestnut hair—and above all the beauty of his voice. He had never heard, he said, a voice more naturally musical. He was, as a rule, an amiable and charming talker, but he was at times intolerant and exasperated by stupidity. "Do you suppose they do it on purpose?" Stendhal once asked him when he was complaining of the stupidity of some of his friends. "I really don't know," replied Jacquemont in a surly voice.

In their character and their ways of life Dubois and Jacquemont were no less different from one another. Dubois was naturally a recluse and a devout Christian; Jacquemont a free-thinker and extremely sociable. Dubois was chiefly interested in moral questions; Jacquemont in science and in politics. Finally, as if to shut out any possibility of collusion, there were important differences between them both in the parts of India which they visited and in the period of their travels. Dubois—during the thirty years he spent in India—lived almost entirely in the South; Jacquemont, in a visit which lasted a little over three years, travelled only in the centre and the North. He went out, as I have said, in 1829—six years after Dubois had left—and though it is possible that he had heard of the Abbé's name, it is pretty certain that he had never met him or heard of the existence of his book.

It was inevitable that the accounts given by two such different men upon so large and complicated a subject as the administration of British India should differ from each other in tone and to some extent also in substance. It would be surprising if they did not. But it is perhaps even more surprising to find how nearly upon all important questions the younger man bears out the opinion which the other had already formed.

Coming out with some excellent letters of introduction, Jacquemont was welcomed immediately into the best and most important English society. He stayed with the Advocate-General, Mr. Pearson; was entertained to luncheon and dinner by the Governor-General and his wife at their "vast palace" in Calcutta,

and stayed with them for some days at their country house at Barrackpore; and was frequently to be found at the house of Sir Charles Grey, the Lord Chief Justice. In the few weeks which he had spent in London he had already had experience of English kindness to foreigners, but here he found more of it than he had ever dared to hope.

"I smiled," he writes to his father on December 31, 1829, "on reading your fears as to what reception I should get in this country. No, we in France should not do for any foreigner what has been done for me here. The London rivulet swelled to a river in Calcutta, and by now it has become a sea."

A few months later, in a letter to his brother, he speaks of the help he has had in looking after his health from the cleverest doctor in Calcutta.

"When I remember his courtesy," he writes, "I cannot but go back in mind over the unceasing succession of kindnesses . . . with which I have never failed to meet since my arrival in this country. My heart has often been touched by their genuine cordiality. . . . Old and young, great and small, overwhelm me with kindness."

Even among the "fashionables" as, for instance, among the officers of the most "dashing" regiment in the English Army—his good luck had never failed. Two years later, in a letter from Kashmir, he wrote:

"My own fellow-countrymen could not have given me a better welcome than I have received during the short halts I have made at a large number of English stations. The fact of being a foreigner was my claim upon the hospitality which was offered me, at first with a ceremonious assiduity, but by the second day its forms were almost always dictated by a friendly cordiality."

Among the few men and women who were at the head of English society in Calcutta he found life for a time extremely pleasant. First and foremost, as I indicated previously, was the Governor-General himself that old military man who was now a fanatical pacifist *un pacifiste enragé*. Again and again throughout these letters Jacquemont describes the long talks he had with him, and the kindness he received from him. He was so simple and frank that one felt when talking to him that one was talking to a friend, but a friend whose character "fills me with profound respect." Then there was Lady William, "kind and intelligent," one of the only two people who were willing to speak French with him; and his host, Mr. Pearson, with whom he became "as intimate as one ever can be with English people"; and the witty and charming Sir Charles and Lady Grey. Sometimes, too, as he journeys northwards to the Punjab and Kashmir, he meets men to whom he is quickly drawn in sympathy and friendship. Of one of them, Mr. William Fraser, the

resident at Delhi, "a civil, judicial and financial officer of the highest rank," who was assassinated there a few years later, Jacquemont writes as warmly as Dubois had written of Henry Arthur Cole. Fraser was an "original" and full of eccentricities, but a delightful and well-informed man and extremely kind to him. On returning from his northern journey Jacquemont spent some days with him in his enormous house at Delhi, and when the time came to leave felt the pain of parting from him very deeply. He loved him, he wrote, as he did none other of his fellow-countrymen, for "he feels the same friendship for me almost as if he were an elder brother." There was also Captain Borthwick, whose name he tells his father to add "to your already long list of Indian saints, for Mr. Borthwick overwhelmed me with kindness" (April 5, 1832).

But outside this small circle of intelligent and distinguished people there were the others, the general ruck of soldiers and civilians, the "common and vulgar substratum," of whom the impression he gives in these letters—written, it must be remembered, in confidence to intimate friends and relations, and without a thought of publication—was often very unfavourable, especially in the earlier letters, before he had learnt to understand them as he did later.

He complains, as Frenchmen so often complain, of the Englishman's impenetrable reserve.

"To feel, to feel keenly, to be touched, perhaps even to weep!—such things would be beneath a man's virile dignity, and they are carefully on their guard against such a humiliation."

"Even when Englishmen have really kind hearts," he writes in the following year (October 19, 1830)—in language that has a flavour of Jean Jacques Rousseau—"they are strangers to that tenderness, that sweet abandonment to which we continentals owe so many pleasures or consolations."

He complains even more—but it was really the same charge—of the dullness of their conversation, their "sombre and gloomy silences." People did not come out there, he said, to live, to enjoy life. They came in order to earn the means of enjoying themselves elsewhere; and thought it unnecessary—so he implies—while thus engaged to make any effort to be agreeable. At Benares, however, at the end of his first year, he gives a more favourable description of a party to which he was invited.

"Today I am putting on black silk stockings as if I were going to a ball in Paris or London. I am going to dine with a dozen Europeans who govern a portion of the British Empire. Their wives will be dressed in the Paris fashion of six months ago. These are no vulgar nabobs, characters who no longer exist except in . . . plays. . . . The conversation during the evening will be both solid and elegant; they will think out how best to show me as much as possible of the marvels of the city during the few days I am to stay here."

But this testimonial was merely anticipatory. He does not tell us how the party in fact went off. Two years later, on December 5, 1831, the old complaint occurs:

"The English have no conversation; they sit at table for hours on end after dinner in company with quantities of bottles which are constantly going the round. How can one help drinking? Lack of occupation alone may lead one to drink."

And again, in the hot weather, on March 31, 1832:

"Their occupation is cursing the country, drinking brandy and water and smoking hookahs. At daybreak they take a gallop, which comes to an end at sunrise. In the evening when the sun sets they go for a drive, and that is all."

How different was his own life! But he had gone on now in his active strenuous way for three years, and had a steadfast hope—a hope, alas! that was not to be fulfilled that he would last to the end.

At first he was surprised that he could make any way with such people. Botany, it was true, which was the principal object of his visit to India, was a subject recognized and even encouraged by the Government. The botanical garden at Calcutta was "a vast and magnificent establishment," and had attached to it "a very costly and complete botanical library," which served as his headquarters. But outside this official recognition, how few people took any interest in his way of life!

"Botany," he wrote, "is to most of them a puerile and ridiculous study, a *non-sense* well calculated to make those who give their time to it *nonsensical*."

And in other ways, too, how odd he must have seemed to them!

"It was strange to them that I should question them about the trade of this country, its internal administration and the machinery of the various public services."

As a rule, however, he found it a successful method of conversation, "for it enables every man to talk of the subject he knows best."

What surprised him most, and even shocked him, was the luxury and love of wealth which he found amongst them, and not least among the soldiers. In a letter to a French friend at Pondicherry he describes the normal life of a young infantry subaltern.

"It means riding to the drill-ground in the morning (and drill has to be over by seven o'clock during eight months of the year), having a house to oneself with five or six large rooms, verandahs, etc., a subscription to the morning newspapers and the novels of the season, a simple but elegant luncheon, an abundant dinner, rich in silver and glass, two or three bottles of wine or beer and a cabriolet for the evening drive."

There was also the necessity of being fanned all day, of changing one's clothes four times a day and a few other comforts of the sort, which entailed keeping servants for the purpose. Unless he had all this a young fellow fresh from school, arriving with a sub-lieutenant's commission, considered himself most unfortunate and was firmly convinced that he was being cheated. All this, however, in spite of the new "half-batta" order, which meant a serious reduction in the officer's pay, Jacquemont believed an officer could still obtain without running into debt if he had any idea of orderly management.

"But orderly management is a mean and ignoble thing; it is the exact opposite of grandeur, which is the true attribute of a gentleman," etc.

"I am bewildered," wrote Jacquemont, "at this baseless pride, this unjustifiable ambition." And yet perhaps one could trace in it the principle of success and progress.

"An Englishman would feel unhappy in numbers of situations in which our modest tastes would find satisfaction; so in order to rise to a better one, he works and takes trouble, whereas we remain inactive, being satisfied with the point we have reached. I do not think their system conducive to individual happiness; but it is very conducive to the power and strength of the nation."

Unfortunately it often meant that these officers were hopelessly in debt. Nothing was so common as to owe fifty or a hundred thousand rupees, or even twice that sum. Their reasoning, he wrote, was as follows:

"I am an '*English gentleman*,' that is to say, one of the most brilliant animals in all creation. I have left the joys of Europe, the charms of family life behind me; I have said farewell to my friends to come and live in this dog of a country. Therefore, by way of compensation, I have the right to have excellent food, drink, clothes, lodging, carriages, etc. And if my pay is insufficient, I shall run into debt in order to cope with this necessity."

The life of the civilians was often equally magnificent. At Raghunathpur, somewhere between Calcutta and Benares, he finds the bungalow occupied by a Collector on his rounds, accompanied by his wife and little child.

"He has an elephant, eight carts like mine, two cabriolets and a special carriage for his child, two palanquins, six saddle and carriage horses, and, to move them from one bungalow to another, from sixty to eighty porters, not to speak of at least sixty household servants. He dresses, changes his clothes again, breakfasts, has tiffin, dines and has tea in the evenings exactly as he does in Calcutta, dispensing with nothing. Glass and china are unpacked and packed up again overnight; four times a day there are brilliantly polished silver, clean linen, etc."

When Jacquemont appears with muddy clothes and a beard of ten days' growth, politely claiming the half of the house to which

he had a right, the Collector is much puzzled by the incongruity between his clothes and his way of speaking; but Jacquemont finds him to be a thoroughly good fellow, and they arrange things very comfortably between them.

Gradually, indeed, he learnt that by simply being himself he could generally get on fairly well with Englishmen of all sorts.

"I think and feel in my own fashion," he writes to his father in March, 1830, "and express myself quite simply in language which I am told is always correct and sometimes picturesque. By acting in this way, I at once force the English stiffness to relax."

Five months later, in August, 1830, he writes in English to his cousin Zoë Noizet:

"Do you know what is my magic to provoke English sympathy? I do not aim at their elegant stiffness of manners, at their cold reserve. . . . I play naturally the character that nature gave me, with its faults and deficiences, and that in the coterie of my friends Mérimée, Stendhal and others gained me the name of Candide. This openness almost unknown to Englishmen is nevertheless exceedingly acceptable to them, as many suffer or feel uneasy all their life for the restraint that the customs of their country impose on them to the manifestation of their feelings. . . ."

To his brother in the same year (November, 1830) he writes:

"Even now I am not accustomed to the strange attraction I have for the English, and am often astonished at its results. The pleasure it causes me is far more than a mere gratification of my self-esteem, for many of them show sincere attachment to me. . . . The men I like most are the soldiers detached from regular service who have spent a long time in political work, or, more often, in discharging functions which are political, civil, judicial, financial and military all at the same time. It is from them that I learn most about the affairs of the land. I am like one of themselves. . . ."

Two months later, however, in a letter to his father, he writes:

"You know that it is my fate to be liked by the English. I simply let them go ahead, for I really do not see what else I can do."

His father replies caustically that if the English are so nice to him they must be very different in India from what they are at home, and Jacquemont admits (December 26, 1831) that there was perhaps something in that, "especially in the case of those living in the northern provinces." And he adds:

"The number of English officers in India, both civil and military, is six thousand, and the European army comprises only twenty thousand men; that is all. It is evident, then, that we do not hold the vast population of this vast land in subjection by material force. The basis of our power lies elsewhere: in the respect our character inspires in these people."

Here, again, Jacquemont bears out the judgment of Dubois, and indeed throughout these letters it will be found that whatever might be his judgment of the individual officials, or of the social atmosphere, he was as firmly convinced as Dubois had been of the soundness of the new administration and the benefits it was bringing to the country.

"Here I see a vast empire going on without friction or fuss"—so he wrote to his friend at Pondicherry in October, 1829—"except for the clamours of a few 'blackguards' in print."

How much better it was than anything which his own countrymen had done!

"Our fellow-countrymen as a rule are absurd as administrators. It is one of the points in which our nation—great, reasonable and excellent though it is in other respects—is inferior."

At Burdwan, which was formerly the capital of a vast and populous principality, but had lately become "what the English call a civil station," he found a population of fourteen hundred thousand inhabitants administered, judged and taxed by eight Europeans—namely, a Commissioner, a Judge, a Magistrate, a Collector, two half-pay officers in command of a regiment with a strength of eight hundred and eighty-two men, a doctor, and an Officer of Engineers engaged in road-making. In a similar district in the French possessions there would be fifty or a hundred officials, and the Government would in no way be the gainer in power or respect (letter of December 3, 1829).

Eight months later, in August, 1830, in a letter to his brother, he assures him that the ideas that people in France got into their heads about the difficulties of the English in India were pure nonsense.

"The governmental ability of the English is immense; ours, on the other hand, is extremely poor, and we therefore suppose them to be in difficulties when we see them in conditions in which we should be hopelessly tied up."

He was surprised, too, at the amount of freedom that he found.

"The Government of India," he said, "is despotic in theory, but in reality it is as free as any in Europe."

But it was when he travelled outside the boundaries of British India—in his expedition to the Punjab and Kashmir, which I shall describe in another article—that Jacquemont became most fully aware of the immense benefits which the new administration was bringing to the country.

official torts or breaches of contract. The only material exceptions to this liability are political "acts of state" and a few cases where English or Indian legislation exempts acts done in the exercise of "revenue" jurisdiction from interference by the Courts. The new Act (s. 176) continues this liability to be sued both in the case of the Federation of India and the provincial governments. The British subject in India is, therefore, probably in a better position in regard to remedies against the Crown than he is in any other part of the Empire. For instance, it is only in Scotland and in some Colonies and Dominions that suits directed to obtain damages in tort are entertained; and Dr. Keith (p. 245) thinks that there is "no adequate ground for the maintenance of the English rule of governmental immunity, at least as regards commercial undertakings," following the distinction in this respect that is recognized in India. It may be added that, under the former Government of India Act, suits against the Secretary of State for India in Council have been entertained even in England to recover amounts alleged to have been wrongfully withheld by the Secretary of State: *Scoble* v. *S. of S.* (1903), A.C. 299, and *E.I. Ry. Co.* v. *S. of S.* (1905), 2 K.B. 413. This liability to be sued will under s. 179 of the Act still attach to the Secretary of State to a limited extent, so as to co-ordinate with his diminished functions. Speaking generally, he can now be sued only in respect of liabilities arising before the Federation becomes effective or expressly continuing thereafter.

Allied to this subject is the writ of *habeas corpus* to obtain the freedom of any person who has been illegally deprived of it. The Supreme and High Courts in India have always had this jurisdiction, and it has been very freely used. Thus the Bombay High Court has held (I.L.R., 55 Bom., 263) that even the validity of a proclamation of martial law by the Governor-General in an Ordinance issued by him can be questioned in proceedings for such a writ. S. 72 of the Act of 1919 authorized the Governor-General to make Ordinances "in cases of emergency," and it was held that the Court could go into the question whether an emergency existed or not, though all it could legitimately do was to enquire whether there was evidence upon which the Governor-General might reasonably conclude that an emergency existed. S. 43 of the new Act authorizes the Governor-General to promulgate Ordinances on his being "satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action for the purpose of enabling him satisfactorily to discharge" his special functions, and their contents may be such "as in his opinion the circumstances of the case require." It seems probable, therefore, that in future the Courts will not have quite so much latitude for allowing the validity of Ordinances to be challenged, so long as they deal with matters within the Governor-General's special functions. This, however, is in accordance with the principle stressed by the Joint Committee (para. 222) that the ultimate responsibility for the peace and tranquillity of the whole of India must vest in the Governor-General, and it does not affect the rights of the normal citizen, who does not indulge in rioting and insurrection. Even in the Irish Free State the right to resort to a writ of *habeas corpus* does not extend to the case of war or armed rebellion (Keith, p. 376).

This bears on the question of the so-called "fundamental rights," as to which the Joint Committee (para. 366) agreed with the Simon Commission, who said "abstract declarations are useless, unless there exist the will and the means to make them effective." This is well illustrated by Dr. Keith's remarks (pp. 9, 10) that, though the Irish Free State constitution expressly provides for the liberty of the subject, it has suffered severe infringement under special legislation over-riding the constitution. On the other hand that liberty is none the less protected in England, though it rests not so much on direct enactment as on public sentiment and the rules of the common law. Thus, as Dr. Keith points out (p. 239), the Incitement to Disaffection Act, 1934, was only carried, despite the enormous strength of the governmental majority, after drastic modifications had been made to prevent any possibility of abuse, especially of the limited powers of search for seditious literature permitted.

British India has not suffered in this respect, for its inhabitants have always been able to resort to the Courts for redress against alleged oppression or illegal interference with personal liberty, and this right is not restricted under the new Act. It also contains (s. 299) a prohibition of compulsory expropriation of property without compensation, which according to Dr. Keith (p. 241) is confined to India and Northern Ireland.

The scope for litigation has, in fact, been widened by opening the door to contests over the validity of Acts passed by the various legislatures, from which India has hitherto been saved. S. 84 (3) of the old Act prevented litigation as to the validity of any enactment on the ground that it affected a Provincial subject or a Central subject, as the case might be. The Simon Commission expressed a hope that this provision would be preserved, but unfortunately the Joint Committee (paras. 55, 230) found this to be impossible. The plan adopted of separate compartments or legislative lists of subjects on which the Federal legislature and the Provincial legislatures can respectively legislate to the exclusion of the other institution, is one that has entailed marked disadvantages in Canada and Australia. While it will bring grist to the lawyer's mill, it will often seriously hamper progress and lead to disputes between the Federation and the Provinces. Instances of this are cited by Dr. Keith (pp. 419-21), and devices that savour of unconstitutionality have been resorted to. In Canada this has been partly due to the fact that it has hitherto proved impossible to secure any agreement on the method of altering the constitution and the extent of such alteration. Fortunately the hope Dr. Keith expresses (p. 420), that some accord may be reached on this matter, seems more likely to be fulfilled since the publication of his book, as steps towards this have been taken at a recent conference between Federal and Provincial Ministers (*The Times* of September 2, 1936).

It is to be hoped that in India difficulties may be solved by similar agreement. The innovation of having a concurrent list covering matter on which both the Federal legislature and the Provincial legislatures can make laws, and the provision in s. 100 (4) that the Federal legislature can legislate on matters enumerated in the Provincial list so long as it is not for a Province or a part thereof, should help to ease the situation. Decisions may be expedited by the Governor-General's power to consult the Federal Court on

a question of public importance (s. 213) and by the requirement that a High Court shall, on the prescribed application, transfer to itself for trial a case pending in an inferior Court that is likely to involve the question of the validity of an Act. But, all the same, those acquainted with Indian litigation, and its abuses and delays, will undoubtedly feel anxiety as to the ill-effects likely to arise from the new facilities for questioning the validity of statutory enactments.

These illustrations exemplify some of the aspects of Indian constitutional law and its problems, on which Professor Keith throws light with admirable impartiality. This is not confined to British India, but covers the Indian States, especially in regard to the proposal for their inclusion in the Federation. The last chapter of his book deals fully with the Indian Empire, and it also has a section of Chapter V. devoted to it. But its utility to Indian statesmen or students lies perhaps more in its wide scope and the variety of methods that it comprises for dealing with particular cases or problems likely to arise under the new constitution. Its account of the many Parliamentary or constitutional conventions underlying the general system will, for instance, give valuable assistance to future ministries in India. In other words, it is a work that should be in the hands of all concerned in the revolutionary changes in Indian government that are made by the Act of 1935.

MAGNA BRITANNIA. By J. Coatman. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 10s. 6d. net.
(*Reviewed by* LORD MESTON.)

From platform and pulpit we are being told, to the point of satiety, that the troubles of the world today are due to our material progress having outrun our moral and intellectual capacity to deal with it. What we need, we are assured, is a new philosophy of life—a new religion, some would even say, or at least a new presentation of religion. Professor Coatman does not pretend to provide this; but he brings his contribution in the search for a philosophy for the British Empire, being convinced that the British Empire is a microcosm of the world, and that its methods offer a guide to world settlement. Its development, he holds, is in one sense far more revolutionary than that of the dictatorships, for it marks a definite stage in "the evolution of the ideal form of human association." To say that this evolution is being hampered by the exaggerated economic nationalism which now prevails is all very true; but we have to face the certainty that the State is now going more and more to control the economic activities of its citizens, and the only remedy for the inherent dangers of this process is a world Commonwealth, to which *Magna Britannia* points the way.

The thesis is developed with earnestness and eloquence. The Empire is depicted as comprising an expanding Commonwealth and a diminishing body of Dependencies. The latter, now secure under our doctrine of trusteeship and our practice of indirect rule, will gradually climb into the Commonwealth of free nations, as the Dominions and the Free State have done and as India is now doing. The Commonwealth has its constitution

in the Statute of Westminster, and its consultative organ in the Imperial Conferences. But how, asks Professor Coatman, is this moral conception of a free union of independent States to be translated into the physical attributes of an effective union? To answering this question the greater part of the volume is devoted. Without any formal planning, there must grow up a closer organization, economic and financial. Professor Coatman thinks well of the Ottawa Agreements and would extend the principle. He does not apparently object to an Imperial secretariat: he would have ambassadors for each unit of the Commonwealth accredited to all the other units; and he would have a central Investment Board to decide the employment of our national savings, how far they should be kept within the Empire, and on what conditions as to the exchange of the Empire's products. He would have closer intellectual co-operation, and a well-directed system of migration, which "must be accompanied by the migration also of capital and industries."

In setting out a comprehensive scheme of this magnitude, Professor Coatman cannot avoid skirting much controversial ground. He is not always content with skirting it, as when he declares that the battle between Free Trade and Protection has been ended for a generation, or when he ridicules the idea of an international police force. He must also expect some acid criticism on the relations which he attempts to establish between Britain's foreign loans and her export trade. His contention that, unless we expand our export trade, we must reduce our imports and keep down our overseas exports of capital, is either a statement of a truism or what most economists would regard as a veiled piece of most heterodox advice. They would prefer to argue that, if our policy is to curtail our imports our exports cannot expand, and that the overseas investment of our savings, being one form of export, must suffer like all the other forms.

When Professor Coatman turns from his study of the British Commonwealth to hold it up as a model for a world Commonwealth, he very wisely draws a sharp contrast between it and the League of Nations. We should have been glad if the contrast had been sharper; for there is much nonsense talked by those who are always telling us that the British Empire is a true League of Nations. On the one hand we have a group of Dominions, with no secular rivalry and with a very considerable community of ancestry, language and traditions; on the other hand a group of nations with angry frontiers and all sorts of hostile interests and prejudices and racial antagonisms. What possible comparison is there between the two? But, says Professor Coatman, let the latter try the methods of the former: avoid all ambitious projects for joint action, strengthen all existing bonds of union, allow common interests to develop into a common will, and foster the habit of free consultation. This is beyond all question the long-range salvation of the world. Unfortunately, there are short-range dangers for which immediate remedies must be devised; and as Professor Coatman himself acutely observes (page 351):

> "the short-term aspect of every government's problem today is so insistent as to be effective in determining action, and action which is

appropriate to the short-term aspect only aggravates the conditions under which the long-term aspect of the problem—that is, the rational ordering of international relations—will have to be solved."

Will Professor Coatman consider two suggestions for his next edition? The Statute of Westminster is so often referred to, and forms so vital a feature in the argument, that it might with advantage be printed as an appendix. And might caution be exercised in the use of "imponderable." To speak of "the immensely important imponderable of . . . Imperial development" is a contradiction in terms: an imponderable thing in science is a thing which is so light as to have no weight.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU—AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. (*The Bodley Head.*) 15s.

(*Reviewed by* SIR ELLIOT COLVIN.)

This book is something more, yet something less, than what is generally understood by an autobiography; something more, because it deals with an array of subjects—religion, art, the beauties of nature, socialism, Marxism, and so on—quite apart from the political problem of India, in which the writer is playing so conspicuous a part; something less, because it is written by a man, still in the full vigour of life, whose career, in the ordinary course of events, is still obviously far from its close.

Pandit Jawaharlal explains, in a modest and disarming preface, that it was written in order to while away long periods of imprisonment for political offences, not by way of recording a survey of recent Indian history, but by way of training his own mental development.

Brought to England by his parents in 1905, he was sent for education to Harrow and to Cambridge. He tells us that when it came to leaving Harrow his eyes filled with tears, and that the three years at Cambridge were pleasant years. He was evidently a cheerful companion, responsive and generous, making friends easily. During these impressionable years of his youth and early manhood, he made no doubt many English friends, read many books by English and American authors and must have acquired to some degree and in some directions an English habit of thought. The autobiography is written in flowing, easy English, and is packed with quotations from English poets and authors, besides many from American, French and German writers. References to Biblical passages are also frequent.

This young man, when, full of hope and confidence and enthusiasm, he returned to India in 1912, seemed to have the ball at his feet. His profession was the law, and his father held a high and honourable position at the Indian Bar. The life of an advocate did not attract him, however, and he quickly threw himself into politics, taking an extreme line early in the day, and dragging eventually his much more moderate father with him. There can be no doubt about the sincerity of his action. He soon, perhaps too soon, came to the conclusion that British rule was not in the interests of India. Like many passages in the book, the tracing of that particular mental development is very indistinct and hazy. But the development itself

is clear enough, and however much we may regret and disagree with it, we cannot but admit that the Pandit, even if he jumped rather hurriedly to his conclusion, has since followed out its implications with courage and constancy and self-sacrifice. He has preached his belief, alas! in public and in private, and has suffered imprisonment several times for open disregard of Government rules and regulations. Naturally he holds the Government of India in detestation. This explains, though it does not justify, the fact that he attributes false motives to that Government and impugns at every step the honesty of their intentions.

If there is one main outstanding obstacle to the orderly evolution of self-government in India, it is the constant outbreak of hostility between the two great communities of Hindus and Muslims. If there is one point that recent Viceroys, Lord Halifax and Lord Willingdon, have impressed on the respective leaders of these two communities, it is the necessity of their getting together and finding some means of composing these differences. Yet Pandit Jawaharlal does not hesitate to assert (p. 136) that British Governments in the past and the present have based their policy on creating divisions between these two communities. If this is so, it follows that the Viceroys were indulging in the worst form of hypocrisy. Yet those who know them simply would not believe this of them. This charge of encouraging disruptive tendencies appears more than once in the book, but no proof is offered other than the suggestion, itself unjustified, that the Round-Table Conferences were arranged partly with this object in view. The fact is that India has to be a nation before it can act nationally. And the events that have occurred since the movement towards self-government began have caused Englishmen to wonder whether Hindus and Muslims are as yet really Indians first and Hindus or Muslims afterwards. The Pandit devotes a whole chapter to "Communalism Rampant," but he does not say how his socialistic theories are going to solve this problem. He merely assures us that the communal leaders, when and if conflicts between economic classes occur, will hasten to patch up their differences. "Even under present conditions," he says, "it should not be difficult to arrive at a political solution, but only if, and it is a big if, the third party was not present," the third party being presumably the British Government. This kind of random shaft is neither fair nor logical, and is at the same time wholly unconvincing. The Pandit cannot slip away from this supreme difficulty by throwing a pointless dart of this nature and passing on quickly, as he invariably does, to some less thorny subject.

He is, in fact, a modern of the moderns, believing in Lenin and Marxism and in the principles, if not in the methods, of the Soviet Government. This view is further expounded in *India and the World*, a series of recent speeches and essays of the Pandit published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. (5s.). He seems to have conceived an admiration for a communistic system when, at his own suggestion, he attended the Conference of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels in 1927 as delegate from India. Clearly, he has a natural feeling of sympathy for the under-dog, and this probably led him to the communistic fold. But he must either be ignorant of the complexities of administration in a huge country like India or his sym-

pathies must have clouded his reason. A nation has to be a compact and homogeneous unit before "planning" on the Soviet system can be applied to it. The population of Russia is very different from that of India. The most advanced Marxian, if he really knew India well, would hesitate to apply his theories to that country in its present stage of development.

In this respect Mr. Gandhi has seen a great deal further than our autobiographer. It is strange to follow in this book the actions and reactions between these two. The Pandit expresses the greatest admiration and reverence for "Gandhiji," no doubt with absolute sincerity. But the master, at whose feet he professes to sit, is constantly giving him the most disturbing shocks. The fact is that while there is undoubtedly a tie of affection and of sympathy of aim between these two men, in their theories and their outlook on the world they are poles apart. Mr. Gandhi is nothing if he is not religious and non-violent; he believes in progress through the individual. Pandit Jawaharlal surveys various religions, has some sympathy with two or three, but clings to none; he believes in violence, if he cannot attain his objects by other means, and in mass-movement. Mr. Gandhi dislikes machinery, preferring the spinning-wheel; Nehru is all for the most modern forms of industrial progress. The only real point of contact between the two is their real and genuine love for India. The break between them was bound to come sooner or later; and the only marvel is that it was delayed till 1934, when Mr. Gandhi withdrew Civil Disobedience. This was the last straw. Pandit Jawaharlal felt it very deeply, sitting lonely in his cell in the far-off jail at Alipur. The chapter in which this part of his story appears he entitles "Desolation," and one can feel what it meant to his sensitive nature. Both men are visionaries of the highest Hindu type; both love India; and both are likely to leave a permanent mark on the heart of their country, unless indeed persistence by the Pandit in his present policy should produce a state of chaos in which all marks will be obliterated.

The longest chapter in the book deals with coercion as against the Gandhi doctrine of conversion, and it is obvious that the Pandit leans towards the former, although in his final words on this subject he seems to advise a combination of the two. The fact is that he sees a shining star in the remote firmament and desires to hitch his wagon to it. One reads through his book anxiously waiting to see by what developments he proposes to accomplish this miracle, and this is what one ultimately finds in a passage very near the end of the volume: "I write vaguely and somewhat academically about current events. . . . What would I do now? . . . If I may confess the truth, I really do not know and I do not try to find out." That is the truth. The Pandit, with all his intellectual gifts and breadth of vision, is vague and indefinite and certainly temperamental.

The process of establishing peace and political unity throughout the continent (the Pandit himself is honest enough to put these to the credit of British supremacy, p. 436) was necessarily long and expensive, and the process of welding the new constitution into shape will also need much time. And to most observers it seems patent that any patriotic Indian, understanding the tremendous issues at stake, would feel bound to oppose any attempt to break up the orderly evolution of the political situation now on its way

or any subversive measures of a socialistic nature undertaken with the entirely mistaken view of accelerating the process. The Pandit admits that the political tangle in India must be cleared up first. He does not like the plan that has been adopted after consultation with representatives of all-Indian communities. But if he really thinks that he can improve on this plan by introducing widespread economic changes simultaneously with a new political structure, in which apparently the Indian States would have vanished from the scene, he is sadly mistaken.

Herein lies the tragedy of his career to date. Full of enthusiasm and lofty aspirations, he has leapt into the arena without the necessary training and experience. Like Don Quixote, he has been tilting at windmills. He has adopted slogans which have led him into conflict and distress and imprisonment; and he is apparently ready to adopt others which will lead to still sadder results, without really doing his country any good—on the contrary, doing it harm. He might have pushed his country so far on its way; but he seems bent on pushing it back. And the private sorrows of which he writes with such pathos make one feel sorry for and sympathetic with him, and evoke thoughts which lie too deep for a mere reviewer to enlarge on. The Pandit was President of this year's Congress at Lucknow. His opening address was full of socialism as the solution of India's problems. But this view has not met with much response among Congressmen, and it would seem that the Pandit recognizes the futility of trying to force this issue at present. He still thunders against the "unholy structure" of the Federal scheme, and desires to destroy the new legislatures from within.

But yet there is always hope where there is reason based on experience. The record of his more youthful years calls to mind a passage from a poet he is himself fond of quoting. Robert Browning, speaking of youth, and asking us to grow old along with him, says:

> "Not that, admiring stars,"
> It yearned, "Nor Jove, nor Mars;
> Mine be some figured flame, which blends, transcends them all!"

Possibly, some thirty years hence, the Pandit, having brought his outlook nearer to the practical realities of the world of today, may favour us with the second instalment of his life. And one hopes that it may be as easy to read, as entertaining and as vigorous as the present record, and illumined by a new and practical spirit that will have rendered his later experiences less distressful than those through which he has already passed.

HONORIA LAWRENCE—A FRAGMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY. By Maud Diver. (*John Murray.*) 16s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR VERNEY LOVETT.)

In her first 130 pages the authoress of this excellent biography tells us the early history of a high-souled woman who found a fully satisfying vocation as helpmate to a very remarkable man. We learn how they came together prepared by early training for a married life of strenuous endeavour. Ex-

tracts from letters and journals throw much light not only on the character of each but also on the India of a hundred years ago. Later chapters carry us on into a broad stream of stirring events which have ever since provoked much controversial discussion. The wife stands back, as she would have wished to do, but still plays a notable part. An admirable narrative, supported by extracts from private letters and journals, gives us a wider insight into history and character. The larger portion of the book is really the third volume of an illuminating trilogy. In *The Hero of Herat* and *The Judgment of the Sword* Mrs. Diver dealt with the circumstances and incidents of the first Afghan War, and rescued from practical oblivion the exploits of Eldred Pottinger, who died in 1843, young in years but with the contemporary reputation of a man for whom no responsibilities could be too great. Here we see that "uno avulso non deficit alter." Pottinger and Lawrence were strong and outstanding individualists, men of a type which perhaps is less suspect now than it was a few years ago. Both India and England will always need such *men*.

Within the eventful years 1839-57 only once did Henry and Honoria Lawrence enjoy a restful and comfortable time together of any considerable length, "a pause that might have been even more profitable than it proved had he detached his restless mind from the north west region that dominated it first and last." After the Afghan War, as Resident in Nepal, he had to practise "the uninspiring art of letting well and even ill—alone." Contributions to the *Calcutta Review*, in which Honoria sometimes collaborated, helped to fill up his leisure. We can understand the view expressed by Herbert Edwardes that "it was as much by his persistent writing as by his personal character that Henry Lawrence leavened British India with high principles" (p. 279). It is remarkable that he was allowed to write with such extreme freedom.* Soon he returned to the strenuous, absorbing activities that only ended with his death in the Lucknow Residency. Three years before he had lost his devoted wife. But "for him the lamp that she had carried all their days was alight for evermore."

The story of the leading episodes in his strenuous career (pp. 131-509) is illustrated by illuminating quotations, and shows how his early experiences, both in the Army and of familiar intercourse with the country people as a Survey Officer, prepared him for the searching ordeals of later life. We appreciate as never before the value of his services as a political officer with the originally "half-hearted" and almost openly hostile Sikh contingent that accompanied Pollock's relieving army to Kabul and, stimulated by Lawrence's influence, eventually played a substantial part in the stubborn engagements by the way. We mark his pithy comment on the weakness and incapacity of Lord Auckland's tremulous policy throughout the last sad stage of Macnaghten's stay at Kabul: "Thus we lose character bit by bit, till at length it requires a pitched battle, two or three generals and a thousand men killed and wounded to redeem it."†

* See particularly his article on Military Defence, 1844, *Calcutta Review*, Vol. II.

† His explanation of the first stages in this tragic drama is particularly interesting. See his article on Macnaghten, *Calcutta Review*, Vol. II.

Lawrence's first letter to Dalhousie (p. 341) goes far to explain the unfortunate friction between these two great men, for, as Mrs. Diver says, it was "a just but unpalatable indictment," and "started their official relations with precisely the kind of rub that Lawrence had a fatal tendency to exaggerate." As a matter of fact, John Lawrence's verdict on the delays which so largely contributed to bring about the desperate battles of the second Sikh war was no less severe than his brother's (p. 344). But it was given in fraternal correspondence. The clash between the policy preferred by Henry in reconstructing the Punjab and that pursued by John and approved by Dalhousie was, as Mrs. Diver clearly sees, unavoidable. Dalhousie, as his private letters to Sir George Couper show, was not a very generous man; but his perception that for some time the Punjab would benefit by the joint direction of both brothers in spite of their differences was accurate; and his determination that when a parting was inevitable Henry should go was natural. John comes exceedingly well out of the period of his most unwelcome friction with the brother whom he always so much admired.

The story of Henry's last days at Lucknow is admirably summarized. The book concludes with Herbert Edwardes' tribute to Henry and Honoria Lawrence, contained in a letter to his wife: "None of us ever saw a couple quite like them, and we cannot hope to do so again. It is a blessed thing to have known them."

INDIAN THOUGHT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT. By Albert Schweitzer. (*Hodder and Stoughton.*) 5s. net.

(*Reviewed by* STANLEY RICE.)

The title which Dr. Schweitzer has chosen is slightly misleading, for what he is concerned with is Hindu thought, of which Buddhism and Jainism are offshoots. Mussulman and Christian thought, which have played a certain part in Indian development, have nothing to do with this matter except indirectly.

The general theme is stated at the very outset of the work. The underlying idea is World and Life Negation as opposed to World and Life Affirmation. And these terms are thus defined:

"World and Life Affirmation consists in this: that man regards existence as he experiences it in himself and as it has developed in the world as something of value *per se* and accordingly strives to let it reach perfection in himself, whilst within his own sphere of influence he endeavours to preserve and further it. World and Life Negation, on the other hand, consists in his regarding existence, as he experiences it in himself and as it is developed in the world, as something meaningless and sorrowful, and he resolves accordingly (*a*) to bring life to a standstill in himself by mortifying his will-to-live, and (*b*) to renounce all activity which aims at improvement of the conditions of life in this world." But the conclusion should be added. "World and Life Affirmation increasingly urges men to serve their fellows, society, the nation, mankind, and indeed all that lives with their utmost

will and in lively hope of valuable progress. World and Life Negation takes no interest in the world, but regards man's life on earth merely as a stage-play in which it is his duty to participate, or only as a puzzling pilgrimage through the land of Time to his home in Eternity." It is this antithesis which runs through the whole book. Indeed, it might be said that Dr. Schweitzer is concerned with little else than the proof that Hindu thought has gradually shifted its position from an almost absolute adoption of the negation principle to the qualified acceptance of the affirmation principle. To a certain extent this is true, but Dr. Schweitzer has stated the case too absolutely in spite of qualifications. The Hindu does not and never did carry his doctrine of World Negation to the length of saying that the whole phenomenal world has no existence, that it is a mere Illusion as a mirage is an illusion. World Affirmation there must be in every philosophy. It appears in the Brahmanic conception of the asramas, for the position of the grihasta connoted a belief in the objective existence of the world. It appears, too, in the institution of caste and in the idea of karma for reasons which must be obvious. The extreme statement of World Negation rests ultimately on a misconception of the meaning of Maya. The common translation is Illusion, which suggests in English the idea of complete unreality, a mirage, a dream, a figment of the imagination. The world is composed partly of Sad (Reality) and partly of Asad (Unreality). But the term is relative. Pure Reality is the concept which we call God and which in other religions may go by another name, but is nevertheless a concept. It is true that the Hindu system does lay stress upon this relative unreality; that is the basis of its claim to spirituality. Modern Europe has gone to the other extreme; in its insistence on World Affirmation it has practically lost sight of any Hereafter and relates everything to material prosperity.

In the same way the doctrine of reincarnation is to Dr. Schweitzer "practically impossible," because it involves the degradation of Man to the level of "despised and savage" beasts. Is this not also to import European assumptions into the argument? To the Hindu the animals are not a "lower creation"; they are simply the manifestations of God—that is, of the Cosmic Power—in another form. It is argued that "a soul which has once sunk down into the life of an animal cannot become ethically deserving." But why not? Have we really any knowledge what the ethics of an animal may be, and may not that which we call instinct be called by the higher name of intelligence?

But although there are points which are open to criticism, although it may appear to many, and especially to Indians, that Dr. Schweitzer has coloured his treatise too much with European assumptions and European modes of thought, there is much in the book that is stimulating. He has disarmed some criticism in advance. He realizes that Indians may not agree that the principle of World and Life Negation is "devoid of ethics and that they may resent the view that the principle of Ahimsa arose from a desire to keep pure from the world and not from a feeling of pity or compassion." "When Western and Indian philosophy engage in disputation they must not contend in the spirit that aims at the one proving itself right in opposition to the other." That is written in the true spirit of philosophy.

Too often we find European writers who take the violent view, either that Hindu philosophy is completely right or completely wrong. This book might well call for an answer from a competent Indian. But it is a sincere book; it expresses what the writer himself thinks about the matter, and if we cannot quite subscribe to the publishers' claim that to those who are anxious to learn the differences between Eastern and Western ways of thought and living the book is "invaluable," there is much to provoke thought, and much with which one cannot but agree. No one has said or will say the last word on such a subject.

THE EVOLUTION OF HINDUISM; THE RELIGION WE NEED; THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE KIRTI MANDIR; THREE SPEECHES OF H.H. THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA. (*Baroda State Press.*)

(*Reviewed by* SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND.)

The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda has rendered a signal service to the world. He has insisted on the vital importance of religion. Here is a man who has ruled his State for sixty years and who has, in addition, travelled the world over examining the state of things in Europe and America as well as in Asia, formally and deliberately declaring to his subjects in three well thought out discourses that only on the foundation of religion can a true and worthy humanity be built. He has reviewed materialism, but he deliberately and decisively rejects it. Only the impetus of religion can give force and direction to life. Only the inspiration of religion can give guidance to our personal and public lives and enable us to leave the world better than we found it.

Mankind, says the Gaekwar, has a natural predisposition to religion. In spite of the materialism so much abroad in the world, he believes that men are turning more and more to religion. And he sees signs of a religious renaissance.

But there are many religions, and these in the past have often warred with one another. Lately they have tolerated one another. In the Gaekwar's view, however, toleration is not enough. He takes a bold step forward and pleads for co-operation.

He would have the followers of the different religions of the world not merely tolerate one another's religions, but seek to understand them. He quotes the ancient Sanskrit adage which commends the man of catholic outlook who looks upon the world as his family. And he shows how the same sentiment is to be found in Christ's command to love our neighbour as ourselves.

"All religions," he says, "are the common property of mankind. Freely and frankly we should seek inspiration from them all. In their original form there is very little difference between the teaching of Krishna, Christ, or Buddha, and their great moral truths in their original simplicity are as applicable today as they were hundreds of years ago."

He is convinced that the cumulative effect of world-wide goodwill and

understanding would be irresistible. And he concludes his series of addresses with a Sanskrit prayer from the Vedas that "He who is One without second, who is in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, may unite us in fellowship and understanding."

Such is the ardent desire of a ruler of Muslims, Parsees, and Christians, as well as of his fellow-Hindus, in the closing years of a full and beneficent reign. Its significance to his own State, to India as a whole, and to the world should be widely recognized. The future of mankind depends upon its religion.

NEAR EAST

LE DIALECTE ARABE DE PALMYRE. Par J. Cantineau. Two vols. (Beyrouth: *Institut français de Damas.*)

Some ten years ago Mr. G. R. Driver, an Oxford scholar, issued a capital grammar of colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine, and now M. Cantineau has further specialized this subject on the dialect of Palmyra. The reputation of M. Cantineau is already well established in the world of learning, and by this remarkable work he has given one more proof of his intense and ripe application, which secures for him a place in the first rank of Arabists. Provided with great knowledge of Arabic, he has made use of his opportunity of several years' residence at Palmyra by studying this dialect, and we are delighted to see now these two volumes before us. One regrets, however, that, owing to his absence from the place of printing, a certain number of corrections and additions could not be incorporated within the text, but had to be appended.

The first volume deals with the grammar, which opens with a short history of Palmyra, wherein full reference is made to previous contributions. This volume is divided into the two main sections of Phonetics and Morphology, and here Professor Cantineau displays his full knowledge without omitting perhaps any contributions by previous scholars in the same field. The second volume contains short vocabularies and texts, with their French translations, and two indexes of names and subjects conclude this most able work. In order to complete his monograph, M. Cantineau has already compiled a lexicon of the dialect of Palmyra, and it is to be hoped that he will not hold back his MS. too long from publication. Scholars working in the same field will undoubtedly appreciate his difficulties in acquiring the knowledge of this dialect, and furthermore in transcribing it into phonetic signs.

FAR EAST

ANNUAL CUSTOMS AND FESTIVALS IN PEKING. Translated from the Chinese by Derk Bode. (Peking.)

The translator of this beautiful volume has done a real service to the reading public. Although there are a number of books dealing with Chinese Folklore, this is the first translated from a Chinese original work. The Chinese author Tun Li-Ch'en, really a Manchu, was a distinguished scholar, as his forefathers were before him, and brought to his subject that feeling of insight and refinement which were inherent in Chinese noble-

men. He died in 1911. The book itself is a record, day by day, beginning with the Chinese New Year, of the festivals of Peking and customs connected therewith. One must regret that many of them have already died out under pressure of contemporary conditions, and therefore the publication of this volume should be all the more welcomed. The uninformed visitor is liable to witness some of these festivals without understanding their meaning. Here, in a concise form, they are explained, so that full appreciation will add to their enjoyment. The illustrations add to the attraction of the volume. Mr. Bode himself has done full justice to the Chinese author by giving a faultless translation, by adding a number of useful notes and by providing some appendices. One of these explains the Chinese calendar, another gives lists of the fire-crackers, popular entertainments, crickets, etc., with their names in Chinese and English renderings. A complete index completes the work. It is sincerely to be hoped that this fascinating book will find a ready sale in England.

THE NEW MONGOLIA. By Ladislaus Forbath, as related by Joseph Geleta. Translated from the Hungarian. Illustrated. (*Heinemann.*) 15s. net.

Here is a book without a preface, and it requires none. It tells the tale of a prisoner of war, a Hungarian engineer, Joseph Geleta, who inspires our sympathy. In a captivating style Mr. Forbath records his friend's adventures in Mongolia, with the help of notes which he had brought home after nine long years of separation from his family. The account begins with his escape from Siberia, where he had worked at a power station, after settling accounts with the Russian chief engineer, to Mongolia. Even his entry into Mongolia was beset with difficulties, as he was believed to be a Bolshevist. However, some presents out of his poor belongings secured him a passport through the country, they saved him from an unwelcome return to his jailers, and procured him a residence where he had occasion to study intimately the life, the habits, the ceremonies of the Mongolians. He built their first power station at Urga, with machinery obtained from Germany; he also erected the first Parliament building. The description of Mongolia's new political outlook is the outcome of intimate experience and observation. His accomplishments enabled him to obtain leave to return to Hungary, his native country. We recommend the book as a human document, as a record of life as affected by the War, and of correct information about New Mongolia.

WAR AND DIPLOMACY IN THE JAPANESE EMPIRE. By Tatsuji Takeuchi. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 16s. net.

Professor Takeuchi has compiled a most important work, which deserves to be studied by Government departments and politicians. Immense care has been taken, and a large number of sources of Japanese origin have been consulted, the titles of which are given in a useful bibliography at the end. The method of treatment is more a study of procedure than of the substance of policy in international relationship. The book is divided into three main parts. The first deals with the Japanese constitution, the place of the throne, the duties of the Elder Statesmen, the Cabinet, Privy Council,

the Diet, Courts of Law and Foreign Office. The second part has for its subject the control of foreign relations in which not only wars of recent date are commented upon, but also events chiefly subsequent to the Great War are detailed. The third part is the shortest; it explains the conduct of foreign relations, including Japanese treaty-making, declaration and conduct of war.

THE BIRTH OF CHINA: A SURVEY OF THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION. By H. Creel. With sketch map and 15 plates. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 15s. net.

There is not much literature on the most ancient era of China. Professor Hirth's is perhaps the only one dealing with the oldest history, and Professor Conrady's German work on the same subject—original and valuable as it is—was compiled before the recent discoveries, which now throw a different light on ancient Chinese civilization. Here Mr. Creel steps in, and he has done his part with accuracy and efficiency. This has required untold research work. Not only had he to be thoroughly familiar with the classical literature, but he has had to study and sift the results of very recent excavations. Dr. Creel has now been able to determine two world-centres of the oldest civilization, one in South-Western Asia—*i.e.*, India (Mohenjo-daro), Babylon, Egypt, the other in the East on the Yellow River. Another conclusion has been arrived at—viz., that though far apart they have influenced each other. Through bone inscriptions and with the help of recent excavations Dr. Creel has been able to compile the history of the Shang period, which is the oldest known historically and dates back to about 1400 B.C. We now learn for the first time of how the people lived, of their handicrafts, and their institutions. As is rightly stated, the origin of writing must always remain a mystery; however, here we find the elements of it in early pictographs.

We recommend the book to prehistorians, archæologists and students of culture. Another book by the same author is promised, entitled *Studies in Early Chinese Culture.*

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might mean an early end of the States. I had made up my mind to mention no names in the course of this paper, either of States or of individual Rulers. The excellent precept "No names, no pack drill" applies in other as well as in regimental circles. But I think I may allow myself one exception in the name of the late Maharaja Jam Sahib Ranjitsinhji. Many of you must have known him personally; many more must be aware that he was a Ruler of great ability, and that he combined devotion to his own State and to the Order of Princes with intense loyalty to the King Emperor and to the British Empire. He told me in the spring of 1932 that he did not believe the States would last more than twenty years after Federation. I was considerably surprised at this view, but when I asked other people, some of them Rulers, some Dewans, and others who, after being somewhat extreme politicians in British India, had accepted posts in Western Indian States, I found a singular unanimity that some such period as twenty years would about represent the existence of the States. These views may indeed have been modified by all the subsequent discussion and the care taken over the phraseology of the Act. But whether they have been modified or not, I thought then, and I think now, that these views were mistaken. Even if there is any strong feeling in the States for absorption into British India, which, for reasons I shall give later, I do not believe to be the case, I do not think that the British Indian Provinces, till they find their feet, will offer an example that will be tempting to follow. I think that there will certainly be in those Provinces increased expenditure with the consequent increased taxation, considerable electoral trouble, and the possibility of an increase of intercommunal and intercaste dissension. I think also that the remarkable extent and influence of local patriotism in the States, which was a revelation to me, has not been sufficiently allowed for.

Obviously, however, my opinion has little weight against that of men with far greater opportunities of judgment. Even if total extinction does not follow, it is possible, and in fact probable, that there will be considerable diminution in the power, and therefore as some may think in the status, of the Indian Rulers. Those of you who have had anything to do with the settlement of

outstanding questions or disputes, whether between the Government of India and a State, or between States *inter se*, know how reluctant a Ruler is to agree to anything, however equitable, which may cause him to be regarded by his successors as one who reduced the authority or the territory of his dynasty. This is, I believe, a principal reason for any unwillingness which the Princes may feel to commit themselves finally to Federation.

Treaties and Guarantees

It is, however, just possible that someone may suggest that the extinction of the Indian States as such is not a matter we need worry about. I am not sure that the point is altogether relevant to my subject, but I should like to refer to it very briefly. In the first place the British Government is of course bound by treaties and guarantees to maintain the States; and that obligation seems to imply that the States should not be placed in a position which will entail their early demise. Secondly, I believe it to be certain that the system in the Indian States serves a useful purpose. It is far more consistent with Indian traditions than the necessarily Europeanized system established, and now unchangeable without greater evils, in the British Indian Provinces. It is far more of a personal rule than the administration in a British Province can ever be. The average Indian Ruler is not an autocrat, however autocratic his power may be in theory. He is easily accessible, and he is subject to many influences which bring him into touch with his people. The people of an Indian State must have, it is true, if they are to live happily, certain elementary safeguards—justice in the Courts, and security of life and property. Given these safeguards, however, they have many local advantages and local interests, which they know that they would not continue to enjoy if their State became an outlying portion of a large British Indian Province.

Even, however, if the continuance of the States after Federation is assured, as I believe it will be assured, there are other lesser dangers which the Princes may naturally regard with apprehension. The first is the pressure and extension of the Federal power. The Indian Rulers have been informed, doubtless with perfect

correctness, by the eminent Counsel whom they have consulted that it is the universal tendency in all Federations for the Central authority to encroach upon the powers of the constituent units, however carefully these may be guarded in the Federating Statute. In a Federated India this process may be accelerated by what may be regarded by some as a second dangerous factor, that of paramountcy. The fear is twofold: firstly, that paramountcy may itself be extended further, and, secondly, that it may be used to achieve for a Federal Government what the Federal safeguards would not permit. I do not think that it can be doubted that some of the States would like a more exact definition of paramountcy than that which was, in effect, given in the Indian States Committee's Report that "Paramountcy must be paramount." But I do not believe that the medium and smaller States regard this as of great importance, and in any case they think that an excessive use of paramountcy is less likely under a Federal Constitution when its exercise is expressly vested in the Viceroy alone, and not in the Government of India, as it is, at least theoretically, at present vested.

There is also the possibility, remote though it may be, that a Federated India will follow the example of one or two other Dominions and regard its continuance within the British Empire purely as a matter of convenience or self-interest. Such an attitude would, it is certain, be extremely distasteful to the Indian Rulers whose devotion to the Empire is beyond all doubt.

The Dangers of Abstention

If, however, these be possible dangers in acceding to Federation, it is equally certain that there are also dangers inherent in abstention. The pressure of democratic ideas will certainly be almost as great if the States remain outside as it would be if they were members of the Federation, with the added probability that the Federal Government would be less friendly towards a non-Federating State. It is well known that a most dangerous form of interference with the administration of a State which adjoins a large stretch of British Indian territory has been the invasion from that territory of large bodies of men or "jathas." Hitherto

the British Indian Government has discouraged and successfully prevented such invasions. It is by no means certain that a democratic Federal Government would do so with equal effect. Again, there is the possibility which is sometimes held out before the States that if they do not enter Federation now, they will never get such favourable terms again. This does not, however, seem a very dignified argument, nor one that is likely to prove true. Any State that holds out from Federation is likely to be a source of such inconvenience to adjoining Federated territory that it is not likely that conditions inferior to those enjoyed by States within the Federation would be a sufficient inducement to the recalcitrant to come in.

After all, however, the comparison of the dangers and disadvantages for and against is a somewhat negative process. If we compare the corresponding advantages, States entering the Federation would certainly appear to have a wider scope of usefulness and development open to them. Only by their accession will the building up of a United India be rendered possible, and this result seems to be worth the taking of some degree of individual risk.

The Wishes of the People

It may, perhaps, be suggested that I have dealt too exclusively with the feelings and interests of the Rulers, and have not considered sufficiently the wishes and the aspirations of the people of the States. I can, of course, only speak of my own experience within a limited area, but I can only say that I have not found among State subjects whom I have consulted any strong feeling for entry into Federation. In answer to my questions, I have generally been asked, "Sahib, will it cost more?" I have replied with, I think, perfect accuracy that of course it will cost more. Democratic government is always expensive, and India, with its vast distances, enormous electorates, and inevitably large legislative bodies at remote centres of government, is not likely to prove an exception. Then the answer has generally been, "Then, Sahib, we don't want it here."

But the reflective portion of the population has a deeper reason than mere expensiveness. They see how in British India popular

elections have embittered and perpetuated communal feelings, Hindu and Mussalman, Brahman and non-Brahman. We used to be told by some people that such communal feeling did not exist in the States, in bright contrast with British India. Of course it always has existed, but one community was always top dog, and the minor community accepted the inevitable with greater or less good grace and was as a result not ill-treated. Of recent years, however, communal ill-feeling has been painfully apparent in a good many Indian States, and it is at least possible that a system of popular elections would further embitter this ill-feeling. There is, of course, in most States a class of educated men who most legitimately desire to participate in public affairs. It may be hoped that, on the entry of a State into Federation, it will be possible to utilize this class without adopting entirely the system of popular electorates which is now inevitable in British India.

States Representation at the Centre

There are a few other points which are not unconnected with the accession of the Princes, and particularly the smaller States. The first is their representation in the Federal Assemblies. I personally think it a matter of deep regret that it has not been thought possible to give individual representation in the Legislative Houses to a larger number of Indian States—that is, to all whose right to enter the Chamber of Princes has been admitted. There are at least 109 of these, and it would perhaps have been possible to have given each of them a seat in the Upper House, supplementary to the additional seats allotted under the Act to the larger States, while retaining the representation of the States at forty per cent. of the whole, without making the Upper House too unwieldy, and without adding greatly to the expense, since the States would gladly bear the cost of their own representatives. There is an excellent precedent for this in the old German Constitution, and the States which are being allotted only a half or a third or some still smaller fraction of a seat feel deeply that their historical identity, often very ancient, is thus lost. It has been suggested that the conjunction of States in one group may lead to their ultimate amalgamation for electoral and indeed for all

purposes. But this will prove impossible in practice, and as a result many of the States will practically be disfranchised for long periods, at least in the Council of State.

Salutes

Then there is the question of Salutes. As everyone knows, the most absurd anomalies exist at present, for which in many cases there is no historical basis. I must adhere to my principle of avoiding names, but I may say that there is one State which has been divided into a senior and a junior branch, with populations respectively of 80,000 and 70,000, each of which enjoys a salute of 15 guns, while other States with populations of several lakhs each receive much smaller salutes. It is well known that the States which were formerly under the political care of Local Governments receive salutes markedly inferior to the salutes of States which have been so fortunate as to have been in direct relation with the Government of India.

It is not merely a matter of dignity, but one of practical importance, since salutes supply the easiest criterion of the standing of a State. For example, it was, I believe, announced that the salutes would not be taken as a basis for the allocation of seats in the Upper House. Yet no one can examine the distribution of seats without realizing that the salute had much influence in that distribution. The Government of India have often promised to revise the table of salutes, and are said to be once more engaged in the task, which is sometimes described as Herculean. And yet it would not appear that it need be so very Herculean. Obviously it is not possible to reduce the number of guns enjoyed by any Ruler, except on the rarest and most extreme grounds of misconduct. But it would seem possible to treat a salute of a particular number of guns—say, fifteen—as an attribute of sovereignty, and to bring all States who are entitled to any salute at all up to that number, leaving those whose salute is in excess of it to continue to enjoy their privilege.

Sea Customs

There is also the question of Sea Customs, which is of vital interest to the States which have harbours to which steamers can